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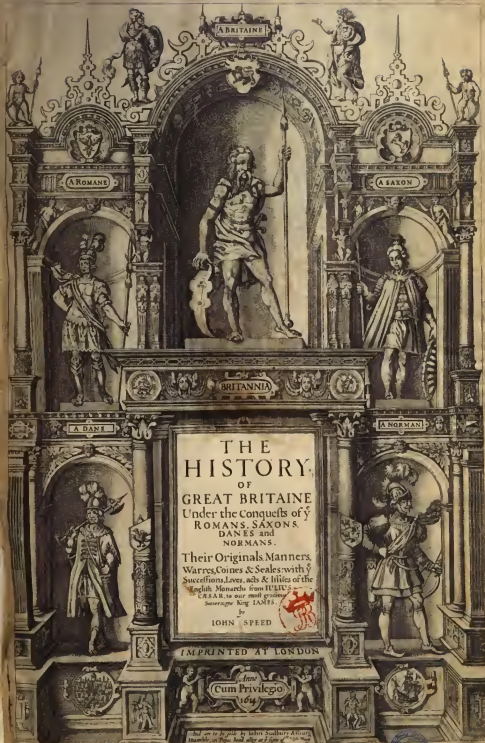
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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
Under the Conquests of y
ROMANS, SAXONS,
DANES and
NORMANS.

Their Originals Manners,
Warres, Coines & Seales: with y
Successions, Loves, acts & Illides of the
English Monarchs from IULIUS
CÆSAR, to our most gracious
Soveraigne King IAMES.

by
JOHN SPEED

IMPRINTED AT LONDON

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1641

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TO
THE MOST HIGH,
AND MOST POTENT
MONARCH,
JAMES,

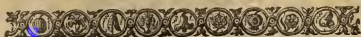
OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE,
AND IRELAND KING; THE MOST
CONSTANT AND MOST LEARNED
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH;
INLARGER AND VNITER OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE; RESTO-
RER OF THE BRITISH NAME; ESTABL-
SHER OF PERPETVALL PEACE, IN
CHVRCH, AND COMMONWEALTH;
PRESIDENT OF ALL PRINCE-
LY VERTVES AND
NOBLE ARTS:

R. 1662

1662



JOHN SPEED,
HIS MAIESTIES MOST
lovly and most loyall Subiect
and Seruant, consecrateth these his labours, though
vnworthy the aspect of so high an
Imperiall Maiestie.



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Shires, Cities, and Shire-townes, which are pro-
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JAMES, our dread Soueraigne. 883

A l'honneur de l'auteur et son oeuvre

Lextrejoignant courter de la runde machine,
Pour son chef d'amour venir cest l'ice separie:
Icy quoy que des plus grans royeurs du cest parie
Sont juree aporter a son royte a l'ice.
D'un Drematour sours d'une fabrie d'ice,
Par la plume se void la breche reparie,
La runde d'ice, et la force a l'ice
Centre la mort, que tant de beaultis a l'ice.

La police, le nom, l'innocence courage,
Les Princes, Princes, et tout qu'est d'ice
Du Breton belliqueux, l'ice en son l'ice:
Pour un courage d'ice a l'ice tant d'ice,
Faisons, faisons, Bretons, d'un barin memorable,
Graver le nom de l'ice au temple de l'ice.

T. BARRHAM.



HENR. SPREMAN M^l. Lectori

*Now live, nor tender! lands tibi serua, lecter
Gratum opus Qu dignum consule credere uideret.
Nepher hoc Ortulani, sic nostrum hunc exhibet orbem.*

*Vires emineas, tota Britannia, simul.
Oras, Sinus, flum, portus, nemus, oppida, traictus.
Regna, duces, populi, fœdera, bella, quies.*

Rich. Saint George Norrey King at armes, in fauour of this worke.

IT is farre from my purpose, to commend without cause, or by ouer curious flourish to make a shadow seeme a substance, this worke needs no such *deceptiuo uisus*; The subject is of it selfe honorable, and able to stand without such weakè proppes. The glory of our nation being almost buried in the pit of obliuiscence, is herein reuiued, the continuance of Christianity traced from age to age, the antiquity and situation of our Townes, Castles, Religious Houses, Nobility, and all other memorable matters so liuely portraied, as in a glasse we may rightly discern the true shape, quality and condition of each of them in particular. This worke therefore being now brought vpon the publike stage and view of the world, may in my poore censurè giue satisfaction to the learned Reader, and abide the touch of the malignant opposer; which being effected without hope of gaine or vaine ostentation with so great care both of body and mind, is the more precious, for *difficilis quæ palæstra*. Wherein Gods power is made knowne in this his weakè, but worthy instrument: and the glory of Great Britaine made more famous to the world as well in the Geographicall demension of the Lands situation as in the historical relations of her most famous monarchs and glorious actions; no Kingdome hitherto so particularly described, nor nations History by true record more faithfully penned: In honor whereof I sacrifice these lines of my loue vpon the Altar of this worke, and celebrate the Authors remembrance to future posterities.

To my friend M^r. IOHN SPREED, being very sicke.

*Great loss, and little skill may cause me to missey.
But certainly this picture cannot make thee die;
Though cruell is my penne, and these thirtene yeeres assay
For thy deare country, doth thy health & strength decay.
Yet sith thy toyllsome labour, and thy indolence
Is for thy Countries sake, her same as heere to raise:
Shalt thou thy temples crowne with everlasting hopes,
And in despite of death, shalt cause thy memorie
To liue in endless fame with all posteritie.*

*How may thee far her beauty, and her riches store,
What ere thy fate was in extre age and change of state,
And present greatness such as neuer heretofore,
Since this great March wa'd from North to southerne
And sith thy life is to thy country dedicate, (fare,
Let none profane thy lawrell from thy head to reare
For this her story, which thy skillfull hand did weare:
But live, & weare it [Speed] vntill the worlds great fate
Shall bring all earthly thing: vnto their utmost date.*

ALEX. GILL.

In exaustissimi huius operis Authorem, Eulogium Tho. Barkham.

*Vixisti diu, pumpe despecta, silentis lingua,
Culmina et immensi memoras superata laboris
Spicula tui: insuadet iactur locis, (optime,) curâ,
Quam tibi pro meritis possum circundare palmam
Qui tacuit populo, quæcumque sub arce Britanno
Digna referunt affectus, serpsitque locoque,
Sanguineas signas, attonitum bella, palestræ;*

*Nobilitanque aptâ patriam compasit, rerum,
Ad nostra exactum deducis tempora scium,
Ergo eris hoc magnæ merces non parua laboris,
Exiguum paruum hac quædâ monumenta decet cum
Ipsa sibi, ventura quid hoc mirabitur atas,
Totâ perpetua debet Respublica grates.*

To the right well deseruing M^r. IOHN SPREED the Author of this worke.

IN this BOOK, (Bibliothec, or Booke of Bookes;
TIMES Library, PLACES Geographic)
All that is shewne for which the curious looke
Touching this LAND, for PLACE, or HISTORIE.

*In which, thou hast with paine, with care, and skill,
Sweatd this Land more nere then ere it was:
For which, thy Wit thou straind hast to thy Will,
That will as much as Witte can bring to passe.*

*The faire Hibernia that Westerne Isle likewise,
In euery Member, Arriere, Nerue, and Veine,
Thou by thine Arte dost so Anatomize,
That all may see each part without paine.*

*Heere Time, and Place, like friendly foes doe warre
Which should beu most desd Particulars;
But Place giues place, sith Time is greater farre:
Yet Place, well rang'd, gets glory by these warres.*

*No helps thou hadst, nor no assisting aide
In this attempt: but, Vertue gave thee might
That well to doe, that well thou hast asside
Which should (in grace) out-loue immortall sight.*

*Hadst thou among the Romanes liu'd when they
Did signorize the World, A Signiory
Should thou (at least) haue guard'd thy Swerry,
Thy Mappes, Descriptions, and thine Historie.*

*But, thou dost liue when all Arts saue the "right
(liberal) all liberal Arts) a begging goe:
That Arte alone, with her true friend Deceit,
Gets all these all fectes but that Arte is knowe.*

*But, by thy Arte though nought be purchased
But empty Fame (that feeds, but satiates not)
Yet shall it feed thy NAME till DEATH be dead:
Whole empty noble Names away shall rot.*

*The Letteres this Booke contains, and Maps here graue,
Are still as Feathers to thy Fames faire Wings,
To some fresh Air open the fate of Heauen;
And, raise the same about all ending Tempes:
That when Confusion wrecks this double FRAME,
A Spirit shall moue on CHAOS call'd thy Fame*

The vnfained louer of thy person,

IO. DAVIS

* trans.

* Adulation.



F Him that this GREAT Taske hath don't
 (Great for the goodnesse manie waies)
 FAME doth asseure he well hath wonne
 ARTS bigbest Prize, and Palme of praise.
 In Clincks, and Realmes remote throughout,
 His merits merit rare reports:
 For none the like hath brought about;
 Or equaliz'd in any sort.
 The Shafts of his endeuors, shot
 At Gaine, and Pleasure; both haue hit:
 His Obseruations haue begot
 On priuate, publicke Benefits.
 Chiefe Cities, Townes, and Countreies many
 (Which this vast Globe of Earth affords)
 Iost haue win'd; but, neuer any
 So well describ'd by Mappes and Wordes.
 His traueled Body, toiled Mind
 (To bring this VVorke at last to rest
 In Period which his Plot design'd)
 Should now rest famous with the best.
 The Romans such Deserts did Crowne
 With Laurell, which their Soile brought forth;
 But I, of Branches farre off growne,
 Bring Wreaths to this works, more of worth,
 The Palme (wherein rare vertues bee,
 And, for a Conquest, Crowns a King)
 The Oliue, and the Cedar Tree,
 Faire, fat, and fruitfull; these I bring.
 In Egypt, Syria, and the Land
 Of Promise, (named by holiest High)
 I could not see, nor vnderstand,
 For vertue, any Trees come nigh.
 As these (worth praise) are profitable,
 They being of the worthiest kinds:
 So in best sence, hath Speed become able,
 To please (worth praise) the worthiest Minds.
 In short, to giue him then his due,
 This Arte his better neuer knew.

IO. SANDERSON.





TO THE WELL-AFFECTED AND FAVOURABLE READER.



O great was the attempt to assay the erection of this large and laborious THEATRE, whose onely platforme might well haue expell'd the readiest hand of the best Artift, that even in the entrance of the first draught as one altogether discouraged, I found my selfe, farre vnfit and vnfurnished both of matter and meanes, either to build, or to beautifie so stately a proiect. But how the Lord then compos'd my mind for the worke, or rather how his owne great power would be seene in my weakness, is now in some measure made manifest by raising the frame thereof to this height; which here from the Presse sheweth his aspect vnto the world. But with what content to thy eye (gentle Reader) I stand in suspence, so many Maister-builders hauing in this subiect gone before me, and I the least, not worthy to beu (much lesse to lay) the least stone in so beautifull a Building; neither can I for my heedlesse presumption alledge any excuse, vnlesse it be this, that the zeale of my countries glory so transported my senses, as I knew not what I vndertooke, vntill I saw the charges thereof (by others bestowed) to amount so high as I held it a conscience to frustrate their designements; wherein albeit, it may be objected that I haue put my sickele into other mens corne, and haue laid my building vpon other mens foundations (as indeed who can do otherwise, especially in a subiect of this nature, seeing that the wisest of Kings witnesseth, that there is nothing new vnder the Sun) yet let this in part suffice for my defence, that in the worke of the Tabernacle there was more, and more workemen employed then Aholiab & Bezaleel; neither did all the Israelites offer to that most glorious work, Gold, Siluer, Onix-stones, Purple, Scarlet, and fine Linnen: but some of the, Brasse, Wood, Goates-haire, Rams-fels, and Badgers skins, as necessary implements in their seuerall seruices. If then, with the poore widow I cast in my mite, and by my owne trauell adde some what more then hath bene already diuulged, let me craue thy acceptance, where I haue done right, and thine assistance to correct where I misse, which I trust may as well be hoped as requested, thy loue with mine being alike oblig'd vnto this our native land. Whose beautie and benefits, not a farre off, as Moles saw Canaan from Pisgah, but by my owne trauels through every prouince of England and Wales mine eyes haue beheld: and whose Climate, Temperature, Plentie and Pleasures, make it to be as the very Eden of Europe (pardon me I pray if affection passe limits) for the store of corne in the champion, and of Pasturage in the

The principall
motives of writing.

Exch: 9

Exod: 31

Exod: 35

Math: 23. 24.

Exod: 36
Though described
vpon a personall
Survey of all
England and
Wales.

the lower Grounds, *preſſeth the cart vnder the ſheaves to the barn, and ſillet the coſſers of their poſſeſſors.* Neither are the faces of the Mountaines and Hills onely ſpread over with infinite beards and ſorts of cattell, but their intralls alſo are in continuall trauell, and continually deliuered of their rich Progenies of Copper, Lead, and Iron, Marble, Criſtall, Iet, Alabaſter, yea the moſt wonder-working Loadſtone; to ſay nothing either of Cannoll and Sea-coale as rich for profit and as needfull for uſe, or of the goodly Quarries of choiſeſt ſtone, as neceſſary for ſtrength, as eſtimable for beauty. Her Seas and Riuerſ ſo ſtored with Fiſh, and her Fels and Fens ſo replenished with wild foule, that they euen preſent themſelues for ready prey to their takers; briefly, euery ſoile is ſo enriched with plenty and pleaſures, as the inhabitants thinke there is no other *Paradice in the earth but where theſelues dwell.* The true plot of the whole land, & that again into parts in ſeueral Cards are here deſcribed, as likewiſe the cities and ſhire townes are inſerted, where of ſome haue bene performed by others, without Scale annexed, the reſt by mine owne travels, and vnto them for diſtintions ſake, the Scale of Paces, accounted according to the Geometrical meaſure, five foote to a pace I haue ſet; but in this imployment I am ſomewhat to excuſe my ſelf from wrongs conceiued done vnto more beautifull and richer corporatiōs, which in this ſurvey are in ſilence ouer paſſed, and places of leſſe note & frequency deſcribed. For ſatisfaction whereof (good Reader) vnderſtand my purpoſe, according to the title prefixed, which in this land (beſides other things) is to ſhew the ſituation of euery city and ſhire town onely. So that without iniury to all, I could not inſert ſome, though oftentimes it greened me much to leaue ſuch beautifull places vntouched: which notwithstanding being wel knowne ſo to be giueth no little glory to the land in generall, ſo to be replenished with ſtore & choiſe, as hardly can be iudged which may be omitted. The Shires diuiſions into Lathes, Hundreds, Wapentakes and Cantreds according to their ratable, and accuſtomed manner I haue ſeparated, and vnder the ſame Title that the record beareth, in their due places diſtinguiſhed; wherein by the helpe of the Tables annexed, any Citie, Towne, Burrough, Hamlet, or place of note may readily be found, and whereby ſafely may be affirmed that there is not any one kingdom, in the world ſo exactly deſcribed, as is this our Iland of Great Brittain, that onely excepted which Iſuah conquered and into Tribes diuided. The armes of ſuch Princes and Nobles as haue had the dignities, and borne the titles either of Dukes, Marqueſſes, or Earles, in the ſame Prouince, City or Place: and finally the Battels fought either by the ſorraine or home-bred Conſpirators, I haue alſo added. Where we from vnder our owne vines without feare may behold the prints of indured miſeries, ſealed with the blood of thoſe times, to the loſſe of their liues, and libertie; our ſelues (as in the reigne of Auguſtus, when the Temple of Ianus ſtood ſhut, and Mars his bands bound with chaines of Braſſe as Virgill ſpeaketh) beare not the ſound of the Alarū in our Gates, nor the clattering of armor in our campe, whoſe ſwords are now turned into mattocks and ſpeares into ſiſhes, as Micah ſheweth the peaceable times vnder Chriſt. In ſhewing theſe things I haue chiefly ſought to giue ſatisfaction to all without offence to any, whereof if I faile, yet this to my ſelf haue I gained, that whileſt I ſet all my thoughts and cogitations bereon, I had ſmall regard to the bewitching pleaſures, and vaine enticements of this wicked world, neither had I leaſure to be led by an ambitious deſire to raiſe my ſtatiō aboue the lenell of my equals, or with baſe flattery to follow, and fill the eares of Fortunes Deputies, the rains of theſe intents checking the bit of affection into another way. And applying my ſelf wholly to the frame of this moſt goodly Building, haue as a poore labourer carried the carued ſtones and poliſhed Pillars from the hands of the more ſkilfull Architects

Amos 1. 2. 3.

What is performed in this work.

Cities and ſhire townes.

Shires & diuiſions.

Tables to find all names in the maps.

Armes of the ſimilar Nobles.

Places of great renown.

Micah 1. 3.

The benefit made of this labour.

TO THE READER.

chitects to be set in their fit places, which here offer vpon the altar of lone to my
country, and wherein I haue beld it no sacrilege to rob others of their richest iewels
to adorn this my most beautifull Nurse, whose wombe was my contem-
tion, whose breasts were my nourishment, whose bosome my
cradle, and lap (I doubt not) shall be my bed of sweete
rest, till Christ by his trumpet raise
me thence.

I. CHRON. 28. 8.

Therefore in the sight of the congregation of the Lord, and in the audience of our God;
let vs keepe and seeke for all the commandments of the Lord our God, that we may pos-
seesse this good land, and leaue it for an inheritance for our Children after vs for euer.

Thine in Christ Iesus,

IOHN SPEED.







THE PROEME.
TO THE LEARNED
AND LOVERS
OF
GREAT BRITAINES
GLORY.



Having thus farre trauelled in the protract, and description of this famous Empire of GREAT BRITAINE, I might here have rested, and claimed the priuiledge that yeeres and imbecillitie haue brought me vnto: had not a further desire in others vrged it a matter incident, historically to lay downe the originals of those Nations and succeſſions of those Monarchs, which either by birth or conquest haue aspired to the Imperiall Crowne.

And albeit I finde my selfe both tired in the former, and most vnfit to prosecute this latter, yet will I endeouour to giue herein my best assayes; though as my labours, so my wants also, thereby will be made more vulgar to the world.

For if those men were blame-worthy against whom *Heraclite* exclaimeth, who with long toile and great trouble finde a little pure substance in a great deale of base earth: how shall I then free me from the like imputation, that from so many mines of pure metals, haue gotten so little Oare, and the same neither well tried in my defectiue furnace, nor yet artificially cast off through the default of the mould, wanting both skil for to fashion, and measure to performe, the true proportions that in such a proiect is to be required; and how often these my defects haue dissuaded my proceedings, is best knowne to him that is the searcher of the heart.

But by what fate I am enforced still to goe forward, I know not, vnlesse it be the ardent affection and loue to my native Countrey; wherein I must confesse that Nature in those gifts hath bene both liberall, yea and prodigall, though Fortune as sparing & fast-handed against me, euer checking the Bit with the Reines of necessity, and curbing the meanes that should illustrate my labours: which moues me sometimes to thinke that if the great Philosopher *Theophrastus*, had caule on his death-bed to accuse Nature, for giuing man so long a lesson, and so short a life; then I against Fortune may as iustly exclaime, that hath assigned me so great a labour and so little meanes. And therefore let it not seeme offensive that I draw my waters from the Cessers of others, who am not able to fetch them at the spring-head my selfe: Neither that I strike vpon the same Anvile vnto their sound, though nothing so loud, nor with the like strength; wherein yet this fruit at least wil (I hope) redound of my en-

2-Jam. 19-35.
Socrates.

Deut. 6.6.7.

Deut. 4-32.

Thales.

Cicero.

Simonides.

Callidore.

Bale in Eng-
lands New-
years gift.

Gen. 49.39.

Jerem. 37.1.

Mat. 13-37.

Jerem. 9.1.

Luke 15.41.

Mat. 19.26.

Habak. 2.9.

Gen. 13.10.

Tho. Lanquet.

denours that I shall incite the more learned: if not otherwise, yet in emulation of me, to free the face drawne by *Apelles*, from the censure of the fault or defect in the foot, and not onely to amend, but euen to new-mould the whole. Which thing though my dayes are neere spent; and with *Barzillai* I may say that musick to me is now vnpleasing: yet doth my eare thirst after the set of that straine, as *Socrates* thoughts ranne euer on his Booke: who the night before he was to suffer death, was desirous to learne musick, because he would die learning still something. *Moses* when he foresaw the destruction of his Common-wealth, which whilst it stood, was the glory of the earth, and a paterne to all kingdomes succeeding, left this for a Law among the rest, and euen to remaine for euer, that the fathers should teach their children, and should commit vnto writing those things which the Lord in their dayes had done, and enioyned the children: Like-while to enquire of the times that were past, euen from the first creation of man: For when as Empires and Kingdomes, Common weales and Cities, do end and perish, yet the Histories thereof do remaine and liue; And that made *Cicero* to say as he did, that *Salamina* should be vterly forgotten, before the things that were done in *Salamina* should perish: And therefore as among the wise answers of *Thales*, the Histories of Countreys are to be accounted for principals, either as *Cicero* calleth them the Mistres of life, and expositions of Times; so likewise let vs from the lyricall Poet *Simonides* learne this further, That he is perfectly happy which knowes his native country to be truly glorious. And as *Callidore* calls him a worthy Citizen that seeketh the commodity of his country: So contrariwise he is by *Bale* esteemed but a fruitles clod of earth, that sucks the sappe of his soile onely to himselfe, whose memoriall shall perish as the disperfed smoake in the clouds, though for a time he mount aloft in his swelling pride. This naturall loue and true affection to our native Countrey, we may further learne from the ancient Patriarks and Fathers themselves, who besides a desire that they had to theirs, continually to liue therein during life, commanded their bodies to be buried therein after death: from whose Bowels they first had assumed their breathes, and in whose bosome they layd their bones, as in their last bed of rest. Yea, of the vnreasonable creatures, the Birds and Beasts, we may learne this loue, that alwayes are willing towards their home. And if it happen that Countreys grow vnkinde as *Homers* did, that in his old age and blind, suffred him to beg his bread; or that a Prophet in his owne country is not esteemed, as *Jeremy* felt it, and **CHRIST IESVS** taught, yet did the one for his peoples captiuiety, wish his eyes a fontaine of teares, and the other for his countreys destruction lamented and wept, holding it vnlawfull to take the childrens bread, and to giue it vnto others.

That this our Countrey and subiect of History deserueth the loue of her inhabitants, is witnessed euen by forraigne writers themselves, who haue termed it the Court of *Queene Ceres*, the Granary of the Westerne world, the fortunate Island, the Paradise of pleasure and Garden of God; whose Typographicall descriptions for the whole Iland, and Geographicall iurneyes for the seuerall parts, exceed any other kingdome vnder the cope of Heauen; that onely excepted which was conquered and diuided by *Josuah*; And for fruitfulness and temperature may be accounted another *Canaan*; watered with riuers that doe cleane the earth, as the Prophet speaketh, and make the land as rich and beautiful, as was that of *Aegypt*. Our Kings for valour and Sanctity, ranked with the worthiest in the world, and our Nations originals, conquests, and continuance, tried by the touch of the best humane testimonies, leaue as faire a Lustre vpon the same stone, as doeth any other, and with any nation may easily contend (saith *Lanquet*) both for antiquity, and continuall inhabitants, from the first time that any of them can claime their originals.

And although our many Records are perished by the inuasions of strangers, through their couetous Conquest of so faire a Land; or in the ciuill dissensions of homebred aspi- rers that haue sought the possession of so rich a Crowne, yet Truth hath left vs no lesse beholding vnto her, then mightier Nations, and them that would be far more famous.

Neither

either is it to be wondred at, that the Records of GREAT BRITAINE are eaten up
 with *Times teeth*, as *Onid* speakes, when as in *Times* ruines lye buried their Registers,
 that haue bene kept with a stronger guard, as *Titus Liny* in the entrance of his *Hi-*
story affirmeth of the *Romanes*. As for those things (saith he) as are reported either before,
 or at the foundation of the City more beautified and set out with Poets fables; then grounded
 upon pure and faithfull reports, I meane neither to auerre nor disproue. Of whole uncert-
 ainties, let vs a while heare the reporters themselues speake, before we proceed to the
 certaine successions of our British Monarchs: vntill which time the credit of our Hi-
 story may wel be said to waigh with (if not downe peize) many others. *Varro* (that lear-
 ned *Romane* writer, who liued an hundred yeeres before the birth of our Saviour *Christ*)
 calleth the first world to the Flood uncertaine; and thence to the first *Olympias* fabu-
 lous: Because in that time (saith he) there is nothing related (for the most part) but fables
 among the *Greekes*, *Latines*, and other learned Nations. And therefore *Plutarch* begin-
 neth the liues of his worthy men, no higher then *Theseus*: because (saith he) what hath
 bene written before, was but of strange things, and sayings full of monstrous fables imagined
 and deuised by Poets, which are altogether uncertaine and most vnttrue. And *Diodorus Si-*
culus (that liued in *Augustus Cæsars* time, a great searcher after Antiquities, and for
 thirty yeeres continuance a traoueller into many Countreys, for information and fur-
 ther satisfaction) writing his *History* called *Bibliotheca*, conteyning forty Bookes,
 and yeeres of continuance one thousand, one hundred thirty and eight, of his first sixe him-
 selfe giueth this censure in his Proeme. These Bookes (saith he) contayning the Acts
 of ancient men, before the destruction of *Troy*, with the ancient Histories aswell of *Grecians*
 as *Barbarians*, are called fabulous: Which moued *Lucretius* the Poet to demaund
 this question.

*Cur supra bellum Thebanum & frustra Troia;
 Non alius quondam cecinerit Poeta?*

Why haue not Poets in their workes of fained stories brought,
 Things done before the Warres of Thebes, or Troyes destruction wrought?

Yea and of *Troyes* story it selfe, if we may beleue *Thucydides* (whom *Bodine*
 commendeth for an absolute Historian) though it be ancient (saith he) yet a great part
 thereof is fabulous. And *Tully* out of *Plato* complaineth of as much: For you *Grecians*
 (saith he) as children in learning, deliuer onely things uncertaine, and haue mingled fables
 with the Warres of Thebes, and of *Troy*, things (perhaps) which neuer were, but gathered
 out of the scattered Verses of *Homer* and others, not digested by *Aristarchus*, and are yet un-
 certaine and obscure. And that the *Greekes* indeed were but babes in Antiquity, *Jose-*
phus in his Nations defence against *Appion*, sufficiently doth proue, where he affir-
 meth, That the inuention of their Letters was not so old as the siege of *Troy*, insomuch that
 the Poetrie of *Homer* (then the which there is none more ancient among them) was not
 committed to writing, but sung by rote. And the *Latine* tongue it selfe by *M. Cato* is
 said, not to haue bene in vse foure hundred and fifty yeeres before the building of *Rome*.
 And *Titus Liny* their famous Historian, freely confesseth, That the vse of Letters and
 learning among the *Romanes*, was rare and hard to be found before the taking of *Rome* by the
Gaulers. Yea, and of the uncertaintie of *Romes* foundation, how lauih loeuer *Histori-*
ans haue written, not onely *Fenestella* hath continued whole Pages, but *Plutarch*
 likewise in the life of *Romulus*, hath many sayings, whereof this is one. The *Historio-*
graphers (saith he) do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause the great name
 of *Rome* (the glory whereof is blowne abroad through the world) was first giuen vnto it.
 some affirming, that the *Pelagians* after they had runne ouer a great part of the world,
 lastly stayed themselues in that place where *Rome* was new built, and for their great
 strength in Armes, gaue name to that City *Rome*, which signifyeth power in the
Greeke tongue. Other say, that certaine *Troians* after their siege, in certaine vessels sa-
 ued

Ouid, Metam.
lib. 1.

Historians un-
certaine as the
Flood, and from
the Flood to the
first Olympias
fabulous.
Plutarch.

Diodorus Si-
culus.

Lucretius.

Thucydides.

Tully.

Josephus contra
Appian. lib. 1.

M. Cato in a
fragment of his.

Titus Liny.

Fenestella.
Plutarch in the
life of Romulus.

ued themselves by flight, and being put into the *Thuscan Sea*, anchored neere to the *Riuer Tyber*: whose *wines* being extremely *Sea-sicke*, through the counsell of *Roma* a *Lady*, the wisest and worthiest among them, set fire on the whole *Fleete*; whereupon their *husbands* (though sore offended) were inforced to make vse of their present necessity, and neere vnto *Palantium* planted this *City*, whose *same* presently grew great, and in honour of *Lady Roma*, named it *Rome*; and from hence they say the custome of *kissing* in *salutations* came, after the example of these *wines*, who to appeale the *husbands* wrachs with *smiles* and *imbracings* kissed their mouths. Some will haue the name from *Roma*, the daughter of *Italus* and of *Lucaria*, or els of *Telephus* the sonne of *Hercules*, and of the wife of *Aeneas*. Others of *Ascanius* the sonne of *Aeneas*. Some againe from *Romanus* the sonne of *Ulysses* and of *Cyrce*, will haue it named *Rome*. Others from *Romus* the sonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*. There are that bring the name thereof from one *Romus* a tyrant of the *Latines*, who droue the *Thuscans* out of those parts. And they who thinke that *Romulus* (as that is most generall, and carieth the most likelihood to be *Romes* founder,) do not agree about his *auinceflours*, as more at large in *Plutarch* appeareth. And therefore with *Thucydides* we may well say, *It is a hard and difficult matter to keepe a meane in speaking of things, wherein scarcely can be had a certaine opinion of trueth.* And the rather, for that the writers themselves haue blamed each others of *affectation* & *falsehood*, as in *Iosephus* we may see; who affirmeth, That *Hellanicus* dissented from *Acusilaus*, *Acusilaus* with *Diodorus* correcting *Herodotus*; *Ephorus* accused *Hellanicus* of *vntrueths*; so did *Timens* reprove *Ephorus* of as much; *Philistus* and *Callias* dissented from *Timens* in his History of *Sicily*, and *Thucydides* accounted a lyar by some. *Caesar* is taxed by *Asinius Pollio* (saith *Suetonius*) to be partiall in his *Commentaries*. And *Tacitus* by *Tertullian* is blamed for *vntrueths*; *Fabius Maximus* is reprehended by *Polybius* for defectiue writing the *Punicke warres*; and himselfe againe with *Silenus*, *Timens*, *Antigonus*, & *Hieron*, as much found fault with by *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, for writing the *Romane histories* so vnperfectly. And a man may vse the very same speech against *Dionysius*, saith *Bodine*. These things thus standing, let vs giue leaue to *Antiquitie*, who sometimes minglcth *falsehoods* with *truth*, to make the beginnings of *Policies* seeme more honourable: And whose power is farre serued into the worlds conceit, that with *Hierome* we may say, *Antiquity is allowed with such generall applause, that knowne vntrueths many times are pleasing vnto many.* Yet with better regard to reuerend *Antiquity*, whom *Jobs* opposer wills vs inquire after, and to our owne relations in deliuering their censures, let this be considered; That more things are let slippe, then are comprehended in any mans writings, and yet more therein written, then any mans life. (though it be long) will admit him to reade. Neither let vs be forestalled with any preiudicate opinions of the reporters; that in somethings may iustly be suspected, or in *affectiō*, which by nature we owe to our naturall Countrey; nor consent (as *Linie* speaketh) to stand to the ancientnesse of reports, when it seemeth to take away the certainty of truth. To keepe a meane betwixt both, my selfe with *Bildad* doe confesse, that I am but of yesterday, and know nothing, and therefore will relate the originall names and *Nations* of this famous *Fland*; with the successions of her *Monarches* and *Historicall actions*, so farre only as is most approued by the best *Writers*, and will leaue other clouds of obicurity to be cleared by the labours of a more learned penne.

Thucydides lib. 1. cap. 7.

Iosephus contra Ap. in lib. 1. Hellanicus. Acusilaus. Diodorus. Herodotus. Ephorus. Philistus. Callias. Thucydides. Suetonius in vita Caesar. Seli. 55. Tacitus. F. Maximus. Sidenus. Antigonus. Hierome. Dionysius Hal. Bodine.

Hieron in his Prolog. in Job.

Job. 3. 8.

Tim. Liui. lib. 1.





THE SITE AND CIRCVIT OF GREAT BRITAINES MONARCHIE.

CHAPTER I.



BESIDES those fruitfull *Ilands* that disperdely are scattered about the *Mayne*, like to beautifull *pearls* that uncompass a *Diademe*, the Ile of GREAT BRITAINES doth raise it selfe first to our sight, as the *Bodie* of that most famous & mighty *Empire*, whereof

many other *Kingdomes* and *Countries* are *parents* and *members*. Being by the *Admiralty* so set in the maine *Ocean*, as that there is thereby the *High Admirall* of the *Sea*, and in the terrestriall *Globe* so seated, as that the is worthily repeated both *The Garden of Pleasure*, and *The Storehouse of Profits*, opening her *Havens* every way, fit to receive all fortaine trafficker, and to vtter her owne into all other parts: and therefore (as the *Soueraigne Lady* and *Empresse* of the rest) deserves our description in the first place.

(2) This *Iland* is so spacious and ample, that *Cesar* (the first *Romane* discoverer thereof) supposed that he had found out another *World*: for to his seeming it appeared, that the *Ocean* was rather contained within that *Mayne*, then that *Mayne* to be compassed with that *Ocean* about. And *Julius Sallust*, for her circuit and largenesse, faith that it deserveth the name of *Another World*. But *Aristides* a *Greece* Author speaks much more properly, who by way of excellencie termeth *BRITAIN*, *The Great Land*: As likewise *Tacitus*, that undertooke to describe *BRITAIN* by his owne knowledge, who faith, that of all *Ilands* knowne to the *Romans* it was the greatest: And so doth *Dionysius* in his description of the *World*.

(3) But as *Strabo* compares the then known *World*, to a *Cloake*, *Strabon* *Nomastion* *Italy*, to an *Oken* *leafe*, and *Dionysius* *Spain*, vnto an *Oxe-side*: so the said *Tacitus* in the life of *Agriola*, from *Linie* his ancient, and *Fabius Rusticus* his moderne, doth liken the fashion thereof to a long *Dish*, or two-headed *Axe*: whose forme notwithstanding may better be expofed to the eye, in the draught before scene, then can be explained in words to conceit, or vnto any other thing bee compared besides it selfe: especially seeing that so many good Writers haue had but very bad success in their resemblances of *Countries*. And this of them is rather vnlike to either, if wee speake of the

whole, which then was vnkownen, as it seemeth by *Tacitus*. And the huge enorme tract of ground beyond *Caledonia*, which runneth vnto the furthermost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge, was first redoubled with the *Romane* Fleet by *Publius Agriola*, and *BRITAIN* discovered to bee an *Iland*, one hundred thirty and six yeeres after *Julius Cesar* first entrance therein.

(4) Some haue beene Induced by the narrownesse of the *Sea*, and likenesse of the *Saile*, to thinke that *BRITAIN* was sometimes ioined to the continent of *France*: whereunto *Seruius Honoratus* subscribeth in his Commentarie vpon the first *Eclage* of *Virgil*, who there mentioneth

— *Poenius toto diuisos orbe Britannos.*

The *Britaine* people quere from all the world diuind.

As likewise by *Claudian* another ancient Poet it is said,

— *nostra deducit Britannia mundi.*

The *Britaine* soile remoued from our worlds continent.

And *Vinsianus* with them affirms, that in the beginning *Britaine* and *Gallia* were both one Land. The like doth *Virgil* verifie of the *Ile* of *Sicilie*, which in times past hee reports to haue beene one with *Italie*. Others bold, that all *Ilands* had their first separation from the *Mayne* by the rage of the generall Deluge, and that the mountaines thereby shewed their tops about the plaine grounds; and the plaines settling lower, became deepe vallies. When or howsoeuer, by Gods diuine ordinance and wisdom, wee see that these *Ilands* situated in the *Sea*, doe no lesse ferue and adorne the *Ocean* it selfe, then the *Lakes* and *Foales* of water doe the drie land, and all of them (as members of one masse) to minister sustenance for the life of all things liuing, and pleasures to the vse and seruice of man.

(5) The *Iland* of *BRITAIN*, of all others the most famous (by *Catullus* reputed the furthest towards the *Well*) is bounded on the South with *Normandie* and *France*, vpon the East with *Germany* and *Denmarke*, vpon the West with *Ireland* and the *Atlanticke Ocean*, and vpon the North with the vast *Deucaledon* *Sea*. The length thereof, measured by the gradations to both extremes, that is, from the *Lysford Point* Southward in *Cornwall*, which lieth in the Latitude of 50. degrees and 6. minutes, to the *Strathly head* in *Scotland* (being the furthest point of this *Iland* towards

BRITAIN discovered by be an *Iland* 13 yeeres after *Julius Cesar* first entrance into it. *Tacitus* in the *Agri.*

BRITAIN thought out continent with *France*. *Seruius Honoratus*.

Claudian.

Vinsianus.

Virgil thought once one continent with *Italy*. *Dionysius Niger*. Thought of some that all *Ilands* had their first separation from the *Mayne* by the rage of the generall Deluge.

Catullus.

BRITAIN Admirall of the *Sea*.

In *Panegy. Orat.* to *Constantin.*

Aristides.

Strabo in *vit. Agri.* *BRITAIN* the greatest *Iland* knowne to the *Romans*. *Dionysius*. *Strabo*. *Rust.* *Nomast.*

Fabius Rustic.

Britain length.

towards the North) set in the degree 60. and 30. minutes containeth (according to the state of the terrestrial Globe) six hundred twenty four miles: not to trouble the Reader with other accounts, seeing the same is exactly to agree with the spaces of the heavens. And the extent of the Land in the broadest part is from the Lands end in Cornwall in the West (situated in 14. degrees and 37. minutes of Longitude, according to Mercator his Atlas) unto the Land Tene in the East of Kent (lying in 22. degrees 30. minutes) and containeth miles 340. as they have delivered, that with curious search have laid the dimension thereof.

Britains breadth.

BRITAIN is in the 8. Climate for Latitude, and for Longitude placed between the parallel fourteenth and twenty six.

In the furthest North part of BRITAIN is highest the Sun, as the frize betwix the darts going and coming can hardly be perceived. *Jauno Agrippa.*

Cesar. Com. lib. 5.

The cold in Britain less than in France.

From in Fright George.

The Anticks Geography.

British Seas warme. Deutatus Deorum lib. 2. Statius Pater, according to Agrippa, as his eighth booke.

British Sea-wind in Summer always the least.

Julius Agrippa.

Jauno Cesar. cap. 47.

Britain abundant with all kind of Graine.

(6) The site of this Land is set by the Mathematicians in the eighth Climate for Latitude, and the Longitude likewise placed betwix the Parallel fourteenth and twenty six: a feat as well for Air as Soile, both fruitful and milde; and for length of daies, pleasant and delightfull: for in the height of Summer the day is said to be eighteen equinoctiall boares long, wherof sixteen and a halfe are spent from Sunne to Sunne. Yea and Tacitus saith, that in the furthest North part of the Island the nights are so short, that herewith the going out and coming in of the day the space is hardly perceived, and the Sunne seems neither to set nor arise: Because (saith he) the extreme and plaine part of the earth present a low shadow, and raise not the darkness on high, so the night falleth under the shade and starre. Better might hee have said, by reason of the inclination of his Circle to the Horizon defending not directly, but passing obliquely, tazing as it were under their Horizon.

(7) The aire, saith Strabo and Tacitus is rather inclinable to flowers then to fowes. And Cesar commendeth it to be more temperate, and the cold lesse, then that in France, as not subject to either extremes, as the more Northerne and Southerne Countries are: to which temperate Ceterius Genialis a very ancient Poet seemeth to have respect, when of this Land thus he verifieth:

*Non illic Aries vernis ferit aera cornu,
Gaulis ne Geminis praedant cornua Tauri.*

The horned Ram there butteth not the aire of tender Spring: The Twins, nor Bull do in this Isle uniformly seasons bring.

(8) And although the Seas thereof are accounted and called by Nubius the Arabian, The darke and dangerous Seas, in regard of the misty vapors that therefrom arise, yet in the winter season those clouds are dispersed into still showers of raine, that doe dissolve the rigour and great extremity of the cold: yea and those Seas themselves stirred and working to and fro with the windes, doe thereby wax warme (as Cicero saith) so that a man may easily perceive within that world of waters a certain heat included. And Matius Felix proving that G O D hath a special regard to the severall parts of the world, as well as to the whole, saith, that BRITAIN, though otherwise walled from the aspect of the Sunne, yet it is relieved with the warmth of her entraining Seas; and as much refreshed, we may well say, by those sweet and gentle windes that in the height of Summer are sent from those seas, and doe abate the rigor of the Sunnes great scorching heat; and yeeleth not only entercount for traffique into all parts of the World, but plentifully aboundeth with all sorts of fish, to the great benefit of the Inhabitants; and bringeth forth Pearles, as Tacitus sheweth, which were usually cast out with the flood, and gathered at the ebbe. These Pearles, though not altogether so orient as they in India, by Ammasius in his 23. booke and 12. chapter, are called Rich Gemmes. And Pliny in his ninth booke and thirty fifth chapter, vrbeth the like term: The desire wherof (as Suetonius saith) drew Cezars affection for the Conquest of BRITAIN.

(9) The soile (saith Tacitus) setting aside the Olive, the Vine, and such other plants as are only proper to hotter Countreys, taketh all kinde of Graine, and beareth it in abundance: it flourisheth up quickly, and ripeneth slowly: the cause both is the same, the over-much moisture of the soile, and the aire. And

Cesar writeth, that for timber it was stored of all kindes, as in Gallia, the Birch and Firre tree only excepted. Forabundance of Graine, Britaine is said to bee The seat of Lucene Ceres, by Orpheus the old Poet; and the Granary and Storehouse for the Western World, as Charles the great termed it: and by our owne Antecessors in the blacke Booke of the Eschequer it is called a Paradise of pleasure. From whence the Romans were wont yearly to transport (with a fleet of eight hundred vessels bigger then Barges) great store of corne for the maintenance of their Armies. But vnto the particular relation of each severall blessing belonging to this most happy Land, we will not againe enter, seeing that in every Country we have sufficiently, and no more then truly, spoken thereof. Only, if you please, heare what hath bene said of this Land by the Roman Orators, and first in the Panegyricke to Constantine the Emperour.

(10) O happy BRITAIN, and more fortunate then all other Lands beside, which first didst for Constantine Emperour I For god cause both nature endowed thee with all blessings both of aire and soile: wherin there is neither excession cold of Winter nor extreme heat of Summer: when as there is so great abundance of graine, that is sufficient both for bread and drinke. There the fowells are free from savage beastes, and the ground void of noisome serpents: to whose feed an infinite multitude of tame cattle there are, with their odders stirring full of milke, and laden with fowles to the ground. And verily (that which for the use of our lives we most esteeme) the darts are therein very few, and he may live without fume light, for that they amongst plumes by the facile east and raise no shadowes on high: and the aspect both of day and starres passeth beyond the bound of the night: yea the very Sunne is selfe, which once so seemeth far to set, appeareth there only to pass by a little, and goe aside.

And in another, spoken to Constantine, the father of Constantine the Great, this is said:

Though BRITAIN be but a single name, yet surely the States last have bene manifold, in sowing a Land so plentyfull in fruit and graine, so rich in pasture, so full of mines and mines of metall, so gainfull in tributes and renewers, so accommodated with many houses, and for civill pleasure and pleasure.

And a Poet of good antiquity, of natures motherly affection towards this our Land, hath thus writtzen:

*Tam non sit fructu a gelu, nec frigore feruens,
Clementis caelo temperatque places.
Cum pareret Naturae parces, varique fauore
Insideret dote: omnibus una locu,
Sepulchra prior aetate, matrumque professa,
Insula sit solus, plenusque pacis, ut.
Quicquid amat luxu, quicquid desiderat aequum,
Ecce pronunciet, vel alioquin tibi.
Nor freezing cold, nor scorching hot thou art;
Thy aire is evenly temper, sweetly breath'd:
So pleas'd Dame Nature when she first bequeath'd
To every soule of her rich gifts a part;
Thou art all other like better: for she first sought it
To be thou (quoth she) the blessed Isle of peace.
What ever please ye yield, or wealth increase,
From thee shall grow, or shall to thee be brought.*

(11) And that BRITAIN hath bene taken for those fortunate Islands wherof the Poets have imagined a perpetual spring time, is certaine by Isidore Cretzer a Greeke Author of good account. And in Robert of Ancharie we read, what time Pope Clement the sixth had elected Lewis of Spain to be Prince of the Fortunate Islands, raising him powers both in Italie and France, the English Liger Embassadors, that lay then in Rome for King Edward the third, were so deeply set in the opinion, that this preparation was made against BRITAIN, that they wrote their supplications concerned, and presently with-drew themselves into England, to certifie the King of the said designs. And it seemeth Pope Innocent the fourth was of the same minde, when (as Math. Paris writeth) hee said, *Veri hunc delictum esse Anglia: veri patrum unchastitatem esse: Et vbi multa abundant, de multis multa*

Cesar. Com. lib. 5.

Britaine called the seat of Ceres.

Romans laden 800. vessels with corne in Britaine for their armies elsewhere. *Suetonius.*

Panegyricus Constantino.

In Britaine neither excessive cold of winter, nor extreme heat of summer, Britaine abundant with all plenty of breeds for mans use, and delight.

Britaine neither too hot without sunne light.

Panegyricus spoken to Constantine.

BRITAIN full of mines of metals.

Romans.

Isidore Cretzer.

Robert of Ancharie, Britaine chosen for the fortunate Islands.

Adam. lib. 4.

Pope Innocent
made his first
visit to the
King of the
Isles.

Joseph the
King of the
Isles.

BRITAINS
substantiated
at least three
times
great powers.

multa possunt extingui, &c. Certes the Kingdom of
England is the very Paradise of pleasures, a Well which can
never be drawn dry: where many things doe abound,
and whence many things may bee extirped, &c. With
which his conceit he was afterward so farre transpor-
ted with a longing desire, as hee made great manes
and earnest suit to the King of England (as the said
Author writeth, ad. an. 1250.) that hee might come
into England to see that Country which was every
where so much renowned. In a word, BRITAINS
is so rich in commodities, so beautifull in situation,
and so replend in all glory, that if the Omnipotent
(as one hath said) had conspired to fashion the world
round like a ring, as he did like a globe, it might have borne
most worthily the only Gemme therein. Whole Vallies
are like Eden: whole Hilles are as Lebanon: whole
Springs are as Pishah: whole Rivers are as Jordan:
whole Vallies is the Ocean: and whole defense is the
Lord Iehovah.

(12) The body then of this Imperiall Monar-
chie sheweth not only the greatnesse of it selfe in it
selfe, but also extendeth her beautifull branches into
many other Countries and Kingdomes farre iacent
and remote. This greatnesse is made the more sen-
sible, for that the Island in times past sustained at once
no lesse then eleven Kings in their royall estates, all
of them wearing Crowne, and commanding great
powers. Such was the Heptarchie of the Saxons: seven
Kingdomes, seated on the South of Severus his Wall.
Two Kingdomes thence had their sitings in that Nor-
therne part, and their severall Kings of Scots and Pitts
ruling on both sides the Glade, even vnto the Descale-
donian Seas. And two Kingdomes (if not more) di-
vided into North and South, and their Kings of the

ancient Brittaines ruling the West part of this Island
beyond the Glade Offe, or Offe his Dure, commonly
called WALLS.

(13) The Islands likewise belonging to this Em-
pire had Kings of their owne, as that of Man, the Or-
cades, and in Irelande one time five Kings reigning
together. France also is annexed, and so was Cyprus
sometimes with some Prouinces of Syria, subdued by
King Richard the first, surnamed Cœur-de-lion. And at
this present in the new World of America a Colone of
BRITAINS is seated in that part now called VIR-
GINIA; whereby the borders of our Soveraignes
command and most rightfull title may be enlarged,
& the Gospell of Iesui Christ further preached, which
no doubt will in time be embraced, to the saluation
of many, and great honour to the BRITAINES. And
that the borders of this most roall Tent have bene
wide spread in former times, where of Balafricke is
of opinion, who affirmeth that the limits of the British Em-
pire in old time was from the Orades vnto the Pyrenean
Mountaines. And that King Athelstan after his con-
quest of those Northerne parts with that of Denmark
wrote for his title: which further is confirmed by the
Charter of King Edgar for the foundation of the Ca-
thedral Church at Worcester, wherein likewise he so-
lided himselfe. The enlargement whereof we pray to
be accomplished, especially in those parts where God
is not known, according to the saying of the Pro-
phet, that the curtains of our habitations may be fur-
ther spread, with increase on the right hand and on the
left: and that our seed may possess those GENTILES,
and dwell in their Cities: whereby the ninth Na-
tion may be converted vnto CHRIST, as eight
others before this time by English-men have bene.

D. Powell in his
Chron. of Wales,
in Admirity the
Great.

A Colone of
Brittaines
Virginia.

From Bal-
fricke.

The limits of the
British Empire in
times past from
the Orades vnto
the Pyrenean
Mountaines.

15.54.

Eight Nations
converted to
Christ by
Englishmen.



THE NAMES THAT HAVE BEENE ATTRIBVTED VNTO THIS ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER II.



The first Inha-
bitants of this Island
being merely
barbarous, were
troubled them-
selves to tracla-
the Originals
of the first Inha-
bitants of this
Island, but
from heere
Writers

S touching the first Inha-
bitants and originall Names
of this Island, things so farre
cast into the mistie darke-
nesse of obiscure and obli-
uion, that there is no
hope left vs, so lately born,
to discover them; especially
knowing that the first
Inhabitants being merely
barbarous, neuer troubled themselves with care to
transmit their Originals to posterity: neither if they
would, could haue done, being without Letters, which
only doe preferre and transcribe knowledge vnto o-
thers. And say they had letters, yet was it not lawfull
for them to commit their affaires to writing, as Cesar
doth tell us of the Druides, the only wise and learned
men among them, that had the managing both of
Iustice and religious Rites. And had they committed
these things to writing, yet doubtlesse had they
perished in the revolutions of so many ages as are pa-
sed, and so many conceptions or eversions of the
State. Gildas and Nennius, the Brittaines first Historians,
confesse plainly, that they had no understanding of
the ancient affaires of this Island, but from foraine
Writers; and neither that about two hundred and
odd yeeres before the birth of our Saviour Christ. At

which time Polybius a most great Writer, and an at-
tendant vpon Scipio, saith, that the Regions Northward
from Narbona (as this is) were utterly unknown; and
whatsoever was written or reported of them, was but a
dream. And therefore vntill such time as the Ro-
mane Writers reach forth their hands to direct vs,
wee shall wander, as without a guide, and shall seeme
to heape more rubbish vpon former ruines.

(2) Yet let this bee granted, that the Originall
names of Countries and Prouinces were first affixed
from their possessors, whereof Iosephus in the tenth
Chapter of his first Booke of Antiquities is a sufficient
Witness, who in the dispersion of Noahs sonnes and
his nephewes, nameth the Countries according to
their families. So did the children of Dan name Layb
after their father: Iair his Cities that he conquered in
the Land of Gilead: and Iudra from Iudah whose King
was of him. And that this also was the practise of the
Gentiles, Periculus doth their, who saith, that himselfe
knew no Nation in the earth, which would not haue their
names either from their Prince, Captaine, or King: the
example whereof hee interesteth, that Spane was so na-
med from Hispan, Italy from Italus, and the like.

(3) And accordingly from Samothres the sixth
sonne of Iapheth (whom Moses calleth Meseth)
the brother of Gomer, and of Iman, whose seed is said
in the tenth of Genesis to haue replenished the Isles of the
Gentiles,

Polybius.

Romane Writers
the best directors
for the antiquities
of Brittain.

The originall
names of Coun-
tries and Prouin-
ces affixed first
from their pos-
sessors.

16.12.10.4.

Periculus de origi-
ne gentium.
Spane named
from Hispan,
Italy from Italus,
Samothres the
sonne of Iapheth
the first inheritor
of this Island, who
named a Semite
about 14. petrae
about the flood.

The credit of this name has not been granted only from a local and new pamphlet, but bearing the name of *Berlin* the *Chaldean*.

Plato in Timæus. Below supports the *Grecians*, as not having arrived to the years of a gray head.

Lindsey, Pier, Galfridus Ferrarius, Beronensis d.

Albion name of this island is termed by the *Grecians*.

Pomponius Mela apud Al. Gelius. The name *Albion* from *Albion* the *Gauls*.

Strabo lib. 4. Ital. Colonus. Strabo lib. de populo. Diodorus Siculus.

Albion called the *White Land*. With *Poets* called this island *Jouven*.

Virgilius Rapsod in a woman's attire sitting upon rocks. *Fronto de moribus, lib. 1.*

Humfrey Lloyd in Briton. lib.

Marianus Strabo. Job. Pow. *Albion*, from *Albion* the beautiful daughter of *Dioscorus*.

A ridiculous opinion of a progeny of *Giants* in *Albion*.

Gentiles, is brought by some Authors into this Island, the yeere after the general Flood two hundred fiftie and two, where he lived, and gave Lawes to his people, and left to his posteritie the name thereof to be called *Samothra*, after his owne. But fish the credit of this *Samothra* and his *Samothra* ariseth onely from a small and new pamphlet, bearing the name of *Berufus* the *Chaldean*, bolted out vnder a shew of aged *Antiquitie*, and thrust into the world vnder the countenance of the ancient Historian himselfe: I meane not to enforce, seeing my purpose is to expose this most beaustifull Island in her owne befeeming attire, and not deformed by these rotten and patched ragges. And of this forged *Berufus* we have better cause to vpbraid *Iohannes Amos* his Countenancer and Commenter, than the *Egyptian* Priests had to twit *Solan*, in accusing the *Grecians*, that for *Isyrie* had not attained to the yeeres of a gray head. For it exceeds not much one hundred and twenty yeeres since the same booke first appeared in the world; and then vehemently suspected as fabulous by *Lindseyus Pines*, and afterwards considered by the learned *Galfridus Ferrarius* in a severall treatise, and now vniuersally reiected of all skillfull *Antiquaries*.

(4) But the name *ALBION* is better received, being found so termed of the *Grecians* in ancient time, as in the booke *De Mundo*, written to *Alexander*, and supposed to be *Aristotles*, play in his *Natural Historie*, *Ptolomee*, *Strabo*, and others: yet vpon what ground it should be so called there arise many considerations. *Pomponius Mela*, *Nicolas Perattus*, *Regemarus Philofophus*, *Aristotle*, and *Humfrey Lloyd*, deriue it from *Albion* *Marcianus* a Giant, and sonne of *Neptune*, that conquered (as they say) these *Samothras*, and leaved himselfe in this Island the yeere after the Flood three hundred thirty five. And if that be true which *Perattus* and *Edm. Geraldus* haue written, then may this *Albion* giue name to this Island. Notwithstanding, *Strabo*, *Manilius*, and *Prier* *Herodotus*, will haue it to be named *albius rapibus*, of the rocks and white cliffs appearing towards the coasts of *France*: which carrieth the more likelihood through the credit of *Orpheus* a most ancient Poet, who in his *Argonauticks* (if so be they were his) calleth the Island next vnto *Hibernia* or *Hernia*, which questionlesse is this of ours, *uandis*, that is, the *White Land*. And accordingly haue the *Welsh Poets* called it *Iau Wen*. And this is further confirmed from *Cicero*, who termeth these whitish cliffs *uirgineis mules*; as also by the antike *Coines of Antoninus Pius* and *Seuerus* the *Romane* Emperours, wherein *BRITAINES* is stamped in a woman's attire sitting vpon rocks. And the same being chalkie, or of a plaister-like substance, *Strabo* supposeth was the cause of the sweating Jewell, and wherof *Albion* had the name. Vnlesse some will deriue it from *Alphen*, which as *Seffus* saith, doth signifie *white* in *Greece*; or *Albion*, rich or happie, in regard of the fertilitye of the soile, whose some temperature of the aire, and the rich commodities in the same: either from *Albion* for the high situation. But from the *Laone albius rapibus* it could not be deriued, when that language was vnknown to the world. *Marianus* the Monke, *Iohn Row*, *Daniel Penciar*, and *William Caxton*, from others more ancient, doe fetch the name thereof from *Albina* the beautifull daughter of *Dioscorus* King of *Syria*, who with her sisters, thirty in number, for the slaughter of their husbands, were banished their Countrey, and without man, oares, or tackles, were committed to the mercy of the *Sea*, who after many aduentures, lastly arrived vpon this shoure, where they inhabited, and gaue name to this Island, calling it *Albion* after the name of their eldest sister: and accompanying with *Dionysius*, brought forth a progeny of *Giants*, if we will beleue the *Legend* of this most impudent lye, which is worthily reiected by *Badius*, *Valerianus*, *Harding*, *Bale*, *Iohn Row*, and others. But that the name *Albion* was both of great acceptance and long continuance, is apparent by the worthy *Epitheton* of King *Edgar* the *Saxon*, who in his Charter for the foundation of the

Abbie of *Ely*, hath these words: *Ego Edgarus Bafilus dilecti Insula Albionis, subditis nobis scriptis Scotorum, Cantuariam, & omnium circumiacentium Regionum, quieti pacis fructus, &c.* By which hee knitteth the whole Island together, as a Land worthily to be beloved, and calleth it *ALBION*.

(5) The next name ascribed vnto this Island is *BRITAINES*, and that first found and giuen by the *Grecians*, who were the first discoverers of these Western parts of the world: either from their painted bodies, as their neighbours (if not ancestors) the *Gauls* were named of their long *flaxen haire*, or of their rich metals therein gotten, and thence carried in abundance into other Countreies; or from *Brute*, that with his dispersed *Traians* conquered it, as he of *Memoratus* hath translated; or what occasion soeuer, I dispute not: only it feares me I shall giue but small satisfaction to the desirous Reader, of the cause and originall of this name, being comforted with so many vncertainties, wherein the further we follow this intangled thread, the further we lead into the *Labyrinth* of ambiguity. But as *Plutarch*, *Livy*, and other *Latine Writers* haue complained of the many *fictions* and *fables* of *Poets* intermingled with the histories of truth, wherby truth it selfe was often made incredible; so we in rehearsing the diuers names of *Britannia*, and the reasons thereof by sundry Writers alleged, rest free in our relations, either from impeaching the power of *Antiquitie*, or approving those things that are as yet wrapped vp in *Times Obscuris*, leaving the credit to them that haue left the same vnto vs, and the censur of their opinions to the iudgement of the learned, and those of better experience.

(6) The vulgar received opinion, held on with four hundred yeeres continuance, (some few mens exceptions had against the same) is, that this Island tooke the name of *Britannia* from *Brute* the sonne of *Syluius*, of whom more shall bee spoke in the next Chapter for the peopling of this Island, and from whom some (following a suspected *Gildas*) doe write the name *Britaine*: for so doth *Hierome*, who translating *Athenas* that excellent *Syrian* Philosopher, calleth both this and the Islands adiacent, *Insulas Britannicas*. But besides the many objections made both by forraigne and home-bred Writers, that seeme to make the storie of *Brute* doubtfull, *Humfrey Lloyd* a *Cambre-Britaine*, a learned and diligent searcher of *Antiquities*, doth confidently deny the name *Britaine* to be taken from *Brute*; and among many other observations, makes this an infallible argument, that the letter *B* is not the first radical of that name; and affirmeth boldly, that there is not any British word whose first radical letter is *B*. And therefore hee will haue it to be anciently written *PRYDCAIN*, compounded of two British words, *PRYD* and *CAIN*, which signifie (as he saith) *Beauty* and *White*; the *C*, being lost in the latter word, for the more easie pronunciation in the British tongue; and the *P* in the former changed into *B*, by the *Latines*, for the more gentle and pleasant sounds sake: so that himselfe thinketh, that those learned and expert men in the British tongue, which wrote the Islands name with *B*, doe therein rather follow the *Latines*, then iudging that to haue the true name indeed: for prooof whereof hee citeth both ancient Copies and Traditions of their owne old Poets the *Bards*, by whom (saith he) it was usually called *Prydain*, as the fittest denomination for so beautifull a Land. But if either colour or commodities were her *Godfathers* at the first, why was she not rather named *The Palace of Quene Ceres*, as old *Orpheus* termes her; either *Insula florum*, as it hath bene foond written in a very ancient manu-script? And yet to second this his conceited name, I finde recorded by *Bishop Cooper*, a learned Writer, that which makes for that purpose. At *Exeterburgh* (saith he) two miles from *Salisbury*, in the digging downe of a wall, a booke containing twenty leaues of very thicke volume was found, which from the hands of *Master Richard Pace*, chief Secretary to the King, I received; but being sore defaced, could read no one sentence thereof.

The name *Albion* inserted in the Charter of some of our latest Kings.

BRITAINES. The *Grecians* first named this Island by this name **BRITAINES**.

Saying of *Archer*.

How this Island came to haue the name *Britannia* is very uncertaine.

The sailings of *Poets* haue beene mislead in many usefullnesse.

British the name of this Island thought to take its name from *Brute*.

In his Periculis of *Britannia*.

The letter *B* is not radical in the British tongue.

PRYDCAIN

Antiquities usually called *Prydain*.

Britannia due *Insula* *florum*.

Bishop Cooper in his *Dictionarius* *Antiquitatis* written *Prydain*.

King *Edward VI.*

Pyramis so called from the Greek word *Pyramis*.

F. John S. S. S. S.

Reviews of
British Spanish
1944.

Antonio Pálffy
Doménio Magro
Nagy, etc.

Brissola named
of Brissola a
Nymphs.
Tentor Chama,

Type:

Abstracts of theses

Parthenius Ni-
corn-
Le Thomas Elot
Bourne of the
Greek wood
cypress.

Grethens called
the third sym-
ple and the
fourth.
Gerepus Bract
in *Drag. de Ant.*
lib. 6.
Bridanis of
Free-Denmark.

Bringing forward before either Diana or Procrustes were head off in the world.

Piconsin
 Franco case of
 va.
 Cambden Br.
 pag 8.
 Percutinos,
 Brs since called
 of Perchona
 drinker,
 where.
 Here also called
 of an Hebrew
 word.
 76dora.

Cambridge University Press

Anchorage
had names of
their own: a
terwards we

show, yet did I well perceive the word *PRYTANIA*, (not called so, from the adjunct *white and beauteous*) but rather from the *Greek word prytania*, *Prytania*, which as he saith, doth signifie *mettals*. For the *Grecians* flourishing in wicdome, and experience, entered the *Ocean*, and finding this *land full of Brass, Tyne, Lead, Iron, Gold, and Silver* gave name thereunto accordingly and called it *Prytania*. Thus farre be. And some in regard of these rich commodities thence brought, will have it named *Britannia*, as upon like occasion *Pilius Sequeler* affirmeth *Calydonia* sometimes to have beene so called. Others, and those many do hold a more strange opinion, namely, that this *land* was called *Britannia* of *Briella* a *Spartan* word which signifieth *Earth*, for that it was separated from the maine land, and say they it was once used with the continent of *France*.—Of this opinion are *Antonius Vellius*, *Dominicus Morus Niger*, *Serapius Humeratus*, *Pylanius*, *Bodius*, *Tyrone*, and *Periclerus*. But how that name from that separation may be gathered I understand not: for if it be granted, that this *land* also was cut from the continent (as it is thought all others in the world were), by the violent rage of the vniuersall flood, yet it followeth not, that this only should claime that name, and from that occasion, more than any other, or then all of them be diuided and set apart in the maine *Ocean*. Other there are that would haue the name *Britania* to be brought from *Britania* a *Nymph* in *Greece*, daughter to *Mari*, who (as they say) to auoid the lecherous intents of *Miner*, forsooke the conuery, and passing the seas arrived in this *land* and by her the name arose, this hath *Tector*. But I might as well call *Calpurne* for his *Anglia* and *Marianna* for his *Albion*, being all fables concurring alike together, and fictions of the time authority that *Vergili* *Dido* is. *Hefistius* derieth the name *Britania* from *Britannus* the father of *Celtice* on whom *Heraclius* beate *Celtice* the originall of the *Celts* as *Parthenius Nicaeus* a very ancient author writeth. And *Sir Thomas Eliot* a learned Knight draweth the name of this *land* from the *Greek* fountaine alow, but of other signification, viz. *Numus Præstia*, by which terme the *Athenians* signified their publicke revenue, and yet that is infinitely excepted against, seeing that it is a peculiar terme only to the *Athenians*, and that the *Grecians* called this *land* *ymon* not *numus*. *Grospius Becanus* in his Originall of *Antwerp* saith, that the *Danes* saye be here to plant themselves, and so named this *land* *Britania* that is free *Denmarke*. And others deriue it from *Prætoria* a country in *Germany*. But that both these are fictions is manifestly appeareh, for that this *land* was famous by the name of *Britannie* many hundred yeeres before that either *Dania* or *Prætoria* were heard of in the world.

Pompeianus Laetius would have it *Briton*, and that name given it from the *Britanni* in France. Indeed it is probable, that from the *Celtæ*, the old *Gaulæ* or originals coloured: but that the name should come to them hath no colour of truth, seeing that those *Britanni* came from us, and not we from them: and in *Cæsar's* time that coast was called *Armorica*, but this of ours *Britania*. Forasmuch betwixt the name thereof from *Britania* a drink, which as *Athenæus* saith was used among the *Greeks*. And others will have it from the *Brutus* arousing and fragling people in *Italy*: both which are accounted but idle conceits and for no less will we leave them. *White of Egges* *fish* will have the name thereof derived from an *Hebrew* word, and *J-filver* from a word of her own language. Thus then is *Britanny* burthensd with many titles vnder one trust, and these are the ascriptions, causes and exceptions, as far as we are able to gather: all which must give place to that which is to follow out of the painful collections and judicious observances of our illustrious *Antiquaire Master Camden*. Whose words I will abridge, and by his good favour bring to finish this chapter, and further to satisfy the unsatisfied Reader.

(7) This then he holdeth for granted, that *ancient nations in the beginning had names of their own. and that after from these the Greeks and Latines by wrestling them*

to the analogie or proportion of their speech, people & names, upon Regions and countries; so much rather their demonstrations from these people and in dwellers. So seventy was named from the Jews, Britain from the Medes, Ponia of the Persians, Scythia of the Scythians, &c. And why not then by the authority of Martial, Juvenal, Ausonius, Procopius, and in old inscriptions first by the Brittain themselves, BRITTA, BRITO, BRITONES, BRITVVS, from BRIT, or BRITH, from whence say one being of that nation might be termed NATVS BRITTO, as it seems so inferi'd in Saint Mary the Aunne of Rome? the Saxons likewise they called the Britains Brioðr, and Wicthindane the Saxons wrote where nameth the Brittainer Britze, for that the word BRIT is doubtlesse the Primitive, from whence BRITO is descended, and from whence the first glimpse of light leading to the word BRITAIN, seemeth to appeare. And that all nations denieth their names of that, whereas they either excelled others, or were knowne by from others, whether in regard of their first founders bene, as the Ionies of Iapane, the Iherosolites of Irael, the Canaanites of Canaan, or whether in respect of their nature, conditions, and inclinations; as the Iobites after the Hebrew Erymanthe because they were Mavens, the Hencites because they were flaytelles the Nomades for that they were breeders of Cattell, the Almaines for their excellent valour and manhood, the Frankens for being free; the Pannonians, as Dio conceiveth of their coats with clath-beries, the Aethiopsians of their blacke hue, and the Albanes because they were borne with white haire for so faith Solinus, that the colour of their heads gave name unto the people. Seeing then that these our Islanders were known and called by a name common to both them and their neighbours, Cimbrs or Cimmerians, and had no better mark to be differing myself and knownen from the bards, then by their custom of painting their bodies, wherof the most approved authors doe witness, as Caesar, Mela, Pliny, Martial and others; soe affirme that the Brittaines used to colour themselves with wood, called the Latine lignum (and Glais at this day with them dath *gwynn* bled) wherof I then should conceiue (with he) that they were called Britains from thence painted bodies; for what is this painted or coloured, in their ancient country speech is called BRITH. Neither let this Etymologie of Brittain seeme to be either harsh or absurd, forsooth the very words found aith, and the name also as an expressive image representeth the thing which in Etymologies are chiefly required for Brith, and Brit, also passing well accord. And the word of Brith among the Brittaines, importeth that the Britains were wader in wate painted, flamed, dyed, and coloured, as the Latine poets describe them: having their bache pike or richly coloured, as Oppianus termeth them. From which colours and way of painting, the ancient Brittaines; as beehindeth had their names, and as yett in way among the Welsh. And this is certain that a Brittain as he is called in the Brytish tongue BRITHON, and as BRITO came of BRITH, so did BRITANNIA, so was as I sidore fash took the name from a word of their native nation: for what time the ancient Greeces (that first gave name to this Iland) either as voyers or merchants, travelled into other remote and farre distant countries (as Eratosthenes reporteth) learned from the inhabitants themselves, or els of the Gauls which spake the same language that their native was called Brith and Brithon: They then onely the word BRITH, added TANIA, which in the Greeke Languages betokeneth a REGION, and wherof they made a compound name wiche is that is the BRITONS-LAND. And that this is so, the countries also lying in the West part of the world, as Mauretania, Lusitania, and Aquitaine, also sufficiently conuince; for the Greecians bring the first Surveyors of these regions, of Mauritania, from Sertor, who was called Numidia, made Mauritania, of Lulius the sonne of Calpas, Lusitania, and of Aquitania, as two Carnotus is of opinion called the country Aquitaine, as also Tardennia, and Balthania. Prouiders in Spain, maye arise from the Turdi and Bati, these possessors. And that this manner of composition is well vsual in the names of countries, yett see: For came not Ireland by composition of the Irish word Eriu? Did not Angle terre arise together, of an Enneth and Enneth-

Printed by G. Green
and Latimer.

It was foisted
at the tower,
Myriad of the
Miden,
Soyah of the
Scythians,
Horn, Horn,
Horn and
Horn, Horn
Horn of Horn.

But,

whence \bar{E}_m
is denoted \bar{E}_m

Henchmen so called in honour of their first founder Israel thereby so called.
Nomades named after burning of Canaan, Dan.
Aethiopians so called of their black hue.
Dehu Taluans.

Brigades and their neighbors called back by one name: Camber or Cameri. *Camber, Mala, Mala, Mala.*

The Brisbane Council
bought them.
Plans to be dis-
tinguished the
state, and the

Wohl und Weis-
des, sondern

Opuntia,
Cycas, &c. &c.
are used for procuring
them.

Hydus.

Example 11.10

The Garden was the west
Beach added
amen.

Strals.
I am a Med
dical course
by the Garri
to of course

England com-
prising of Angles
and Saxons
Danish com-
pounded at Dan
and March.

S. Hieron. in
Gen.

Phileon.

Greeks inhabi-
ted not only all
the sea coasts of
the whole world.

Athenas.

The century of
the Greeks inhabi-
ting in Britain.
Strabo. Geog.
lib. 4.
V. 6. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Caledonia.
Thule thought
to be one of the
Iles of the Or-
cades in Scot-
land.
Low countries.

Thule much
mentioned in
Greek writers.

Lazarus Bay-
nus. An other
name given
to the
island, which
they
thought
many
words from
the
Greeks, so
may
be.

Athenas.
For in by the
Strabo's ac-
count place
the
time.
In Britain
great
forest
trees.

Phileon Tan-
tominus.

Ca'or.

In Scotland
Tane trees
are
in this.

and became England, Deth not France-land proved from
a French and Saxon word. Cane not Poland from a Po-
lonian word, which with them betokeneth a plant, and was
not Danish compounded of Dan and the Dutch word
March, which signifies a bound or limit. Neither have we
cause to wonder at this Greek addition Tania, seeing
that S. Hieron. in his questions upon Genesis proved out
of most ancient Authors, that the Greeks inhabited along
the sea coasts and Iles of Europe thenceforth as far as to this
our Island. Let us read, saith he, Varro's book of Anti-
quities, and those of Silius Capito, as also the Greek
writer Phileon, with the rest of the great learned men, and
we shall find, that the Greeks well knew, and all the sea coasts
of the whole world, to have been taken up with Greek colo-
nists, who, as I said before from the mountains Amans
and Taurus even to the British Ocean possessed all the parts
along the sea side. And verily that the Greeks arrived in that
our region, viewed and considered well the five and nature
thereof, there will be no doubt our question made: if we ob-
serve what Athenas hath written concerning Phileon
Tantomines who was in Britain in the year one hun-
dred and sixty before Christ's coming: if we call to re-
member the altar with an inscription unto Vlysses in
Greek letters, erected in Caledonia as Scinius saith, and
lastly if we mark what Pytheas before the time of the Ro-
mans here, hath delivered and written as touching the dis-
tance of Thule from Britain. For who had not determi-
ned unto the Greeks, Britain, Thule, the Belgick countries,
and their sea coasts especially, if the Greek ships had not
entered the British and German Ocean, sea, and related the
description thereof unto their Geographers? Had Pytheas,
thence you came to the knowledge of five days sailing beyond
Britain, and yet some of the Greeks had borne it the same?
Who ever told them of Scandia, Burgos and Negroni, out
of which men may sail into Thule? And these names seem
to have been better known unto the most ancient Greeks,
then either to Pliny or to any Roman. (Vergil. Melas-
siphich) that Thule was much mentioned and returned in
Greek writers: Pliny likewise writeth thus; Britain an
Island famous in the monuments and records both of the
Greeks and of us. By this means therefore, so many Greek
words have crept into the British, French, and withal, into
the Belgick or Low-Dutch language. And of Lazarus
Baynus and Budnus do make their want and glory in
this, that their French-men have been of old nations that is,
lawes: and Judsons of the Greeks, granting their reason
upon few French words of that Island, which receive some
marks and tokens of the Greek tongue: if Hadrianus there
is yeth no less, because in the Belgick words there be
certainly Greek Erymologies: then may the Britains make
their boast in whose language many words there be derived
from the Greeks. Thus saith Mr. Camdens judgement for
Britannia.

Which name we find first mentioned by Polybius the
Greek historian, who lived and traveled with Scipio
thorow most parts of Europe about 265. years before
the birth of Christ. And after him Athenas a Greek
author of good account, and before the yeere
of grace 179. mentioneth the name of Britaine,
and that upon this occasion: King Hieron, his father, fra-
ming a ship of such huge size and burden, as was admi-
rable to the world, was much troubled for a tree, whereof he
might make the maine mast: which at last with much ado
was found in Britaine, by the direction of a Swineherd:
and by Philas Tantomines the Mechanick counted
into Scellie, whereby that want was sufficiently suppli-
ed. To this let not the Criticks from Caesar say, that
Britaine brought forth neither Beech nor Firre, as he in
his list book of commentaries affirmeth (if by *fagus* he
meane the Beech; seeing that the same kind doth most
plentifully grow in all parts of this Island, and the
Firre-trees for masts in the North west of Scotland up-
on the banks of the *Loagh arichte* of such great
height and thicknesse, that at the root they beare 28.
handfuls about, and the bodies mounted to 90. foot
of height they beare at that length 20. inches Dime-
tres, as hath been measured by some in communion, &
so certified to his Majesty: and at this present growing
upon the lands of the right worthy Knight Sir Alex-

ander Hayes his Majesty's principal Secretary for Scotland.
But among the Latine Writers Lucrinius was the first
that before Caesar mentioneth Britaine in these verses:
*Nam quid Britanniam celum deferre potamus,
Et quid in Aegypto est, quid mundi claudat Axis:
Ite for the difference in the spheres where Britanes Summe
doth goe
From Egypt's Clome, wherein Charles waine is said to
draw so low.*

(8) Other names hath this Island borne termed
by, and that either by way of note for his situation,
as *Insula Cerasi*, the Island in the Sea, so written in the
first or *paradis* made against *Venerius Bassus*, and by
Clandian confirmed, whose verses (saith hee) the azure
Sea doth wash. And in a very ancient manuscript it
is found written, *Insula florum*, an Island of flowers,
for the abundance of Graine therein growing: as also
for his situation to the Romans, hath bene called
by *Aegyptus*, the *Romane World*, and by her owne Hi-
storian *Gildas*, *Romana*: for being first subdued by
them, the very name of servitude (saith he) stucke fast
to the Isle. And *Properius Aquinas* in expresse words
callith it, the *Romane Island*, and so did the South-sea
fishers when the flames of *Tacitus* and *Florianus* the Em-
perours were by lightning overthrown, who prophesied,
that an Emperour should arise out of their familie,
that should find a *Pro-consul* to the *Romane Island*. Up-
on the like cause of conquest and subjection we read in
Ammian, that what time the Island had assaid a dan-
gerous revolt in the reigne of *Valentinian* the Emper-
or, *Theodosius* as then Governor of Britaine, reducing
them under their wonted obedience, in honor of *Valen-
tinianus*, caused the Island to be called *VALENTI-
TIA*, which name notwithstanding died either with
or, immediately after the death of the said Emperour.

(9) But about the same time, when as by Gods de-
cree the *Romans* fulnesse was come to the wane, and
the greatness of their glory did abate by the down-
fall of that one Empire many Kingdomes beganne to
arise, and to have their Rulers, Lawes, and Limits of
themselves. Among the rest, that *Island Britaine* ther-
lie came to be divided into three several Kingdomes,
and each of them to retain an absolute power in
their owne dominions, and known by their feutall
and proper names. The first was *Scotland* from *Scot-
tis*, and that from *Seythia*, as the best supposeth, whose
Southerne borders was the famous Wall from *Carlisle*
to *Newcastle*, and from thence the enemie tract of all
that Northerne promontorie was called *Scotia*, or
Scotland. The second was *Cambria*, or as called *Wales*,
situated in the West of this Island, inclining those waste
mountaines with a ditch drawn from *Basingwerk* in
Flintshire in the North, to the mouth of *Iffe* neere
Brittoll in the South, so separated by great offe the
Mertic King. And the third was *Angle-land*, the East,
the most fruitful, and best of the Island, lying coasted
with the French and German Seas, so named when the
vinted *Heptarch* of the Saxons was ruled by King *Egbert*,
who by his edict dated at *Winchester*, Anno 819.
commanded the same to be called *Angle-land*, accord-
ing to the name of the place from whence his ances-
tors the *Angle-Saxons* came, which was out of the
continent part of *Denmarke*, lying betwixt *Island*
and *Hollands*, where to this day the place retaineth the
name *Englun*. And therefore *Calpurne* is to be rectified,
that would have the name from *Lucene Angula*, and
Gorgopus, of good *Anglers*: either from Pope *Gregorie*
his attribute of *Angell-like* faces; or from others that
would faineit from *Angula* the Giant-like brother to
Danau; or force it from *Angulus Orbis*.

(10) Neither indeed was it called *England* before
the daies of *Canutus* the Dane; but with *Angle-land*,
retained still the names both of *Alban* and *Britaine*,
as in a *Saxon* Charter made by King *Edgar* the tenth
in succession from *Egbert*, and no less then one hun-
dred forty and nine yeeres after this Edict is seene,
where in the beginning he stitheth himselfe thus: *Ego*
Edgar totius Albionis Reginis, &c. And in the end of the
same charter thus: *Edgar Rex totius Britannia*. *Domoc-
RUM*.

Lucrinius.

Britains called
Japies Ceruli.

Britains the Ro-
mane world.
Properius
Aquinas. A prophesy of
the Romans
about yeeres
concerning Be-
taine. This Island be-
tweene the
Roman East.

Ammonius Mar-
cellus lib. 10. c. 2.

This Island na-
med Valonia.

Many mountains
were by the Ro-
mans downed.

This Island Brit-
taine divided in
to three king-
domes.
The first
Scotland, whose
southerne bound-
ary is from
Carlisle to New-
castle.

The second.
Cambria or
Wales, whose
perimeter is from
Basingwerk to
Wyce.

The third.
Angle-land con-
sisting with the
French and Ger-
man Seas.

This Island na-
med Angle-land
of a place in
Denmarke cal-
led Englon.

Gregorius 8.

This Island was
called Englund
before the daies
of Canutus the
Dane.

This Island vici-
tally called both
Angle-land, Al-
ban, and Britania,
before Canutus
daies.

new *Cune sigillo S. Crucis confirmari*. And yet upon his *Cune* wrote himselfe *Rex Angliæ*, whereby we see the reliſh of the former names not utterly extinct, though a new was impoſed by the *Saxons*.

(11) This laſt name this *Iſland* ſtill retained, though two ſeverall Conqueſts of two ſeverall Nations were made of the ſame. Neither did *William* the Conquerour attempt to alter it, it ſtanding beſide ſo *Angelike* in his cares, accounting himſelfe moſt happy to be King of ſo worthy a Kingdome: the glorie whereof is further enlarged by the ranking of Chriſtian nations, affirmed in their generall Councils, wherein *England* is accounted the fifth, and hath place of preſidencie before kingdomes of larger territories.

This name of *England* continued for the ſpace of ſeven hundred eighty and three yeeres, vnto the coming in of our Soueraigne Lord King *IAMES*, in anno 1602. who by the hand of *GOD* hath vnted all theſe *Diademes* into one Imperiall Crowne, and reduced the many Kingdomes in one *Iſland*, vnder the government of one *Monarch*: and after the manifold conqueſts, irruptions, and diſſentions, hath ſettled an eternall amitie & extinguishing all differences of names, hath given the whole Iſland the ancient name of GREAT BRITAIN, by his *Edict* dated at *Wefſinghamſter*, quarring the royal *Armes* of his ſeverall Kingdomes in one toyall *Scutcheon*, and for his *mon*, as is moſt meet,

BEATI PACIFICI



THE ANCIENT NATIONS INHABITING THIS ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN BEFORE THE CONQUEST THERE-OF BY THE ROMANES.

CHAPTER III



T is not to be doubted, but that this *Iſland* with the *Fruiſerfall* was repleniſhed with people, immediately after that men began to be multiplied vpon the earth, even in the daies of the former *Patrimony*, and long before the Flood of *Noah*, as ſundry ancient

Writers have related. And ſurely if we conſider in thoſe firſt ages of the world the long life of man (the only means to multiplication) and the worlds continuance for one thouſand fix hundred fifty and fix yeeres before it was deſtroyed, we ſhall eaſily yeeld, that every Countrey and corner of the earth was plentifully peopled and inhabited. And ſo much doe the *Sacred Scriptures* intimate vnto vs, where, by the Prophet *Iſay* it is ſaid, *Thus ſaith the Lord, that created heaven: God himſelfe, that framed the earth, and made it: he hath prepared it; he created it not in vaine; he formed it to be inhabited.*

(2) But when the wrath of *GOD* was executed vpon the world for ſinne, and all over-whelmed with a Flood of waters, the whole earth thereby became altogether vnpeopled, *paſſim perſus* only with the breed-retraced creatures ſaved in the floating *Arche*: Whole Port or Hauens was the mountaine of *Ararat* in *Armenia*: whence, with the bleſſing of procreation, mankind againe began to be multiplied vpon the earth; and from the confuſion of *Babels* building, to be ſcattered by *Tribes* and *Countries*, according to the diſeritie of Languages, into diuers parts and Countreies of the world, giuing names to the places where they ſtated, according to the names of their Princes, or chiefe Commanders. Amongſt whom the ſonnes of *Iapheth* the eldeſt ſonne of *Noah* (whom *Moſes* declarcth to haue peopled the *Iſles* of the *Gentiles*) betooke themſelves into *Europe*, theſe were the parts of the world: as *Sem* did into *Aſia*, and *Cham* into *Africa*: whoſe poſterities accordingly diſperſed *Iſſephus* in his firſt *Book* of *Antiquities* hath both branched into their ſeverall diuiſions, and reduced them to their firſt roots and originals.

(1) Now that the *Iſles* of the *Gentiles* mentioned by *Moſes*, were theſe *Europe*, all learned men con-

ſeſſe: and therefore thoſe eſpecially of *Britannie* and *Scythia*, as *Wulfangus Muſculus* is of opinion. And that *Europe* ſell to *perſus* portion, *Iſſephus* and *Iſidore* doe agree: who affirme his off-ſpring to haue inhabited from the *Mount Taurus* all *Europe* Northward, ſo farre as the *Friſiſh Seas*, leaſing names both to places and people. And *Gildas*, as *Netherſenſis* witneſſeth, and *Polydore Vergil* granteth, will haue this *Iſland* inhabited even from the Flood. But of theſe ancient things, ſaith *ſchylus* *Myſter*, no man can write certainly, it depending only vpon coniectures, and the ſame by heare-ſay, and flying reports of priuate men, as *Oregon* ſpeaketh.

(4) *Gomer* then, the eldeſt ſonne of *Iapheth*, gaue name to the *Gomerians*, who ſiled almoſt this part of the world, leading (as *Pellidius* ſaith) in the tenth yeere of *Nimrod*, a *Colony* out of *Armenia* into *Italy*, which of *Gomer* were called *Cambri*, and afterwards *Cimbri*: whence ſuch as conſidered *Italy* went into the *North* parts and gaue name to *Cimbria* *Cherſoneſus*: from whence it is certaine we the *Engliſh* procede, and of whom alſo it is likely the *Britanni* came. For ſo iudgeth a learned *Britann* himſelfe, who ſaith his conſentment the *Engliſh* which are valiant, as yet know no other name for their land and people, but only *Cambri*.

(5) And that of theſe *Gomerians* were alſo the *Gauls*, learned *Ciceroneſus* that brighteſt lampe to all Antiquities, out of *Iſſephus* and *Zenarus* infinitely hath obſerued; who that they were alſo called *Cimbri*, he propoeth out of *Cicero*, & *Appian Alexandrinus*; that thoſe *Barbarians* whom *Marius* defeated, *Cicero* plainly termeth *Gauls*, where he ſaith *C. Marius* repelled the armies of the *Gauls* entering in great numbers into *Italy*: which, as all *Hiftorians* witneſſe, were the *Cimbrii*, And the *Habermans* of their king *Belodiggedus* was *Aqua Sextia*, where *Marius* put them to flight, doth ſhew the ſame: whereon was engrauen in ſtrange characters *BELTROSCHIMBROS*; as alſo the testimony of *Lucan* doth no leſſe, who calleth the *Ruffine* hired to kill *Marius*, a *Cimbrian*, whom *Livy* and *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius* affirme to be a *Gaul*. They alſo who vnder the conduct of *Brennus* ſpoiled *Delybe* in *Greece*, were *Gauls*, as all writers with one voice agree, and yet that theſe were named *Cimbri*, *Appian* in his *Iſthyria* doth

Hath continued two hundred and three yeeres, vnto the coming in of our Soueraigne Lord King *IAMES*, in anno 1602. who by the hand of *GOD* hath vnted all theſe *Diademes* into one Imperiall Crowne, and reduced the many Kingdomes in one *Iſland*, vnder the government of one *Monarch*: and after the manifold conqueſts, irruptions, and diſſentions, hath ſettled an eternall amitie & extinguishing all differences of names, hath given the whole Iſland the ancient name of GREAT BRITAIN, by his *Edict* dated at *Wefſinghamſter*, quarring the royal *Armes* of his ſeverall Kingdomes in one toyall *Scutcheon*, and for his *mon*, as is moſt meet,

New reduced to the name of Great Britain.

Wulfang. Muſcul.
rad.
Oryſſopampa.
Wulfang.
Larum.
Theophyl. Epiſt.
deuſch. ad An.
ſchylus.
Myſter.
Sonnes of the
firſt times muſt
be conſidered.

Gomer the eldeſt
ſonne of Iapheth

Filiſtine.
A Colony of Ga-
ulians called
Cimbri or Cimbri,
came into Italy,
Engliſh were
of Cimbria
Cherſoneſus,
which
came from Italy.
John. Lema. ad
ſenſuſ. lib. 1. cap.

Gauls of the Go-
merians.

Appian. Alexand.
lib. 1. cap.

Gauls by all Hi-
ſtorians were the
Cimbrii.

Marius Mar-
cellus.
Marius killed by
a Cimbrian.

Delybe ſpoiled by
Brennus.

Britann repleni-
ſhed with people
before Noahs
flood.

1645. 18.

Noahs Flood.

The haues of
Noahs Arche,
Mount Ararat.

Abels Tower the
cradle of ſundry
Languages, and
diſperſion of
people.

Iapheths progeny
peopled Europe.
Geneſis 10.

Sem planted in
Aſia.
Cham off ſpring
ſetled in Africa.
Iſſephus lib. 1.

Europe the Iſle
of Gentiles.

2587 and after the universal flood 1231. in the eighteenth yeere of *Itlo* his *Prebend* in the land of *Israel*, and before the incarnation of *Christ* our *Saviour* one thousand fiftie nine. This *Brute* is brought from the ancient *Travay* by descent, yea and from the persons of the heathen deified Gods: as that he was the sonne of *Sylanus*, who was the sonne of *Africanus*, the sonne of *Aeneas*, the sonne of *Achilles* by *Venus* the Goddess, and daughter to *Apollon* their greatest account. And if *Pliny* and *Varro* hold it praiseworthy to challenge descents (though fallily) from famous personages, whereby, as they lay appeareth an inclination to vertue, and a valorous conceit to perfwade unto honor, as spring from a race divine and powerful: then by all meanes let vs listen to him of *Mammouth*, who hath brought his Nation to ranke in degree with the rest of the *Gentiles*, which claime themselves to be the *Generation of the Gods*.

(12.) But why do I ascribe the worke to him, as the Author, lieth he professeth himselfe to be but the translator of that history out of the *British* tongue, which *Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford* brought out of *Normandie*, and deliuered vnto him? For the further confirmation thereof, and more credit to his story, *Henry of Huntingdon*, who lived in the time of king *Stephen*, and wrote likewise the history of this land, bringeth the line of *Brute* from *Aeneas* the *Troiane*, and his marriage and conquest to happen in the time of *Itlo* his *Prebend* in the land of *Israel*: as *Geoffrey of Arthur* hath also done: not taking (as some thinke) any thing thereof from him, but rather out of an ancient booke intituled *De Origine Reppum Britanniarum*, found by himselfe in the library of the Abbey of *Bee*, as he traueiled towards *Rome*: which history began at the arrivall of *Brute* and ended with the acts of *Cadwalader*, by a treatise of his owne inditing, bearing the same title, hath been compared, and found in all things agreeing with our vulgar history, as industrious *Lambert* affirmeth himselfe to have seen. And *Nennius* is said by the writer of the reformed history, to bring these *Britaines* from the race of the *Troians*, foure hundred yeeres before that *Geoffrey* wrote: yea and long before *Ninnius* also, *Taliesin* a *British* Poet in an Ode called *Hanes*, of *Taliesin* has coured of life, in these words, *Mia deylhyn yna at Weddion Treia*, that is, I came hither to the Remnants of *Troy*.

(13.) That *William of Malmesbury* (who wrote in the daies of King *Henry* the first) was before him of *Mammouth*: is most certaine; yet doth he make mention of *Arthur* a Prince (saith he) deserving rather to be aduanced by the truth of records, than abused by false imputation of fables; by the only prop and upholder of his country. And *Beda* his ancient also, nameth *Ambrosius Aurelianus* to be King of the *Britaines*, long before that *Geoffrey* was borne: So was *Brennus* mentioned by *Lucy*, *Bellinus*, (Of the be Brilgus) by *Isidore*, *Cassiodorus* by *Cassius*, *Conuincion* by *Suetonius*; *Armorius* by *Martial*; *Lacius* by *Eutropius*; *Cael*, *Comlanctus*, *Carasius*, and others by *Eutropius* and *Petrid* *Dionysius*; and *Idena* by *Nicompert*, *Amberg*, and *Sacrales*. These are the affirmatiues that give countenance to the Archdeacon of *Mammouth* translation, and credit to *Brutes* conquests and successours, yea and *Iohn Harding* his *Herald*, in his home-spun poetry, can easily emblaze his armes to be Gales, charged with two lions rampant endorsed Ore; and the same to be borne by the Kings of *Troy*. And his banner displayed at his entrance is said to be *Peri* a *Diana* of gold litchel, crowned, and unthroned, the same that *Aeneas* bare, when he entered the land of the *Latines*. But the censures of these relations I leave to the best liking of iudicious Readers, only wishing them to be vnlike the inhabitants vnder the rocks of the *Carazats* of *Nilus*, whereof *Cicero* and *Antoninus* make mention, who were made deaf by the continuall noise of the fall of *Nilus*: left by the found and loud voices of these writers, the exceptions of others can not be heard, which from the fullness of their penes I will likewise declare, without offence, I hope, vnto any.

(14.) First (with a reuerend reueration had to the sacred histories) *Varro* the most learned Latine writer, dividing times motions into three severall parts, that is, from the creation to the flood, which he termeth altogether *universe time*: from the flood to the first *Olympiad*; by *Therastolus* computation set in the yeere of the world 314, and thirty one of the raigne of *Iust*, king of *Isidus*: seven hundred seventy and foure yeeres before the birth of our *Saviour* he calleth *fabulous*: and the last age from the first *Olympiad* to himselfe he nameth *historical*. Now the story of *Brute* beginning two hundred sixty seven yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, falleth in the time wherein nothing els is related, either of the *Greeks* or *Latines*, the only learned writers, but fables and tales, as both himselfe and others haue told vs, much more then, among the barbarous, vnlettered, and vnscitill nations, as all these parts of the world then were.

(15.) Whereupon *Gildas* our ancientest home-borne writer, (cited and in whole sentences followed by venerable *Beda*, who termeth him the *Britaines* *historiographer*) in this of *Brute* is silent, and in his lamentable passions neuer dreames of him, but as one overwhelmed with griefe bewaileth the wickednesse of the time wherein he lived, who was borne, as himselfe saith, in the forty fourth yeere after the *Saxons* first entrance, about the yeere of *Christ* incarnation 493, and died, as *Kale* citeth out of *Polydore*, the yeere of our redemption 780. *Ninnius* also another ancient writer, who lived about eight hundred yeeres since, taking in hand the *Chronicles of the Britaines*, complaineth that their great Matters and doctores could giue him no assistance, being ignorant of skill, and had left no memoriall of things passed, nor committed their acts vnto writing, whereby hee was enforced to gather what he had gotten from the *axons* and *Chronicles* of the holy fathers. *Beda* likewise, whose history ended in anno 733, beginneth no sooner then with *Iulus Caesar* entrance, notwithstanding he had the assistance of the *Abbat Aldwin*, who was brought vp vnder *Theodore* Archbilhop of *Canterbury*, and had begun the history of this land with most diligent search from the records of the kingdomes of *Kent* and the prouinces adjoining; as also being further assisted by *Daniel Bilhop of the West-Saxons*, who first him all the records that were to be found of the same Bilhoprick, *South-Saxons*, and the *Isle of Wight*. The like helpe had he from *Abbat Eborac*, for the country of *East-Angles*; from *Cymbertes* and the brethren of *Leasing* for the prouince of *Mertie*, and *East-Saxons*. And from the brethren of *Lundisfarnum*, for the country of *Northumberland*; besides his owne paines in collections, knowledg and experience: all which he did digest and historically compile, and before the publication thereof sent it to king *Cenwalde* at that time reigning in *Northumberland*, to be approved or corrected by his most learned skill: yet in none of these found he that history of *Brute* nor his successours, which as some would haue it, was then vnknown to the world.

(16.) After him *Eborac*, as *William of Malmesbury* calleth him, or rather (as he writeth himselfe) *Patrias Confessors* *Gregorius Ethelwardus*, a diligent searcher of antiquities, a reuerend person, and of the blood roiall, wrote foure bookes, briefly comprising the whole history of England, from the beginning of the world vnto the time of king *Edgar* wherein he lived, of *Brute* nor his *Britaines* speaketh a word; but palleth with silence to the *Romans* and *Saxons*. What need I to cite *Ingulphus*, who died anno 1109. *Florentius of Worcester*, that flourished in the daies of King *Henry* the first, or *William of Malmesbury*, that wrote vnto the end of his raigne; all of them writers before *Geoffrey* of *Mammouth*, but none of them mentioning this story of *Brute*. This moued *William of Newburgh*, borne (as himselfe saith) in the beginning of King *Stephens* raige, & living at one and the same time with this *Archdeacon of Mammouth*, too too bitterly to inquire against him and his history, euen so soone as the same came forth: as in the proeme of his booke is to

Varro.

Times motions
divided into
three parts,
fabulous.

The third only
historical.

The Story of
Brute fabulous.

Gildas.

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 5.
Gildas maketh
no mention of
Brute.

Beda out of
Polydore.
Nennius also, saith
nothing of him.

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 5.
Beda beginneth
him at Iulus
Caesar.
Beda had the
help of the
Abbat Aldwin.

Of Daniel Bil-
shop of Wil-
chester.

Of Cymbertes
and brethren of
Leasing.

Of the brethren
of Lundisfarnum.

The history of
Brute not to be
found in Beda
his time.

Eborac speaketh
nothing of
Brute.
Ingulphus.
Florentius of
Worcester.

William of
Malmesbury.
All these writers
before Geoffry
and yet none
mention Brute
his life.

Beda de descend
from Iulius.

Pliny.
Varro.

A false descent
may not be
challenged.
Geoffrey of
Mammouth died
in Anno 1155.
Anno 1273 B.

Mammouth his
excess.

Henry of Hunting-
don died in
Anno 1189.

Henry Hunting-
don also re-
cordeth Brutes line
and arrivall in
Britaine.
Geoffrey says
Arthur.
A booke hereof
found.

W. Lamb. Por-
tuck.
Nennius and Ta-
lesin bring the
Britaines from
Rome.

Died in Anno
1148.

Mammouth
Giles versus de-
glamur lib. 1.

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 5.

Lucy.
Bellinus.
Cassiodorus.
Cassius.
Conuincion.
Armorius.
Martial.
Eutropius.
Petrid.
Dionysius.
Nicompert.
Amberg.
Sacriles.

Harding Chro-
n. lib. 1.

John. Malm.
Nichols. P. 100.

Excess.

Cicero de Sen.
lib. 1.
Antoninus Mar-
tini lib. 1. cap. 6.
Hicetius no-
de uirginit. m. 1.
judgements.

William of Newburgh's Chronicle mentioning again, & idly repeating.

Merlin's words.

A desire to put by us William of Newburgh's words.

Dubois's Zenob. cap. 7. He fortified in Anno 1116. Carleton Cambridge calls the fabulous story of Merlin.

The discovery of him in respect to the John we are told. A name had no name per name was Sylva.

A ridiculous thing to vice gemity.

Whereas the true nobility.

Seven Epist.

Merlin's words inhibited.

An Ad inhibiting the prediction.

Merlin's words inhibited.

be seen. And that the words are his and not our own, take them from him as they lie. In these our days (saith he) there is a certain writer risen up, devising fictions and tales of the Britains out of the vague humors of his own brain, extolling them far above the valorous Macedonians, or worthy Romans; his name is Geoffrey, and may well assume the surname Arthur, whose tales he hath taken out of the old fables of the Britains, and by his own invention augmented with many contrivances, fusing them over with new colour of the Latine tongue, and hath mingled them into the body of an history. Admiring further to dwell under the name of antient prophetic, deceitful conceits and foretellings of one Merlin (a wizard), whereunto also he addeth a great deal of his own. And againe: In his booke which he hath intitled the Brittaines History, how shamefully, and with a bold countenance he doth lie, there is no man that readeth therein can doubt, unless he hath no knowledge at all in ancient true histories; for having not learned the truth of things; indeed, he admisteth without discretion and judgement, the same and contraries of fabul. J. faber et faber (saith he) what great matters this fellow hath forged of the Brittaines ailes before the Empire and coming in of Cæsar. Thus farre Parvus.

But I know the answer to this so great an accusation: namely, that this William making his vato David ap Owen Gwyneth, Prince of North-wales, for the Bishoprick of Saint Asaph, after the death of Geoffrey, and thereof failing, falsely scandalized and impudently belied that most reverend man. Which surely had not been a great fault, and might of vs be beleaved, had not others of the same rank and time, verified alinnch.

(17) For Syllaber Gerdal, commonly called Cambricus, that flourished in the same time with the said author, made no doubt to terme it *The fabulous story of Geoffrey*. The like is verified by John Wearhead Abb. bot of Saint Albans, a most indolent man that wrote in anno 1440, who in his *Gromatic* giurth sentence of this history as followeth. *The whole defense of Brutus* (saith he) is rather poetical, then historical, and for duers reasons is built more upon opinion then truth. First because there is no mention thereof made in the Roman story, either of his killing his father, or of the said birth, or yet of his coming to the throne. Secondly, for that Alcanine begat no such sonne as he had for his proper name Syllaber by any apparent Author: for according to them, he begat only one sonne, and his name was Julius, from whom the family of the Iulii took their beginning. And thirdly, Syllaber Posthumus, whom perhaps Geoffrey meaneth: was the sonne of Aeneas by his wife Lavinia, and he begetting his sonne Aeneas in the thirty eighth year of his reign, ended his life by cause of natural death. The kingdom therefore now called England, was not heretofore, as many will have, named Britaine of Brutus the sonne of Syllaber. Wherefore it is a vaine opinion and ridiculous to challenge noble blood, and yet to want a probable ground of the challenge: for it is manhood only that ennobles a nation; and it is the mind alwaym perfect understanding, and nothing else, that gaineth gentility to a man. And therefore Seneca writeth in his Epistles to Plato; that there is no King but he came from vessels, and no vessel but he came from Kings. Wherefore to conclude, let this suffice (saith he) that the Brittaines from the beginning of their nobility have been courageous and valiant in fight, that they have subdued their enemies on every side, and that they utterly refuse the yoke of servitude.

(18) Now that William of Newburgh, had sufficient cause (say some) to exclaim against the fancies of Merlin, and the fictions of Arthur, is made manifest in the sequel, not only by the decree of that obdurate Council of Trent, wherein was inhibited the publication of *Merlin's* books; but also (in effect) by the statute enacted the fifth yeere of our last decaided Queen Elizabeth of blessed and immortal memorie, wherein is forbidden such fantastical predictions, upon occasions of Armes, Fields, Battles, Badges, Cognizances, or Signets, such as Merlin flood most upon; and likewise William of Malmbury flood most upon; being the only prope that upheld his country, de-

ferred rather to be advanced by truth, then abused with fables wherewith that story is most plentifully stored. And also that *Wearhead* had reason to account *Brutus* acts and conquests, to be rather poetical then any waies warranted by the records of truth, appeareth by the silence of the Roman writers therein, who name neither *Brutus* nor his father in the genealogie of the Latine Kings: and if any such were, (saith the contradictees) how could they be ignorant of the vintime death of their king, Paine by the hand of his namall (though in this act vinturally) sonne? or what should move them being so laith in their own commendations, to be thus silent in their *Brutus* worthinesse, that with ten thousand dispersed *Troians* warred in victoriously in Gallia, conquered a kingdom of Giants; subdued a most famous land, reigned gloriously, and left the fame to his posterity; none of them, either in prose or poetry once handled, but left to delinay to be preferred by a long enising means, or to perish in oblivion for ever? And surely this moved the whole lenate of great Clerks to give sentence, that neuer any such *Brutus* reigned in the world; such as were Boccaccio's, Hadrion Janus, Polydore, Buchanan, Guesard, Malblanc, Palsgrave, and others.

(19) Yea, and there are some Critics that faine would take advantage from the defenders of *Brutus* history themselves, as from Sir John Fry, that produceth many vaine examples of the original of other nations; which granted, (say they) doth no waies confirm the truth or certainty of our owne; neither is it any honour to derive these *Brittaines* from the fume of such conquered people as the *Troians* were. *Hamfray Lloyd* likewise denying absolutely the derivation of the *Brittaines* name from *Brutus*, and bringing it from two compounded words, (as we have said) doth thereby weaken the credit of his conquest of this land to their understanding, as also the catalogue of his successors, which are said to reign successively for many hundred of yeeres after him. And another indolent *Briggs* writer, having the helpe of two most ancient *Briggs* copies, the collections of *Cadwallader* of Carnarvan, their owne *Bartholomew* third-yeeres visitation, and twenty seven authors of good account, (all of them cited in the preface of his *Chronicle*) besides his helpe had in the offices of records for this realm, yet ascending no higher then to the person of *Cadwallader*, Prince of Wales, whose reign was in the yeere of *Clovis* incarnation 682, and no lesse then one thousand seven hundred twenty and five yeeres, after that *Brutus* is said to come into this land, doth not warrant (say they) the story that is included betwixt, but rather even the same is encreased with many doubtfull vncertainties, and so left disputable by the said compiler himselfe; as namely whether that this *Cadwallader* whom the *Brittaines* claime to be their king, be not the same *Cledwallader* whom the *Saxons* would have theirs; both living at one time, both in all alike, and names neere, both abandoning their kingdomes, both taking the habit of religion, both dying in Rome, both buried in one Church, say, say they, in one Sepulchre. The like he bringeth of the *Brittaines* law, and the *Saxons* law, in the like coherences of names, acts, denotions, and deaths: so that this history of *Brutus* carrieth not so smooth a current for passage as is wilbed, nor is that *Gardanus* not so easily valioled.

Again, the Reformer of the *British* history himselfe, although he hath written one whole chapter in defence of *Geoffrey* *Malmbury*, and straint to make his booke authentical, complaining often and accusing learned and vapariall *Camden* severall times, for blowing a way fixity of the *Brittaines* Kings with one blast: yet when he compareth the generations with the time, is forced thus to write: From Porrex to Mynogen are reverts one Kings in a lineall descent, and but yeeres many two: now divide 92. by 21. and you shall find, that children beget children, and these (saith he) by George Owen *Harry* in his booke of pedegrees dedicated to his Majesty appeareth to be one lineall descent, besides three or four

Brutus was mentioned in the genealogie of the Latine Kings.

Never any such king in the world as Brutus. Seneca, Palsgrave, Buchanan, Janus, &c. He is a Cretian argument.

No honor to the Britains in the descent from the Troians.

The Brittaines themselves make no mention themselves.

D. Francis Bacon in his history of Wales but at Cadwallader.

Cadwallader's story also doubtful.

See Chap.

Rob. Palsgrave.

John Lewis.

After Camden accused by the dissent of Telford of Malmbury.

A further dissent of Brutus history.

As he should have said, *And yet goeth further: Though the Scripture (saith hee) alleges Iudah, Hezron, Salomon, and Ezechiah, to be but young when they began their summes, which (as Rabbi Isaac) might be at thirteenth yeeres of age: And although Saint Augustine say, that the strength of youth may beget children young; and Hierome bringeth instance of a boy that at ten yeeres of age beget a child: yet this doth not helpe to excuse the multiplying of yeeres for the British Kings above mentioned.*

The Ambassadors were surprised at British histories.

As most conceits in the composition of this book.

1 Sam. 4. 18.

He is his priest hood in arms made 1557.

Baruch 6. 2. Joseph comes again, lib. 1.

Herodotus in Euterpe.

Judge, 8. 18. Clemens Alexand. Stromata. 1.

Menelaus returned from Troy when Menelaus gave his daughter in marriage to Salomon.

1. King. 11. 3. Brute the conqueror ruled in Albion betwixt 1557. years.

Phoenician records. Carthage built after King Hiram reigned 1557. years.

Virg. Aeneid lib. 1.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 6. cap. 2.

And yet goeth further: Though the Scripture (saith hee) alleges Iudah, Hezron, Salomon, and Ezechiah, to be but young when they began their summes, which (as Rabbi Isaac) might be at thirteenth yeeres of age: And although Saint Augustine say, that the strength of youth may beget children young; and Hierome bringeth instance of a boy that at ten yeeres of age beget a child: yet this doth not helpe to excuse the multiplying of yeeres for the British Kings above mentioned.

Thus far John Lewis: and for the exceptions made against Brute: wherein I have altogether vied the words of others; and will now (without offense, I hope) adde a supposal of mine owne, seeing I am fallen into the computation of times, which is the only touch-stone to the truth of histories, especially such as are limited by the bounds of the sacred Scriptures, as this for Brutes entrance is. And that the same cannot be so ancient (supposing it were never so certain) as the vulgar opinion hitherto hath held, the circumstance of time, to my seeming, sufficiently doth prove.

(20) For Brutes conquest and entrance are brought by his Author to fall in the eighteenth yeere of Heli his Priesthood in the Land of Israel, and so is fitted into a computation that cannot erre. Now the eighteenth yeere of Heli's government, by the holy Scriptures most sure account, is set in the yeere of the worlds creation 2887. after the universall flood 1231. and before the birth of our blessed Saviour 1079. yeeres. Brute then living in this forlaid time, was foure decades vanto the conquered Trojans, (as he of Menelaus hath laid downe) which were Aeneas, Ascanius, Syllus, and himselfe: so that by these generations successe in order, the very yeere almost of Troys destruction may certainly be pointed out and known: which in searching hath bene found so doubtful, that by some it hath bene thought to be a mere fable. Yet with more recurrence to antiquitie observed, let vs cast and compare the continuance of these foure generations vanto Brutes Conquest, not shortning them with Baruch, to be but ten yeeres to an age; neither lengthning them with Josephus, who accounteth one hundred and seauenty yeeres for a generation: but with more indifference let vs with Herodotus, who wrote nearer their times, allow thirty yeeres for a succession, as hee accounteth in his second booke. Now foure times thirty make one hundred and twenty, the number of yeeres that these foure Princes successively did live: by which computation likewise measured by Scripture, the ruination of Troy fell in the thirteenth yeere of Gedeons government in Israel, and was the yeere after the worlds creation 2768. But the authoritie of Clemens Alexandrinus, alleged out of Menander, Perjanemus, and Letus, doth breith that time of Troys destruction, and placeth it fully two hundred and thirty yeeres after, even in the reignes of King Salomon: for in his first booke Stromata thus he writeth: Menelaus from the overthrow of Troy came into Phoenicia, at that time when Hiram King of Tyre gave his daughter in marriage vnto Salomon King of Iudah. Where, by him we see, that Troys ruines and Salomons reignes fall both vpon one time. And so Brute hath lost of his antiquity, by this account, 230. yeeres, and entred not in Heli's Priesthood, but rather in the viurpation of Iudahs Kingdome, by Athalia, and in the yeere of the world 3118.

(21) To whom let vs ioinse Josephus, an Author of great credit, and without suspicion in this case, who in his Nations defense against Apion, in both his bookes, confidently affirmeth himselfe able to proue by the Phoenician Records of warranable credit, that the City Carthage was built by Dido, sister to Pigmaliou, one hundred fifty and five yeeres after the reignes of King Hiram, which was Salomons friend, and one hundred forty three yeeres and eight monthes after the building of his most beaustifull Temple. Now we know by Virgil, from whom all these glorious tales of Troy are told, that Carthage was in building by the same Dido (such time as Aeneas came from Troys overthrow, through the Seas of his manifold aduencures. If this testi-

monie of Josephus be true, then fals Troys destruction about the twentieth yeere of Iuss reignes ouer Iudah, which was the yeere of the worlds creation 3143: wherunto if we adde one hundred and twenty yeeres for the foure decades before specified, then will Brutes conquest of this land fall with the twelfth of Iothams reignes in the Kingdome of Iudah, which meets with the yeere of the worlds continuance 3263. And so hath he againe lost of his antiquity no lesse then 375. yeeres.

(22) And yet to make a deeper breach into Brutes storie, and to set the time, in a point so vncertaine, as from which neither circle nor line can be true drawn; Menonthe the Historian Priest of Egypt, in his second booke cited by Josephus, affirmeth that the Israelites departure from Egypt was almost a thousand yeeres before the warres of Troy. If this be so (as it seemeth Josephus alloweth it so) and one hundred and twenty yeeres more added, for the foure decades above mentioned, the number will fall about the yeere of the worlds creation 3630. long after the death of Alexander the Great, and Greeces Monarch. By which account the great supposed antiquity of Brute, is now lessened by leuen hundred fifty and two yeeres, and the time so scameled betwixt his and Cesars entrance, that two hundred forty six yeeres only remaine: a time by much too short for seauenty two Princes, which successively are said to reigne each after others, and from Brute to Cesar recorded to haue swayed the regall Scepter of this land.

(23) But vnto these objections I know the answer will be ready; namely, the discrieties of Scriptures account, being so sundrie and different, that the storie of Brute cannot thereby be touched, but still standeth firme vpon it selfe. Indeed I must confesse, that from the first Creation, to the yeere of Mans Redemption, the learned Hebrewes, Greekes, and Latines, differ much, and that not only each from others, but even among themselves so firre, that there can be no indifferent reconciliation made, as by these severall computations may be seene, as followeth:

Hebrewes:	Real Seder-Holam	3518.
	Talmudistiles	3784.
	New Rabbinis	3760.
	Rabbi Nathan	3740.
	Rabbi Levi	3786.
	Rabbi Moses Germainy	4078.
	Josephus	4192.
Greekes:	Metheodorus	5000.
	Eusebius	5190.
	Theophrastus Antioch	5476.
Latines:	Saint Hieronym	3941.
	Saint Augustin	3317.
	Isidore	5210.
	Origenus	5190.
	Beda	3952.
	Alphonsus	5934.

And yet doe these disagreements helpe little the Obiectors if this be considered, that the maine foundation of these discrieties consisteth chiefly in the first world before the Flood, wherein it is manifest, that the reputed Septuagint addeh to the Hebrew Original five hundred eighty and six yeeres. And from the Flood to Abraham birth, is accounted two hundred and five yeeres more then Moses hath. As likewise the like is done in the latter times: for from the Captiuitie of Babylon to the death of Christ, one hundred thirty and seven yeeres are added, more then the Sunnes course hath measured: so that it seemeth the differences were not great for the times of Heli, Salomon, nor Iudahs Kings, in whose reignes Brute is brought to people and possesse this land. But leauing these discrieties, and to come to a certaine, let vs calculate the yeeres of the holy historie according as Fun-Tun, Beroldus and sundry other Theologicall Chronologers

Brute conquested Iudah betwixt 3118. and 3143. 1. King. 15. 23.

Menonthe cited by Josephus, affirmeth that the Israelites depart from Egypt about the twelfth of Troys by Josephus account, 1000. years. Brute conquested Iudah after Alexander the great.

Two hundred forty six yeeres a time too short for the reignes of seauenty two Kings.

A supposed answer.

The great differences in computation of yeeres among Writers.

These differences were chiefly before the Flood, Septuagint.

Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Fun-Tun. Beroldus.

The accounting of years by the Scripture is a most sure manner of computation.

From the creation to the Flood 1656.

From the Flood to the leaving of Abraham his 425.

Joshua 24. 1.

From the promise to Abraham, till the Law, 430 Galat. 3. 17.

From the Law to Solomon Temple, 410.

1. King. 6. 1. From the foundation of the Temple, to Solomon's death, 38. years.

1. King. 11. 41. From Solomon's death, to the burning of the Temple, 100. years.

2. King. 25. 8. Ezec. 4. 2. 5. From the burning of the Temple, to the end of Jewish captivity, 71. years.

Ezra 1. 1. 1. Macc. 1. 1. 2. Chron. 36. 1. 2. 2. 33. Ezra 1. 1. 2.

From the first year of Cyrus, to the death of Christ, 490. years.

Dan. p. 14.

nations have done; who from the Scripture will have account, to tie the stories of times together, that like to a golden chain, the links are fastened each to other, and the whole so compact, that a year is not missing from the fall of man, unto the full time of his redemption.

(24) First then from the Creation to the Flood are reckoned yeeres 1656. gathered by a triple account, from the ages, begettings, and deaths of the fathers. The like is hence observed for four hundred twenty and seven yeeres, that is, to the seaventh fifth of Abraham's life, wherein God began to see the times accounted in holier summes; for T'erah, the first recorded Idolater, was the last in honour that had his Summe commensured by mans life. And now the bounds of time tie the Promise to Abraham, to bee before the Law four hundred and thirty yeeres, as the Apostle to the Galatians affirmeth. From the Law to the building of Solomon Temple, and that in the fourth yeere of his reign, were yeeres four hundred and eighty; and from that foundation, to his death, were thirte six yeeres: for his whole reign was forty. From his death and Kingdomes dissolution, unto the burning of that Temple, which was executed in the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babel, were yeeres three hundred and ninety, as by the daies of Ezekiel's liege and sleepe appeareth in the second and fifth verses of his fourth Chapter. From the burning of the Temple, to the end of Jewish captivity, were yeeres fifty and one, for the whole time of Babel's bondage contained seventy yeeres, as Jeremy 25. 11. whereof nineteen were expired; and fifty one remaining unto the first yeere of Cyrus their deliverer, whom the Lord in that regard calleth his anointed 1. Isay. 45. 1. In the first yeere of whose Monarchie he published an Edict for the returne of the Jews and new building of their Temple, as in the books of Chronicles and of Ezra is scene. And from this first yeere and proclamation of King Cyrus, unto the last yeere and death of Christ our Saviour, the great yeere of Iudaea, the acceptable time, wherein he tread the vinepress alone; to the finishing of the ceremonies, the taking away of sinne, the reconciling of iniquity, the bringing in of everlasting righteousness, to the sealing up of vision and prophesie, and to the anointing of the most holy; were yeeres four hundred and ninety, as the Prophet Daniel from the Angel Gabriel receiveth, and unto vs hath delivered Dan. 9. 2. 4. all which added together make the number to be three thousand nine hundred and threescore yeeres. And by this last computation, I have accounted Brutes story, as all others wherein I shall bee occasioned to speake.

(25) Lastly, if from among these misty cloudes of ignorance no light can be gotten, and that we will needs have our defects from the *Trains*; may we not then more truly derive our blood from them through the *Romans*, who for the space of foure hundred threescore and six yeeres were planted amongst vs? in which continuance it is most certaine, they tooke of our women to be their wives, and gave their women to be wives unto vs, seeing that some of their Emperors did like themselves, and from whose blood, both *Scots*, the *Britaines* *Ambrusius* lineally descended. And if beauty and parts be the intigaters vnto loue, as in the first world we see it was, no doubt then the features of the *Britains* were moose Angles vnto the *Romans*, whose faces even in those times were accounted to be angelicall, and whose personages as yet, are respected as the best if not better then any other in the world. But that the *Romans* themselves descended from the *Trains*, or *Aeneas* should be the roote of the *Italian* family, how foucer the fictions of Poets as a spring tide haue flowed from the fullness of their penes, yet *Tacitus* their best writer accounteth those things not far vnlike to old fables, wherein he judgeth that *Nero* to win credit before the Consuls, and to get reputation in the glory of eloquence vnderooke the pleading of the *Thucydides*, declaring the *Romans* descended from *Tris*; and the *Italy* from the loines of *Aeneas*, which notwithstanding he censureth as is said. And *Iosephus* in the description of *Nabhi* sonnes and families, affirmeth that *Rome* was the Originall of the old *Romans* and he of *Chon*, and *Chon*, if he meane as he speakech. To conclude, (by what destiny I know not) nations desire their originals from the *Trains*; yet certaine it is, that no honour from them can be brought, whose city and fame stood but for six descentes, as vnder the reignes of *Dardanus*, *Erichonius*, *Tros*, *Ilium*, *Laomedon*, and *Prismus*, during which time they were thrice vanquished; twice by *Hercules* in the daies of *Laomedon*, and the third time raled by the rage of the *Grecians* in the reign of King *Prismus*, and the *Trains* themselves made as it were the skum of a conquered people. And therefore as *Erasmus* hath cast off their *Trains* King *Prismus* his sonne, *Scotland* their *Scotia* King *Pharus* daughter, *Denmarke* their *Dana*, *Ireland* their *Hibern*, and other Countries their *Demi-gods*; so let *BRITAINES* likewise with them disclaime their *BRUTS*, that bringeth no honour to forenamed a Nation, but rather cloudeth their glorie in the murders of his parents, and imbrutheth their descentes, as spring from *Venus* that lasciuious Adulteress.

Britains may more truly derive their descent from Tris by the Romans. Brutes took wives of the Romans, and they of the Britains. Isid. lib. 1. cap. 16. Gell. lib. 1.

Romans to be descended of the Trains is false. Tacit. ann. 12. 12.

Isid. lib. 1. 7. Rome the originall of the old Romans.

To have a descent from Tris, cannot be so honour to any Nation. Trains thrice vanquished.

Brute established the descent of the Britains.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT BRITAINES.

CHAPTER IV.



not so pleasing or acceptable as were to be wished, for

Asing thus farre spoken of the ancient Names of this famous Island, and of the Nations acknowledged to bee the first Planters and Possessors thereof; it remaineth that somewhat be mentioned of the Manners and Customes of those people and times, though

that the cloudes of ignorance and barbarous incivillitie did then shadow and over-spread almost all the Nations of the earth; wherein I desire to lay imputation no further then is sufficiently warranted by most autentick Writers: and first from *Cesar*, who formeth of all the *Romans* discovered and described our ancient *Britaines*.

(2) Touching their persons: All the *Britains* (saith *Cesar*) used to dye themselves with woad, which giveth a blew colour upon them, and that maketh them more terrible to behold in battell. But *Pomponius Mela* therein cometh

Of their Persons. Cf. Common. 3. 4. where hee saith the woad is used

Olden.
The Britons
doe exceed
Egypci for number.

carrying a stern and grim countenance, after the wonted heathenish manner: here we see (saith he) upon these desert walls, the very features of the Britains I dole, merely diabolical, and in number almost exceeding those of Egypt. So by *Tasitus* they are noted with the common custome of the *Gentiles*, which was that they fought for the direction of their Gods by the looking into the entrails of *Beasts*, yea and of men too; and that they honored the Altars of their Gods with the sacrifice and blood of such as they tooke captive in wars. And *Plinius* writing of *Magick*, saith, that in his daies the art thereof in *Britaine* was highly honored, and all the people thereunto so much devoted, yea and with all such complements of ceremonies in the same to be performed, that a man would thinke the *Perfians* had learned all their *Magick* skill from thence. *Prisels* and instructors had they, whereof the chief were called *Druides*, whose office was imploied about holy things, saith *Cæsar* for they had the managing of publike and private sacrifices, and to interpret and discusse matters of religion. Vnto them doe resort great numbers of young men to learne at their hands, and they be had in great reverence. For they determine almost all controversies, and matters in variance, as well publike as private. And if there happen any thing to be done almost, if there be any further committed, if there rise any controuersie concerning inheritance or bounds of lands, they take the matter into their power, and award either recompence or penalties in the case. And if there be any, be he private person, or be it corporation, that will not stand to their iudgement, they interdict him, which punishment among them is held most grievous. They that are so excommunicated are accounted in the number of the wicked and vagrantous: all men shun them, all men eschue their company and communication, left by conuersing with them, they should defile themselves and receive harme. If they demand law, they may not haue it: neither may they enioy any place of honor. Out all these *Druides* there is one *Prime*, which hath chiefe authority ouer them. When he is dead if there be any of therest that excelleth in worthinesse, he succeedeth: or if there be any equal, he is chosen by voices of the rest, and diuers times they strive for the sovereignty by force of armes.

These men at a certaine season of the yeece, in the borders of the *Cæcarter* (whose country is counted the middle of all *Gallia*) do sit together in a place hallowed, whereunto resort from all sides all such as haue any controuersies: and looke what is decreed and iudged by them, that they stand vnto. This order of discipline is thought to haue had beginning in *Britaine*, and from thence to haue been brought into *Gallia*. And at this day, they that are desirous to attaine this skill more exactly, do commonly repaire thither to learne it. These *Druides* customably are exempted from the wars, neither do they pay taxes and tallages with other folke: for they are privileged as from the warres, so from all other burthens. Allured with so great rewards, many euen of their owne accord, do register themselves in that order, and diuers are sent thither by their parents and kinsfolke. Where they are reported to learne a great number of verses by heart. Whereof it cometh to passe, that diuers continue twenty yeeres in learning. Neither do they thinke lawfull to put them in writing, whereas in all other things, for their accounts, as well publike as private, they vse the Greek letters.

This order they seeme (in mine opinion) saith he, to haue taken for two considerations: partly because they will not haue their discipline published among the common people; and partly because they will not that they which shall learne, trusting too much to their bookes, should haue the lesse regard of remembrance: in that it hapneth well nere to most men, that vpon trull of the helpe of their *bookes*, they are slacke in learning things by heart, and lesse care to beare them in mind. This is one of the chieft things that they labour most to beate into mens minds, that

the *Soules* die not, but do after death passe from one to another: and hereby they thinke men should be most stirred vnto vertue, when the feare of death is nothing regarded. Also they dispute many other things: as of the flames, and of their moouings: of the bignesse of the world, and the earth: of the nature of things: of the strength and power of the goddes immortal: and do therein inbriute the youth. Vnto these *Druides* and their doctrine had *Lucan* the Poet relation in his first booke towards the end, where he writeth thus of them.

*Et vos barbarici ritus, moremque, fœderem
Sacerdotum, Druidæ postis repositis ab armis.
Solis nascere Deos? Celi sidera vobis
Aut solis nascere datum. Necnon alia remotis
Incelsum Læciæ? Vbi antioribus, vmbra
Non tacitis Erebi sedes? Idibus, præfandi
Pallada regna petunt, præsit idem floruit artus
Orbe alio: longæ, canisusque, citæ
Mors mediæ sit. Certe populi quæ deficiit Arctos,
Fœdus errore suo quæ sit timorem
Mæcenas, haud vrgent læthæ mœni: inde ruendi
Infernum mænas prona virgî animag, apacem
Mortis: et ignemque virgî reducat parere citæ.*

In English thus.

You (*Druides*) free from wars, with barbarous deuities
Suffer from rites performe, and vncouth sacrifices.
High Mysteries of God, and Heavens, you only know
Or only erre therein. Where shady woods doe grow
There you repose, and teach thist *Soules* immortal be
Nor sitst Erebus, nor Plutons Hell sitst
And, (of your *Sages* be forth) Death is no small dome,
But only Mid-way, first life past, and life to come.
Brave Brittain blouds perdis: armed with thoe happy error,
Death (greatest feare of feeres) amates thoe with no terror.
Hence fly they many rash on pikes, and grisly death,
And fœrne boie minds, that stick to fœid remanng breath.

(9) These *Britainers* being merely barbarous, as most of the Western parts of the world then were, liued priuately to themselves with scarce any commerce, or encounter with any other nation: neither indeed were much known to forraigne people, for a long time. For the first notice of them extant, was by *Polybius* the Greek writer, that accompanied *Scipio* in his warres, about the yeece of the worlds creation 372 o. and two hundred and nine, before the birth of our Saviour Christ. Which Author nameth their *Iland* to be piteously floored with *Tyune*: but of other things therein is silent, saying that those parts which lay betwixt *Tanis* and *Narbor* bending Northward in his daies were vnkown and vncertaine, and therefore the reporters of them he held as dreamers. So doth *Maister Camden* another *Polybius*, & no way his inferior, account it a prodigall humor of credulity, to be persuaded that *Hannibal*, from the streets of *Carthage* sent to discouer the coasts of *Europe*, in the said expedition entred this *Iland*: or that *Hannibal* should war in this *Iland*, because *Polybius* in the *Elogues* of his tenth booke saith that he was inclosed within the streits of *Britaine*, which place is mistaken for the *Strait* in *Italy*: or that *Alexander* came from the *East* *Indians*, to *Gades*, and from thence into *Britaine*, though *Cædrenus* say, loosing all other writers are against it, or that *Plyssus* (ancient enough if he be that *Elishah* the sonne of *Iacon*, the fourth sonne of *Israhel*) should visit *Britaine* in his travels, whereof *Strabon* maketh doubt: though *Salmus* report that an Altar in *Caeredonia* was erected, and *Plyssus* in Greeke letters thereon inscribed. Which might very well be, for who doubteth but that the *Greekes*, in their vaine deuotions, did both build and sacrifice vnto their Gods, which they made of their worthiest men? and such *Plyssus*, (in regard of his farre sea-trauels) was had in speciall account among all navigators, why might not such monuments be reared, and his name inscribed, as farr as the *Greeks* travelled, though his person neuer came there?

And if the *Romans*, at whose greatnesse the whole world trembled, were so lately known in thoe end

perfect from one
to another.

Their natural
Philosophie.

Læciæ.

Of their com-
merce and
traffick.

Polybius the first
that notes notice
of this land.

Polyb. lib. 2.

*Camd. Britanniæ
de moribus &
ritu.*

Maister Camd.
to be believed.
That *Hannibal*
entred this
land.

Polyb. lib. 10.
That *Hannibal*
should war here.
That *Alexander*
came hither.

That *Plyssus*
should visit *Brit-*
taine.

The example
we haue now
of Cap.
Henry, &c.
The *Romans*
not recorded
either by *Ther-*
opides or
Herodotus.

Julph. aurea dy-
monia.
Comes and
Spartanum for
many years be-
known to Histo-
riographers.

The Britains vo-
known to their
neighbors.
Cæsar com. lib. 4.

Their merchan-
dize of small vls.
Strobo.

Their shipping
very mean.
Strabo first inven-
ted in Brittain.
is a matter to be
doubted.

The ships of this
land according
to Cæsar.

Philo and Lucan
of this land.

Cæsar.
The Britains
comes.

The first Britons
coyned with

ent times, as that neither *Thucydides* nor *Herodotus* made mention of them: yet with much ado at last were heard of by the *Grecians* themselves; as *Josephus* affirmeth; And if the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, (inhabitants in the continent) for many years together were utterly unknown to the worlds historiographers; shall we then think, that this remote *land*, and people then far from civility, were noted forth with marks of more certainty? surely to my seeming, nothing less: seeing that their next neighbours the *Gauls* knew not so much at what manner of men they were: none reporting thither, except some few merchants, and they no further, then upon the sea coasts, neither able to describe the bignesse of the *land*, the puissance of the inhabitants, their order for war, the laws that they used, the customs of the people, nor their haunts for the receipt of ships; all which *Cæsar* by diligent inquiry sought after, but could find no satisfaction till he had sent some purpoely to search it out.

(10) Neither is this their want of knowledge to be wondered at, seeing the intercourse of their trafficke was upheld by few meane commodities: for *Strabo* saith, that their merchandizing chiefly consisted in *Ivory Boxes*, *Sheeres*, *Onches*, *Biers*, and *Bridles*, *Wreaths* & *Chains*, with other conceits made of amber and glasse; for which notwithstanding they were compelled to pay customes and imposts unto *Ossianus Angustus*, as elsewhere shall be shewed.

(11) And as their commodities were very mean, so were their meanes either for exportation or importation very slender in those times; I meane their shipping. It is true, that some are of opinion, that Ships were first invented in these our Seas: but that this should be true, I have cause to doubt, that Art being long before inspired by God himselfe into the heart of *Noah* for making the *Arke*, and no doubt practised by that paterne of many others. But that the ancient *Britaines* had ships of reasonable use, though of simple Art, *Cæsar* testifieth, saying, that the keeles and ribs of their ships were of light wood, and covered over with leather: which kind the now-Brittaines call *Carracks*; and with them (saith *Polybius*) they did sail betwixt *Britannie* and *Ireland*, (which sea for roughnesse and danger may be compared with any other whatsoever) though the bulke of their vessels were but of some flexible wood, covered with the hides of buffles: and as long as they were sailing, so long did they abide from meat: whereby it seemeth they never sailed any great journeys. And of this their shipping *Pliny* also speaketh, and *Lucan* singeth, thus:

Premium cæna salæ, modestæq; cæmine paruum
Tæxiter in puppim, casq; induta iuvenæ,
Victoris parvus tumidum super emicat ensium:
Sic Vinctus flagrantis Pado, fuscq; Britannus,
Navigat Oceano.

At first, of Ivory fallowes wreathed boughs, the ships
Small bulke is trimly trimd, and clad in bullocks hide:
Then, patient to be rul'd, on swelling waves the ships
Thru on the spacious Pæthos the Power Merchants glide,
And Brittain Pilots saile on surge of Ocean wide.

But after-times brought the *Brittaines* to more exquisite skill in navall affairs, infromch as the royal Navie of this Kingdome hath beene reputed (and so is at this day) not only the invincible walles of our owne, but the incredible terror of all other Kingdoms; which haue or shall enjoy our happie peace: and the adventures likewise of Merchants, and the skill of our Seamen, hath left no corner of the world vnsearcht.

(12) And their trafficke amongst the islands was not of much worth, in that, as *Cæsar* saith, the *Cornes* which they had were either of *barley*, or *of iron rings* fixed at a certain night, which they used for their munes. Of which kind some have asserted they have sene found and lately taken up in little cruets or pitchers of earth. But as times grew more civil, and trafficke more frequent, they shortly after stamped both *silver* and *gold* and thenceon the faces of their *King*, even in the daies of *Iulius Cæsar*, who was the first that had his owne

stroke on the *Romane* *Coynes*. Many of these are amongst vs remaining, whereof I have inserted some few, as in their due places shall follow, which I received from the liberall hand of that most learned Knight, and worthy florist of Antiquities *Sir Robert Cotton* of *Wotton*. These *Coynes* are commonly imbossed outward and shield-like, whereon the inscription, or face, is seen; the reverse hollow, and therein their device set: and by these formes they are known to be the *Britains*, no other nation stamping the like, except some few amongst the *Grecians*.

(13) We come lastly, to speak of the manner of their warfare, which *Cæsar* thus describeth. First (saith he) they ride round about all parts of the battell, casting off their darts: and often times with the terrible noise of their horses, and the rattling of their chariot wheels, they amaze the enemy and break his array. And when they have wound themselves in amongst the troops of horsemen, they leape forth of their waggons, and fight on foot. In the meane while the waggons withdraw themselves somewhat out of the battell, and set their waggons in such order, that if they be overcharged by the enemy, they may haue speedily and easie recourse unto them. By meanes whereof they are both as ready to remove as the horsemen, and as fittest to stand in the battell as the footmen, and supply both duties in one. And they are come to such perfectnesse by daily practice and exercise, that even in steepe and falling places they will stop their horses running a full gallop, and guide and turne them in a short roome, & run upon the verges, and stand steadfastly upon the beames, and quickly recover themselves back againe into the waggons.

Their woe often giue ground to egge their enemies from their maine battell, and then would leape out of their chariots and fight on foot. And they kept also such an order in fighting on horseback, that whether the enemies charged, or were charged, they were alwaies in danger. For they never fought in great companies together, but scatteringly a great way distant the one from the other, and bad flahs lying in diuers places one to supply another, haueing ever fresh and lusty men in the rooms of them that were weary. Of this their manner of fight in chariots, *Strabo* also do declareth; and *Dionidius Siculus* saith that the *Britains* lived after the manner of the first age of the world, using chariots in their fight, as the report goes of the ancient *Greeks* at the *Troian* warres. *Pomponius Mela* also describing these *Britaines*, affirmeth that their fight was not only with horsemen and footmen, but also with waggons and chariots, harnessed, and armed at the ends of the axle-trees with hookes and fitches, after the manner of the *Gauls*; but with appearance of greater courage, as *Tacitus* saith; as being not yet mollified by long peace. Their strength in field consisteth most of footmen, yet some countiees there are (saith he) that war in waggons, the greaterl persons guiding the time; and so much doth *Lauren* intimate, who in shew of propheticke but indeed in flattery of the Emperor *Domitian*, salutes him after this manner.

It beeds their Triumph great to captinate some Kings
Or force Asvragas from Chariots became to dings.
Die Nitum from Xiphiatum more particularly declare
their strength; T heir horses (saith he) are but little,
yet therewithall swift of pace: their footmen also run very
readily but in their standing are the strongest: their armour
are shields, and short speares, in the nether end whereof is
fastned a round bell of brass like unto a ball, which at the
first onset of encounter they shake with great courage, sup-
posing that such a rattling noise doth much amaze the
enemy. And Hærodian saith that their shields were narrow
and speeres short, spearing fowards hanging down their
naked loines, having neither knowledge nor use either of
cursets or helmes.

(14) Some haue thought that their women also were not exempted from the wars, but certaine it is that many of that sex were renowned for their valour amongst them. Which made *Tacitus* to say, it was of all

Longe maior
virtus in Calais
time.

Sir Robert Cotton.

The most to
know British
coynes from
foreign.

Of their
warres.

Cæsar com. 4.

They use the
enemies with
the rattling of
their chariot
wheels.

Cæsar com. 3.

They fight not
in great compa-
nies together.

They haue ever
fresh men in
the rooms of
them that are
weary.
Strabo.
Dionidius Siculus.
The Britains
fight in chariots
as he vic was in
the world first
age.
Pomponius Mela.

Tacitus.
Their chariots
strongly built
in looms.
Lauren.

Strabo.
Their footmen
run swiftly.
Their armour.

Hærodian.

Many British
women renowned
for valour.
Tacitus.

Queen Elizabeth
a glorious virgin
Queen.

A most valiant
Princess is war.

Tacitus.

The British wo-
men could as-
suredly be Over-
seen by Caesar
for great among
the Roman
soldiers.

The Romans
derive their
name from an
Isle in the
British
islands.

all for the Britains to fight under the conduct of women,
(which the Romans found to their smart) nor to make
any difference of sexes for government. A more noble
pattern whereof, never had any age, then in our late
glorious Virgin Queen, (the wonder of her sexe, and
of all future ages,) who, as she was inferior to no Prince
ever living, for her admirable government in vphold-
ing of her kingdomes peace, so was she a match (to
say no more) to the proudest monarchs, in her man-
aging of her wars; as (when occasion was offered) she
was ready to make good, in her owne roiall person in
the field. But besides the vie of armes, the ancient Bri-
tish women had another imployment in the field,
which I will only set downe in Tacitus his words,
speaking of Paulinus Suetonius his assailing of Angle-
sey: *The British Army* (saith he) *stood on the shore, thick
of men and ammunition and women running up and downe
amongst them, like furies, carrying burning torches in
ruffall attire, and with their haire hanging about their
shoulders. The Druides meane while went with their hands
lift up to heauen, pouring out prayers and imprecations.*
The strangeness of which sight so amazed the Ro-
man souldiers, that they stood still like stocks, whiles
the other wounded them at their pleasure; till Pauli-
nus encouraged them, and they excited one another,
not to be so daunted by an army of women and
warriors.

(15) In the relations of these things, let no man
think, that the glory of these ancient and warlike
nation of Britains, is any waies disparaged, or made in-
feriour to them that would be more famous, whose
beginning have been as meane, and state as rude, if not
more. For let vs consider the Romans to laish in their
owne worths and greatness; who notwithstanding,

bring their name and originall from *Romulus*, a ba-
stard by birth, nourished by a beast, educed among
a sort of rustick shepherds: and grown to the ripe-
ness of his owne affections, he became ring-leader of
a damned crew, that liued by robberies and without
lawes: besides the shedding of his naturall brothers
blood, as *Titus Livius* their owne historiographer wit-
neseth: and both himselfe and followers; had in such
contempt and denision by their neighbour nations,
that they both disdained and refused to giue them
their daughters in marriage, left in time they also
should become lawlesse, vntill that by subtilty and
force, they had murthered their virgins, and thereby
made them vnworthy of other matches. Yet when
their after fortunes and successe had moued them
vpon the wings of glory, and seated them on the
necks of their laboured neighbors, their *Caesars* would
needs be more then mortall, and their pedigrees mult
linally be brought from the Gods.

(14) And, to let passe many others, the like may
be said of the beginners of the *Seythian* and *Turkish*
Empires, two golden pillars raised vpon leaden bases;
how soeuer now, the power of their command, circles
three parts of the earth. Nay what more is, that pre-
tious, roiall, and Gods only people, from whom the
eternall King of Kings descended, in their offerings made
in time of their highest glory, were by the Lord thus
commanded to acknowledge and say: *A Syrian was
my father, who being ready to perish for hunger, went down
into Egypt, and foundered with a small company. And the
richest stone of that most beauteous building in his
highest pride is counselled by the Prophet, to look back
to the rocke whence it was hewn, and to the hole of the pit
whence it had beene digged.*

Titus Livius, lvi.

The power be-
ginning of
Seythian and
Turkish Em-
pires.

And of Iewish.

Deut. 10. 9.

Isa. 51. 1.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER V.



EE come, at length, to
speak of the government
and politick estate of the
Britains, which doubtlesse
(the times then conside-
red) was as honorable in
their rulers, and as ma-
nageable in the subiects,
as any other nations in
these West parts of the

world: their temperance, religion, learning, and no-
ble resolution shewing no lesse. But in this point I
must craue pardon of our *British Heraults*, and some
learned *Antiquaries*, if I bring not a lineall succellion
from *Brute*, and a monarchicall government in those
times of obscurity, though whole millions no *Egles* rich
could pierce, before the daies of *Goffrey* or *Arthur*, as
before was touched. And therefore following his
counsel, who is best able in these things to giue direc-
tion, I will begin the succellion of *Great Britains Mo-
narchs*, at the entrance and person of *Tullius Caesar*: at
which time, it seemeth, by him and other *Latine* wri-
ters (the best Recorders of kingdomes affaires,) this I-
land was goarned rather after the manner of an *Ari-
stocratie*, that is, by certaine great Nobles and Potent
men, then vnder the command of any One as an
absolute *Monarch*; though herein is a difference, in
that in the *Aristocraticall* regiment, the rulers are
all *Peeres* of one Common wealth; whereas here,

as many *Princes*, so many *seuerall* *Publike* *weales*. For
so *Caesar* himselfe found the state of Brittain to be
diuided into *Provinces* vnder the names of her in-
habitants; and to be ruled by diuers *Peeres* or petty
Kings.

(2) And such a *Gouernor* was *Casibelan*, ouer the
Trimantes; *Cingetorix*, *Caradoc*, *Taximagalus*, and
Segomax, all foure Rulers together in *Kent*: *Cornel* sup-
posed to be King of the *Atreburys*, and to be the same
Common of *Atreburys*, whom *Caesar* imploied to reade
and worke the Brittaines to his subiection. *Caradoc* the
warlike King of the *Sulures*; *Gulguac* the worthy King
of the *Caledonians*; yea and women also, without ex-
ception of sex, held government among them, such as
was *Isidore* *Cornemundae* Queen of the *Brigantes*,
and famous *Boudicea* Queen of the *Iernians*. Where-
by it seemeth that euerie seuerall *Province* owed fer-
uice and allegiance only to their owne Prince. And
as their governments were confined vnto certaine
bounds and limits, so were the *Inhabitants* diuided
and distinguished by diuers *Names*: of whom becau-
se we shall haue occasion hereafter often to speak, it shal
not therefore be amiss in this place once for all, to table
wife to lay downe the same; whereby our narrations
may passe vntroubled without more explanations,
and the readers mind carried with lesse incombren-
ces. Those ancient names of people, and places for
abode, throughout the whole Island, from *Pictland*
were as follow.

The British go-
uernment.

Their succellion
double.

Not merely
monarchicall.

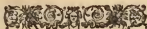
How in *Cyprus*
time and state.

Tacitus, l. 14. 11.

Tacitus before l. 6.
3. 44. 9.

A TABLE OF THE ANCIENT
INHABITANTS, AND THE SITES
OF THEIR POSSESSIONS AS THEY WERE
CALLED BY PTOLMEY, AND OFTEN SINCE MEN-
TIONED IN THE ROMAN WRITERS.

People.	Countries.	People.	Countries.
CANTIL. —	{ Kent.	OTTADINI. —	{ Northumberland. Teesdale. Tweedale. Merch. Louthian.
REGNI. —	{ Suffex. Surrey.		
DVROTRIGES. —	{ Derfesfhire.		
DAMNONIL. —	{ Devonfhire. Cornwall.	SELGOVÆ. —	{ Lidefhale. Elyfhale. Eldale. Amandale. Niddfhale.
BELGÆ. —	{ Somerfetfhire. Wiltfhire. Hampfhire.		
ATREBATIL. —	{ Barfhire.	NOVANTES. —	{ Galloway. Carick. Kyle. Cunningham.
DOBVNI. —	{ Oxforfhire. Glocefter.		
CATIEVCHLANI.	{ Warwickfhire. Buckingham. Bedfordfhire.	DAMNIL. —	{ Claydftale. Kenfrew. Lennox. Strunclong. Menteth. Fifa.
TRINOBANTES.	{ Hertford. Effeex. Middlefex.		
ICENI. —	{ Suffex. Norfolk. Cambridge. Ely Ifland. Huntington.	CALEDONII, GADINI. }	{ Perth. Strathern. Alton. Argyle. Lorne.
		EPIDI. —	{ Cantyre.
		VICEMAGI. —	{ Murray.
CORITANI. —	{ Rutlandfhire. Lincolnfhire. Northampton. Leicefterfhire. Derbyfhire. Nottingham.	VENNICONES. —	{ Merms. Angou. Mar.
		TÆZALL. —	{ Bagelane.
CORNABIL. —	{ Staffordfhire. Worcefterfhire. Chefhire. Shropfhire.	CANTÆ, CREONES, CERONTES }	{ Roffe. Suiberland.
BRIGANTES. }	{ Lancater. Yorkfhire. Richmondfhire. Duram. Weflmerland. Cumberland.	CARNONACÆ, CARINI, CORNABIL }	{ Strathmarern.
PARISI. }		SIMERTÆ, LOGL }	{ Cairbair.
ORDOVICES. —	{ Flintfhire. Denbighfhire. Carmarthen. Montgomery. Merionethfhire.		
SILVRES. —	{ Hreforfhire. Radnorfhire. Brecknock. Merioneth. Glamorgan.		
DIMETÆ. —	{ Carmarthen. Pembrokfhire. Cardiganfhire.		



Their emulation & ambition.

Pompeius Mela.

Tacitus in vita Agricola.

Caesar first emperor, Julius Caesar.

Caesarian.

(3) These States ambitiously banding each against others, to raise their owne Prince to a more souveraign supremacy, and to enlarge their *Provinces* vpon the borders of the next, were ever ready, the last occasion ministred, saith *Pompeius Mela*, to enter quarrels, and seldom held amity, or were quiet. This was the cause, as *Tacitus* tells vs, which brought that puissant nation into bondage: and was the only helpe to the Romans villany: for seldom it chanced (saith he) that two or three states met in counsell, and concurred in opinion to repulse the common danger: so that whilst they resisted and fought one by one, all at length were subdued. But this was not at once performed by *Julius Caesar* the first Roman enterer, who (as he saith) rather showed the place to posterities, then gave them the possession thereof, supposing in his glory sufficient, to have done what he did. For vnto the daies of *Dominian*, they held play with the Romans, and that with such valour, that the subduing of some small part of this Island was accounted by themselves to match the conquests of other mightier countries, and more notes of honour shewed in their publike triumphs for one Britaines misfortune, then usually was solemnized for whole kingdomes subdued.

(4) That such people possessed, and that many Kings together reigned here in Britaine, *Pompeius Mela* doth shew: Britaine (saith he) bringeth fourth Nations, and Kings of nations, though they be all without civility and barbarous. And *Caesar* intendments being known vnto them, it is said that many of their Cities

sent him by their Ambassadors proffers of submission: whereby appeareth their diuersities of States, whereof only two held promise, and the rest failing was the occasion of his second expedition for Britaine. And *Tacitus*, speaking of the shipwrack suffered by the Romans in the raigue of *Tiberius*, saith, that many of their soldiers then distressed and torne, being cast vpon the coasts of Britaine, were by the people curiously relieved, and by their petty Kings sent backe vnto Germanicus their Generall into Germanie; which Princes or petty Kings, were drawn (as else where he saith) by emulation into many partialities and factions, which was indeed their owne destruction. And by *Gildas* these were termed cruell Tyrants, taking his authority out of *Saint Hierome*.

(5) Let thus suffice in generall, of these ancient Britains; whose particulars we will further prosecute in the places of their residences, lest otherwise they should seeme to fight only against themselves. And therefore so many of these Governors, as either yielded their subiections to the Romans, or stood their opposits till their owne strengths were spent, I will briefly touch, vntill such time as the land was made a Province, by the valour and industry of *Julius Agricola* the first Roman that found it an Island, and left it more ciuill, and in subiection to the Roman Empire; and by the way I will insert some of such ancient Coynea, as among them were then vied, exprelling their names, and places of coynage.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Gildas. S. Hierome.



THE KINGS AND GOVERNORS OF GREAT BRITAIN VVITH THE ANCI- ENT COINES VSED IN THEIR TIMES.

CHAPTER VI.



He first British Coyne (as is supposed) both by the fashion thereof being shield-like, and Name thereupon inscribed *REX COM*: denoteth *Comius*, (if he be a Britaine) King of the *Atrebaty* in this Island: whom some iudge to haue fled thence vnto *Caesar*, as a traitor to his Natiue country; and so *Gallia* vanquished those parts, that lay coasted against the *Whights*, wherein (by *Ptolemy*) the people called likewise the *Atrebaty* inhabited: ouer whom he receiued the gouernment by the gift of *Caesar*, and was by him imploied to worke the Britaines to his obedience. And that he was King of the *Atrebaty* in Britaine, may be strengthened by that which *Caesar* in his second booke of *Commentaries* affirmeth, where, by his owne knowledge he saith, that one *Duntius* reigned ouer

a great part of *Gallia*, and some portion of *Britaine* also: and so likewise this *Comius* is reported to be of great respect among our Britaines, and able in that country to doe much. Neither is it altogether vnlkely, seeing the Britaines distasteth his loyalty to *Caesar*, and his Ambassage for their subiection, with such dislikes, that they laid violent hands onely vpon him, and cast him in prison; vising no such rage against the rest of their owne Ambassadors. Notwithstanding when soeuer altered, they set him at liberty, and made him their means to pacifie *Caesar*.

Other Coynea I haue inserted to such British princes as by their inscriptions are known to be theirs. And whereas some are not yet noted by that honor to the world; I haue vnto such added only blankes, if happily more be reuelled hereafter, and the bowels of the earth deliuer to others, her treasures hid, as formerly (and in these our searching daies) she hath already done.

Caesar. comment. lib. 4.

(2) *Cassibelaus*

Plutarchus Geograph.



(2) *Casibelan*, as the most worthy among the *Britann Kings*, so withstand the common danger now ready to light vpon them all, by the inuasions and wars of the *Romans*; was by a generall consent chosen their chiefeaine, though in times past, he had molested his neighbouring prouinces to the enlargement of his owne. Whole signiorities, as *Cesar* saith, were leuered from the *Cities* towards the sea coast by the river *Thames*, about fourescore miles from the same. He had obtained the government of the *Trinobantes*, by the slaughter of *Imanence*, and the expulsion of *Mandubrace* his sonne. And, with great valour, held

opposit to the *Romans*, vntill the reuolt of his chiefe *Cities*, the *Cenmagres*, *Segontians*, *Analitis*, *Bibraces*, *Casflans*, and other states, which drew backe, and yielded to the enemy; his confederates, the foure Kings of *Kent* overthrown, his owne towne won, and himselfe forced to yeild vnto *Cesar*, and the land to pay a tribute of 3000. pound yearly to *Rome*. A *British* Coyne of gold with the inscription *C A S* in scattered letters we haue inserted, as also another wheron is instamped the word *V R*, supposed to be his, because it is thought to haue bin coined in ancient *Verulam*, the City of *Casibelan*, and that in his daies, before the *Romans* won it.

Cesar. comes. ib. s.

Verulam a famous City here to the place where now S. Albons is.



(3) *Cingetorix*: whom *Cesar* calleth *Kings Caruall*: that reigned in *Kent*, were in *Taximagall*: fligted by *Casibelan* suddainly *Segonax*: ly to set vpon, and to assault the *Roman* forces, that lay incamped vpon the sea shore whilst he kept *Cesar* occupied further in the

mayne: which thing they attempted, but failed of their hoped expectation, their men being slaine, three of them chased, and *Cingetorix* the chiefe taken captiue. This heauy newes and vnfortunate successe, caused *Casibelan* to sue vnto *Cesar*, and by the meanes of *Cemius* obtained his peace.



(4) *Mandubrace* a prince of the *Trinobantes*, but a traitor to his country; whose father *Imanence* being slaine by *Casibelan*, and his owne life likewise fought after, and in danger, fled vnto *Cesar* into *Galles*, and followed his fortunes in the wars; wherein, he was a great spurte vnto *Cesars* forwardnesse for *Britain*, both to be reuenged vpon the murderer of his father, and to recouer the government of the *Trinobantes* usurped by *Casibelan*: preferring his owne

ambitious desire, and the reuenge of one mans death, before the freedome of his native Country, or the deaths of many his countreymen, that daily stopped the *Romans* passage with streames of their blood. He recouering his chiefe City with the protection of the *Romans*, yielded subiection, & forty hostages to *Cesar*: whose example drew others to sell their owne liberty, & to buy many miseries at too deere a rate, and with too late repentance, him doth *Beda* call *Andregorinus*.

Beda Hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 2.



(5) *Cenmagres* } *Norfolk Suff. Cam. &c.*
Segontians } *Hants.*
Analitis } *Heads hand in Oxford.*
Bibraces } *Bray hand in Berkshire.*
Casflans } *Caslow hand in Harf.*
Inhabitants
 These people or states, seeing the proceedings and happy successe of *Cesar*, after the example of the *Trinobantes*, whose chiefe City he had yielded him obedi-

ence, and were thereby secured, and protected from the harmes of his souldiers, sent him likewise their submissions, and were accepted into subiection: so ready were they to save their owne stakes, that they left the whole to the hazard of losse, which soone after followed as an overflowing flood, whereto was lastly drrenched the whole *Islands* liberty.

Cem. Briton.



Numb. 2417.

May 11.1.

May 9.6.

May 3.

May 11.6.

May 4.3.



(6) *Canobeline* (for so vpon his Coyne his name is instamped) was the son of *Theomastus* and he the sonne of *Lud* (as say our *British Historians*, by whom his name is corruptly written *Kynobeline*) he haied at *Rome*, and in great fauour with *Augustus Caesar* the Emperor, by whom he was made *Knight*, and by his meanes the peace of *Britaine* was continued without the paiement of their *Tribute*, as *Fabian* out of *Guide de Columna* hath gathered. In the foureteenth yeere of his raigne the Day-star of *Isacoh* appeared, and the red out of *Ilhah* did flourish from the wombe of a *Virgin*, when the wonderfull Counsellor the mighty God and Prince of Peace the *Emmanuel* with vs was borne at *Beth-lehem* of his maiden-mother the blessed *Virgin Mary*, and was made man like vnto vs in all things, sune only excepted. These were the times that great Kings and Prophets desired to see, but saw them not, when the Wolfe and the Lambe, the Leopard and the Kid, the Calf and the Lyon fed together; for war was not heard of then in the world, but rather their swords were made into mattocks, and their speares turned into sikes, as the Prophets, Sibyls, and Poets from them haue affirmed. In *Rome* the temple of *Ianus* was shut, and in *Britaine Canobeline* enioied peace with the rest of the world, and his fame made more famous by the many Coyne instamped of him, and whole face thereon among all the *British Kings* was first inscribed, as hy these here inserted doth evidently appeare, one with two faces, like vnto *Ianus*, and foure more with his owne, besides three others wherein is read his name, one of them with a womans head, another with a horse, and the third with a wreath, all these (if not more) are knowne to be his, which sheweth his wealth, his fame, and his ciuill respect. The chiefeist Citie for his princely residence was *Camelodunum*, now *Malden* in *Essex*, wonne by *Claudius* from the sonnes of *Canobeline*, as by the inscription of the Coyne next ensuing appeareth, and wherein many of the *British* monies also receiued their impress. This City with the free towne *Verulam* afterwards felt the heavy hand of mercilesse *Boodvo* in her reuenge against the *Romans*, who laid the beaurty and gorgeous buildings thereof so leuell with the earth that those walles and mounted turrets neuer since aspired to halfe their wonted heights.

(7) *Admirus*



(7) *Admirus* the first sonne of *Cunobeline*, King of the *Britaines*, by *Suetonius* his report, upon some offence was banished the Iland by his father; and with a small traine fled over the seas into *Belgia*; where *Caius Caligula* was in making his ridiculous expedition against the *Ocean*. And yielding himselfe to his protection, added matter to his vaine glorious humors, as of a great victory and conquest, sending the newes thereof to *Rome*, with an especiall command that his letters should be delivered in the

Temple of Mars, and that in the assembly of a full *Senate*. It is judged by learned *Cambden* that the *Roman* Coyne above prefixed, upon whose reverse is inscribed *Metropolis Eboracensis*, to be means of this *Admirus* the sonne of *Cunobeline*, whose *Ciue Camladunum*, *Claudius Caesar* the Emperour afterwards wonne, and wherein a temple was built and consecrated unto him, attended by the Priests *Augustali*: which heavily burdened the poore estates of the *Britaines*.

Suetonius in vita Caligulae lib. 41.



(8) *Cataseratus* another son of *Cunobeline*, immediately after the death of his father, found himselfe agreed as the *Romans*, for the retaining of certaine fugitives the betrayers of their native country; whereof one *Vericus* was a chiefe, and a great firebrand of *Claudius* his attempts against the *Britains*. This *Cataseratus* maintained resistance against *Julius Plantius* the Emperors Deputy, with such noble resolution and warlike encounters, that often he endangered both his person and army. But *Fortune* and *victory* attending

the *Romans*, brought at length *Cataseratus* their captive into hands, with great slaughters of his *Britaines*, himselfe led shortly after in great triumph through *Rome*, in honor of *Plantius* his so fortunate successe. The miseries of others thus made the *Romans* to mount the chaire of their triumphs; and the chains of their captives, the records of their present aspired pride.

But the bordering *Dobuni* seeing his fall, made their owne standings surer by yielding themselves subjects to *Rome*.

Dion calls him Cataseratus.



(9) *Togodannus* the third sonne of *Cunobeline*, and successor to *Cataseratus*, professed his countries quarrell with the like boldnesse and resolution as his brother before him had done: & was the only touchstone that gave *Vespasian* his lustre, whose interpositions (as *Tacitus* saith) was the beginning of that greatness whereunto afterwards he aspired. And with such manhood followed the chase of the *Romans*, that in a bloody battell he ended his life, and brought *Plantius* their Lieutenant vnto a stand, where strained in dangers both of place and people, he was forced to send to *Claudius* the Emperour; whose con-

ceit was then grounded, that in *Britaine* was greatest glory to be gotten, and therefore came to his assistance in person himselfe, the first since *Julius Caesar* that attempted their conquest. His recorded compositions made with *Arminius*, the marriage of his daughter and building of *Gloucester*, I leave to be read out of *Gessory* of *Monmouth*, and to be allowed at the choice of his hearers; only noting that the possession of so faire a land drew the affection and aged person of this Emperour to vndergoe so farre distant and dangerous a iournee, as this of *Britaine* lay from *Rome*.

Tacitus in vita Agricolae.



(10) *Cogidannus* a *Britain* borne, received in pare gift at the hands of the *Romans*, certain *Cinere*, which he peaceably reigned their King. For when they had

conquered the neerest part of this Iland, and reduced it into the forme of a *Præmure*; according to their ancient policie, it was their custome, (saith *Tacitus*) to

grin in vice
grin in.

use Kings themselves for instruments of bondage, both in admittance of their authority, and in protecting them against their opposites. Other memoriall of him none remaineth, but that he is reported to haue rested ever most faithfull to the Romans, and was of them accordingly esteemed, albeit his owne

people bare him no such good will, but rather accounted him and others his like, to be *Romans* only instruments, and *Britains* vipers, that brought in strangers to eat out the home-bred inhabitants, and fettered the freedome of their land, with the heavy chaines of a forreign subiection.



(11) *Caracallas* the most renowned prince of the *Solares*, in nine yeeres resistance waded through many adventures against the common enemy. For when as the *Iscamius*, *Cangi*, and *Brigantes* began to faint and give over, he only with the *Ordanaces* held out with such feruice and fame, that thereby he grew both famous and fearefull to the *Romans*. But *Destiny* determining the downfall of *Britain*, the props that were set to stay it still vp, proued too slender and brake vnder the weight. For this bold *Caracallas* overthrown in battell, his wife, daughter, and brethren taken prisoners, and his forces defeated, committed himselfe to the protection of *Carismandua* the *Brigantes* faithlesse *Queene*: who by her was deliuered to the *Romans*; and by *P. Oflerius* brought to *Rome*; where beholding the riches and glory of that City, he openly and boldly checked the avarice and ambi-

tions humors of the *Romans*, who being owners of so great and glorious things, were (notwithstanding) couetous and greedy for the poore possessions of the *Britains*. And there being led in triumph, with admiration he was beheld of all the spectators, and for his vndanted spirit and magnanimous resolution released of bands, and taken into fauour by *Claudius* the *Emperor*. And the Lords of the Senate assembled together made glorious discourses touching *Caracallas* capuicity, affirming it to be no lesse honorable then when *P. Scipio* shewed *Syphax* vnto the people, and *L. Paulus*, *Perseus*, or if any other had exhibited to the view of the people kings vanquished and overcome. The *British Coyne* here aboue shewed, by the scattered letters therein inscribed, is by the iudicious obseruers of such ancient monies supposed to be his.

Enam.

Tacit. Annal.
lib. 6.



(12) *Ventius*, a famous King of the *Brigantes*, and husband to *Carismandua*, (a woman of an high and noble linage, but of a base and vnassisted lust:) finding his bed abused by *Vellucatus* his seruant and harness-bearer, raised his power against her, and her paramour. With him sided his *Brigantes*, and the neighbour countries adjoining, whose good will went generally with the lawfull husband, fearing the ambitious authority of a lustfull woman. With her went the *Romans*, at the command of *Didius* their *Deputie*: and these striking battell vpon the day: yet so,

as the war continued to the *Romans*, the kingdome to *Ventius*, and the infamy with *Carismandua*, both for betraying the pledge of her trust reposed by *Caracallas* in his distresse and her truth to *Ventius* her noble Lord and husband: preferring the licentious pleasures of a vassall, before the bed of chast marriage, or the nuptiall imbracements of a worthy King, and hath to ages following left her name noted with the scarres of infamy, that time nor continuance shall euer weare away. His ancient coyne is thought to be as thou seest here aboue described.



(13) *Prasutagus*, King and *Queene* of the *Iscamius*, and themselves rich, (as *Tacitus* reporteth,) the only cause of their ruines, for which the *Romans* then warred; were brought to destruction vpon this insuing occasion. King *Prasutagus* dying by will left *Nere* his heire, (supposing by this means to leaue his state the safer,) together with the protection of his two daughters. These, contrary to trust, were abused and deflowered, the mother *Beduo* turned out of all, and

against all manly ciuility, or womanly (much lesse, princely) respect, conumeously and despitefully whipped. In the reuenge of which vnassailable wrongs the so opposed and oppressed the *Romans*, that at one battell seuentie thousand (or as *Dion Cassius* saith 30000) of their slaughtered bodies the sacrificed to her dead husbands ghost; and hath left the fame of her proceedings registered, even by her enemies themselves, to her immortal and neuer dying memory. The strong *Catix*, *Caledonum*, and *Verc-*
Lentini,

Leisurus, she sacked with the rage of mercileffe war; *Pe-
silus*, Lieutenant of the north Legion, she discomfited,
Catus the *Procurator* drove over the seas, *Posthumus*
the *Campo-maſter* durſt not reſiſt her, and all indeed
feared the valour of this heroick Lady: whoſe lawes
were not martiall to liue vpon ranſome: whoſe re-
venge was not pacified with yeeldings or ſubmiſſion,
nor did ſhe thinke there was blood enough in the *Ra-
mans* to imbrue the altars of her aſſiſting gods, or to

walk off the ſtaine of their vanable and vomanly
injuries. But when ſucceſſe altered, after loſſe, and
valorous reſiſtance, ſhe made an end of her life by
poilon, leſt liuing ſhe ſhould ſee either her owne miſe-
ries in their triumphs, or leaue her remembrance in
the records of their lauiſh and ſelfe-pleaſing hiſto-
rians. Her Coyne of gold we haue here expreſſed,
the forme ſhield-like, and vpon the emboſſement
thus inſcribed: **SODVO**.



(14) *Arminius*, the valiant *Britiſh* King, whom
Hunſfrey Lloyd confidently affirmeth to be the ſame
man that is called *Mennius*, and is ſaid to withſtand
Claudius in his enterpriſes for *Britaine*, vntill a com-
poſition of marriage was concluded betwixt the Em-
perors daughter and himſelfe. Notwithſtanding by
Iuuenal it is plaine, that this *Arminius* was in his time
in the daies of *Domitian*, vnto whom the Poet, as a

Prophet, would foredoome his happy ſucceſſe in the
diſpoſſeſſion of his gouernment ouer the *Britaines*,
as in theſe his verſes are ſeene;

*It breeds great honor to thy ſelfe, ſince King thou ſhalt deſpise,
Or ſit Arminius from the rule of Britains maner ſhall deſiſe.*
An ancient *Britiſh* Coyne of ſiluer is here inſerted, and
a mans head thereon inſtamped, which is ſuppoſed
to be his, the letters alluding to neere to his name.



(15) *Gulgaew*, a worthy and moſt valiant prince
of the *Caledonians*, for vertue, and birth, preferred
before any other in the *Northern* parts of this *Iſland*,
and made their *Generall* againſt the inuaſions of *Iulu-
s Agricola*, was the laſt *Britaine*, that againſt the *Ra-
mans* ſtood out: accounting thoſe only happy, which
were free from the contagion of that *Roman* tyranny,
and themſelues the flower of all the *Britiſh* nobility,
that yet had not ſubjected their necks to their yoke.
The reſiſtance which he made was great and warlike,
but againſt the decree of God no man can ſtand; for
the *Romans* riſen to their grearneſſe, bare downe all
that withſtood them; and in a bloody battaile ſub-
dued him, and his forces, making all ſilent before
them where they came, and leauing deſolation in the
places where they had been. Thus then was the
whole *Iſland* ſubjected to the *Roman* Emperors, about

one hundred thirty and fix yeeres after *Caeſar* firſt
entrance, and the land that had been ruled by many
petty kings, was brought now (as moſt parts of the
world belides were) vnder the gouernment of one
abſolute Monarch. Griuous, no doubt, was the loſſe
of their liberties, but a greater gaine was gotten not
many yeeres after; for from the rude and ſavage
manners of the barbarous, they were reclaimed,
and became moſt ciuill. And he that had given their
Iſland to his *Chriſt*, prepared their hearts to receiue
how their King; vnto whoſe ſubiection alſo they were
motiues to the *Romans* themſelues. Two ancient
Britiſh Coynes ſtamped in ſiluer we haue here ſet
downe, attributing them both to this *Gulgaew* of *Ca-
ledonia*. Notwithſtanding in theſe (as in the reſt) I muſt
ſubmit my ſelfe to the more experienced, and the cen-
ſures of theſe ancient things to the learned and more
iudicious.

Fig. 1.



(16) Theſe then were the reſiſters of the *Ra-
mans* proceedings, that rather yeelded their beſts to
the ſword, then their necks to the yoke of a forreign
ſubiection, and made their aſſaulters more famous in
their conqueſts, and themſelues more renowned to
following poſterities: neither in theſe relations haue
we followed the records of our owne, but the appro-
ued teſtimony of their beſt writers, who haue deli-
nered what we haue ſaid, and no doubt firſt the
like repugnancy of many others, both in the South
and North of this *Iſland*, though their names died

with their valiant reſiſtance. And as theſe *Britains*
held the *Romans* at euen hand the ſpace of one hun-
dred thirty and fix yeeres, neither yet then were ſub-
dued without themſelues, that euer ſided with the
enemy againſt themſelues, and whoſe ſictions made
way for the feet of their conquerors, as from *Tanſtan*
we haue declared: So their ſucceſſors the *ſaxons*
found as warlike withſtanders, till God for *Britains*
ſinnes had caſt downe their ſtrength, whereof more
ſhall follow (*Chriſt* aſſiſting) in the due place of their
ſtoories, that from the rage of *Vtrigern* the ſcourge
of

of his country to *Cadwallader* the last prince of the *Britains*, spent their lives in the quarrell of liberty, and hath left their memorials famous for their countries defence.

(17) But the state of kingdoms (how largely so ever extended, or by what humane wisdom strengthened with defence) do find their periods not to exceed much the number of six hundred yeeres, as by common experience among most nations is seen. In these times therefore when the world was shaken with wars, first by the *Romans* that strove to mount the spires of their intended glory, and were by Gods decree appointed to overrun and assault the earth, when Kings of people (I say) were enforced to lay the Crowns from their heads at their conquering feet; and free nations loaded with the yokes of their bondage: then was fulfilled the resolution of this question demanded, *Alas who shall live when God hath thus?* And then among the rest, *Britaine* gave place to necessity with as manlike resistance as did states more stronger, or kingdoms confined with far more larger compass. And *Cæsar* himselfe bought his entrance with such losse to the *Romans*; that no Emperor after assailed the like, before aged *Claudius*, whose opinion was, that thence the remembrance of his succeeding glory should wholly arise.

But when the props of that Empire began for to faile, as nothing can bee firme in this still-wearing world, the *Saxons*, for their valour a second triumphant nation, began as it were where the *Romans* left: for besides the continuall possession of their owne country, as in that case vnpartiall *Tacitus* doth tell vs; their legions were transported into all parts of the world, and without whom almost no victory was wonne: of whose power and prowesse in the expeditions of warre both *Dionysius*, *Arrianus* and *Seneca*, doe speake. To these then likewise if the *Britains* gave place, their lots came fourth with the like price of the rest, and in this *Iland* they bought their conquests as deere as they had done in any other part of the world. Neither was *Britaine* subdued by either of these nations, or their invasion and exchange of police altered, but with as vniuersall subiection and streames of blood as had been flusled out of the sides of their mightier nations, or by them had bin tamed to follow their triumphall chariots. And more honour attributed to passe these *Britons* as, with more admiration only to see the *Iland* it selfe, then was usually conceiued of kingdoms more larger, or that lay iacent as farre from *Rome*. And the conquest of some small parts of *Britaine* in no small selfe-glory to be inscribed as trophies of their victories vpon their Coynes, and to give surnames to the Emperors and their toores: as shall be shewed, when the age of this history shall be increased with the times of the *Romans* affaires in this *Iland*. Free from subiection before the attempes of *Cæsar* subdued *Cæsar* by the testimony of *Dionysius Siculus*, and neuer had yielded to any forein power, as not provoked by *Dionysius* or *Hercules*, nor enforced

by any to maintain their liberties by the feats of warre. But *Cæsar* in *Gallie* thirsting after nouelties, or his conceited humor to purchase renowne, made the sea seeme safe from dangers in passage, and himselfe resolute to venture his person amongst those bold and barbarous *Britains*: wherein he left no means vnassailed for their conquest and subiection, nor his successors omitted any proudent care to retaine and keepe the Land in their possessions, which whilst it stood a province in their obedience was held and accounted the fairest plume in their triumphant Diadem, and the losse thereof (if no more but only in name) as was publicly affirmed, would proue a great detriment to the Empire. This made the *Romans* to desire it as they did, who besides the great glory they conceiued in the conquest, made it the granary for the western garisons, besides the delicate provisions for their Emperors owne tables.

And the German *Saxons* strained in their owne countries through increase of their people, or haply to supply their owne wants, infected with piracies these West parts of the world, and among all others for the eie of their affections vpon this most beautifull *Iland*, and neuer left their attempes vnassaulted till they set the glorious diadem thereof vpon their owne heads. Changing the name *Britannia* into *Anglia*, a terme most fit to expresse that subiect, and pleasing in sound as Angelicall like, neither haue themselves proued vnworthy of so rich a possession, that in wars haue maintained, and by voyages made known her fame as far as the sunne hath his beames, or the endlesse *Ocean* her ebbs and tides. But of these things wee shall haue occasion hereafter.

And now adresse our selues to describe our ancient *Britaines*, and to shew their true pictures as they are reported. At first rude and vniuersall (I take them no further then all others then were in the world, some few excepted that were only taught by God) and with the first were reclin'd to a more ciuill respect, both in their apparell and apprehension of literature; whose pictures in the Chapter succeeding we will demonstrate they are described by *Cæsar*, *Pliny*, *Dio*, *Herodian* and others; at first altogether naked, cut, and painted as thou seest, afterwards partly clad in imitation of others which frequented their country either for traffick or conquest; in both which manner take them as they are reported to bee by these authours, and impute no liberty in the draught to the workmans best liking, nor thy selfe any whit disparaged to be brought from such parents, which here are set as the pillars spoken of by *Iosephus*, that after the flood did preserve the inuented science of the celestiall bodies, left time or elements should consume that knowledge or deuour those rules before demonstrated: So the true portraiture of our ancient progenitors may by these be preserved from the ruines of time & made our moimes to be thankful vnto him that hath brought vs forth in these most ciuill times, and not only clad vs with the garments of humanity, but by his spirit hath guided vs vnto a celestiall knowledge.

Ioseph. Antiqu. lib. 1. cap. 3.



THE PORTRAITURES OF THE AN- CIENT BRITAINES, OF THEIR NAKED- NESSE, PAINTING AND FIGVRING THEIR BODIES, OF THEIR PERSONAGES HABITES, AND HABIL- MENTS, BOTH IN PEACE AND WARRE: AS ALSO OF THE PICTS, THEIR ORIGI- NALL AND HABITES, &c.

CHAPTER VII.



He vnderstanding and apprehensions of men clouded in ignorance are by a Great Philosopher compared to the eye-sight of such men, as stand and behold things as farre-off; because both of these, though they apprehend some generall

shapes and notions, yet can they not discern of the true proportions and proprieties of their Objects. The like happeneth in the search and survey, as of all other Nations, so of our owne, of our first beginnings from antique Customes, behaviour, habits: the true Circumstances whereof are the more difficult to find, in that those things are not onely remote many degrees beyond the kenning of our Eye, (yes some-
times Ages from the times wherein we liue,) but are also shadowed and euerrapped in manifold vncertainties and contrarieties, wherewith euen those Writers haue perplexed our way, who vnderooke to be both our Guides and our Lights. Notwithstanding, our purpose being to propoſe vnto the eye of our now glorious and gorgeous Britames, some generall draughts of our poore and rude *Prætorians*, (that as *King Agastius* in his chiefe seals vied onely *carthen diſhes* to put himſelfe in minde that his Father was but a Potter, so we may remember that true *British Nobilitie* is more in *Fortue* then in *Amesities*;) let vs first see what the principall notes and markes are wherby the portions of those first Britaines were made to remarkable among all other Nations.

(2) These Notes were chiefly three; first, their going naked, secondly, their staining and colouring of their whole Bodies hardly, their earing, pincking and pouncing of their Beards, with garnishments (for so they thought them) of sundry shapes and fashions, as the two first ensuing *Notes* or *Portraiture*s doe represent. Touching all which, the reports of *Authors* are very discrepant; and therefore, first light is gotten out by collation of ſtories, we will essay, whether out of those *Writers* contradictions (brought to the stroke, and confronted together) we may strike some glimmering light to direct vs how to paint them forth, who so delighted in painting their faces.

(1) First touching their going naked, the authority of *Cæſar* mailt ouerſway (as being augmented) the too generall reports of ſuch others, as ſeeme to relate that the *Britames* generally vied no Couerture, as neglecting either of weathers iniurie, or of ciuill modesty; for he saith, *interiores plerique sunt nudissimi*: the In-land men for the most part were clad with skins. And yet these *Inlanders* were the reuel of all the rest, the *Scottish* and *Sea-borders* being full of humanity and little differing from the French civillite.

So that when *Herodian* saith, *Proſit uſum non cognoscunt, nec induuntur quidem*, They neither know the use of Garments: nor put any on; either he speaks on hearcly, or his large report muſt bee restrained to some extreme Perions, Times, and Places. And for certain *Persons* and *Times* indeed *Plinius* ſomewhat limits it, ſaying, that their married women, both elder and younger, (*coniuges, matres*) in certain ſignalls vſed to goe naked: ſo doth Dio alſo ſet certaine Places: in their Tent (ſaith he) they lye naked and vnſhod, where he ſeemeth to allow them ſome conſtrict abroad. The like may be ſuppoſed in time of Winter on War, where *Herodian* himſelfe ſaith onely, *pleraque corporis nuda*, A great part of their body was bare.

(4) It may ſeeme hereby, that thoſe Originals of Particular Nations were not much unlike that firſt beginning of the vniuerſall profumination of Mankind, when our firſt Parents Innocent walked in naked ſimplicity: the foundations of all things being, as fartheſt from our ſight, ſo more ſimple and ſure from thoſe artificiall fraudes, which ſome call *Wit* and *cunning*. And though an ancient Father be miſtaken, in conceiuing that by the foure letters of the name of *Adam*, were ſignified the foure quarters of the World, (that being an *Hebreu* name of three letters, and not a *Greece* of foure) yet all thoſe Quarters of the World participate ſomewhat of *Adams* diſpoſitions; and as all *Natural* things reſort by courſe to that whereof firſt they were framed, ſo if Lawes, diſcipline, and Cuſtomes, did not reſtrain men, they would in time, of themſelues reſolute to that firſt neglective condition, and careleſſeneſſe of thoſe outward reſpects whence men are now named *Ciuill*.

(5) But in our *Britames*, three reaſons there ſeeme of this their going vnclad. Firſt, their hardier, which was partly natural, and partly acquired by practice of their bodies to durance: of whom *Dio* records that all of them had an excellent habit in tolerating hunger, cold, and labour: inſomuch as they could endure to abide many daies together in the water up to the ſhins without any food, at all that they would lye in the weeds on roots and barkes of trees; though one kind of food he there mentioneth vnknewe in our times, whereof ſaying to make as much as a beane only, they were not ſubiect either to hunger or thirſt. No maruile, if thoſe, who would endure this, could endure the wear of garments: eſpecially in a ſolle winter we find this *Euloge*. *Tanimum nec ſtilla gelæ, &c.*

Not freezing cold, nor ſcorching hot they are;
Twixt both thou boldſt the meane and pleaſureſt part.

The like patience we find euen now not onely in the wilder Irish and *Virgineans*, but in rogues and Wanderers of our owne Countrey, who often pickeſt of

R r 2

erigible.

The reason why Nations Originall are ſo hardly found out.

The three chief notes of the Britains.

1. The first note of the Britains, their Nakedness.

Caſes.

Herodian.

Plinius.

Dio.

Herodian.

2. In Cyrenia
they were
A. ancient, B. B.
D. S. S. S. S.
A. S. S. S. S.
S. S. S. S. S.
S. S. S. S. S.

Cæſar ſaith the
Britains were
1. standing.

Dio.

See Chap. 4. 30



themselves voluntarily deprive their Bodies of this Protection against the Aires offence, to procure pittie of others. And what speak we of these? seeing even children for Custome, and Women for pride, will suffer their Breasts, and most tender parts of their Body, to be exposed not only to offence of weather, but of modesty also? yet generally, the *hendes, and feet*, being of most subtilt fence, yet by custome are enabled now to endure that, which by the like custome the olde Brittaines endured in their whole Bodies; whereby *Plutarch* thinks they usually lived so long even to the age of fourscore, the extreme cold keeping in and augmenting their internal heat.

(6) As a shillie to endure colde, so ignorance (in many) of meanes to prevent it, may seeme another occasion of these Brittaines nakednes. The Romans (it seemes) in their old *Causus* times, and after, had not the skill nor use of *Hats, Breaches, &c.* That Britaine abounded with wool and other materials for cloathing, is past all doubt, for which cause, by one *Pausanias*, it is named *Riche in Pasturage*, which by another is thus explicated, that therein was an infinite multitude of tame cattell both with *V. Aders* full of milke, and laden with *Fleeces* to the ground. So then *Wool* was noe wanting, but *Wool* or *Skull*, the latter in most likelihood: for, as *Strabo* saith, that though those *strutting V. Aders* yielded great store of milke, yet some of them had not skill to make cheese, and having to rich grounds, yet had not the art of milke, so their sheepe might have such heavy fleeces, yet some of their Owners no cunning to keepe themselves warme therewith. Some of them, I say; for otherwise, as *Pliny*, touching *Tillage*, gives light to *Strabo*, witnessing, that others of them were so good *Husbands* as to measure their grounds with *Measures*, as likewise doth *Diofcorides*, saying they had skill to make drinke of *Barley*: so probable is it, that those other who were by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* said to be so like the French in conditions, had also some part of their Art in fitting the Burthen of their Sheepes hackes to cover their owne.

(7) The last reason of such their going naked sometimes, was out of an opinion that no cloathing to adorne them, as their painting and damasking of their Bodies, for which cause (saith *Herodian*) they would not cover themselves, lest their gay painting should not be seene: but *Pomponius Mela* makes doubt, whether their thus painting themselves were for ornament or for some other use, which doubt *Cæsar* seems to resolve, as if the men did it; because it made them look more terrible in warre.

(8) And thus we are now orderly fallen on the second of those three notes appropriated by Authors to our Brittaines, which is their painting and staining of their Bodies, which appears by *Cæsar* to have bene more vniuersally vsed, then going naked, for all the Brittaines (saith he) *dye their bodies with staining*. As Authors differ in the reason of this their painting, (as we shewed) so in the name, perchance also in the substance of that wherewith they stained themselves, and somewhat also in the colour it selfe. The substance *Cæsar* calls *luteum*, which yet in vulgar conception is thought to be some yellow substance, as *Pliny* calls *luteum*, the yelke of the Egge. *Pliny* himselfe saith the Frenchmen call it *glayum*, describing it to be an herbe like *Plantayne*, which *Orbasius* (as learned *Cambden* sheweth) doth terme *Pistum*, in which sense *Mela* is vnderstood, to say, that they were stained *Pistum* (and not *Pistum*), it being generally taken to be *Woad*, from thence ancient times hath crooked for this end it staineth. But for the colour which is made, *Cæsar* and the rest agree; it was *Caruleum, blennif or asner*, which colour the *Cambro-Brittaines* doe yet call *glaze*, whence our *glaze* for windowes (called also *ourum*) seemeth by reason of the colour so haue taken name. Onely *Pliny* leaueh some scruple, in saying, that the naked painted women imitated the *Aethiopian colour*, which must he vnderstood either comparatively, in respect of People white and vn-painted, or because *he* saw a turre of liath the appearance of blacke.

(9) That the Brittaines tooke their Name from this

3. Pride.

Herodian.

Mela.

Cæsar.

2. The second note of the Brittaines painting. Cæsar.

Cæsar.

Pliny.

Camden, in Brit. p. 16. Mela.

Pliny.

See Chapo 5.7

Plutarch.

n. Ignorance.

Dionysius Corban.
Pausanias and Corban.

Strabo.

Pliny.

Diofcorides.

Cæsar.
Tacitus.



Pictus.
Whom the Picts
were.

Cambian Pict.

Tartan.

this painting, hath been already shewed out of *Igidore*, who writes, that they had that name from a word of their own language, wherein *Pictis* significeth as much as painted or stained; but whether those other Inhabitants of the more Northern parts of this Island, called also *Picti* or painted, had their name upon the same ground, & whether they were some branch of the *British* stock, or of some transmarine *Celtæ*, it is a question not yet decided. *Pomponius Mela*, and some other, derive them from Germany, some from the *Pictines* in France, but *Beda*, from *Scythia*, whence heith bee, they are reported to have come into Ireland in a few long battlements, and finding no footing there to have entered into Brittain. Though *Beda* has a authority be venerable, yet the learned find reasons to induce them rather to believe, that they were the remains of those ancient *Brittaines* which either inhabited the North-part of this Island, before the *Romans* entrance, or which (upon their Conquest) fled thither to avoid the *Romish* yoke, where the difficulties of the aire & soile protected them from the *Romans* ambition and invasion. Whereof *Strabo* well accorderth, saying, that *Agriola* drove the *Romans* Enemies (he means the more vntaileable *Brittaines*) into those parts, as it were into another Island. And it is thought incredible, that those Enemies of the *Romans*, who sent forth against *Agriola* an Army of thirty thousand strong, and who vexed *Seneca*, that in one Expedition hee lost twenty thousand of his *Romans*, & their Asiers were so victoriously extinct, as that none of them remained; but that rather they wonderfully multiplied, being those who afterward much perplexed and ouercast the *Roman* Province, and to whom (not vnlike) some other, (such as *Beda* mentioneth, did afterward ioinc themselves.

(10) If we would adde reasons vnto Authorities, to proue that these *Picti* were no other then that multiplied offspring of those *Brittaines*, we could produce these * Language, their manners, their kind of Government (all bearing *British* Resemblance) to con-

firme the same. But what need! since the selfe-manner of painting is an vndoubted marke in the Children representing of what Parents they were borne. That they were painted, *Claudian* shewes, calling them, *The Pictes* so truly named, which *Isidore* well expounds, *The Pictish* Nation had their name from their bodies, daubed with the iuce of an herbe growing amongst them. When therefore the *Romans* excluded them from their other *Provinciall* *Brittaines*, this name (*Pictes*) for distinctions sake was in vye amongst them; before which times, yea and long after, they were knowne to Writers by no other name then *Brittaines*, and the *Romane* Emperour, *Commodus*, *Severus*, *Diocletian*, *Geta*, vpon the Conquests of them, intituled themselves *Britannici*, *British* (not *Pictish*) Conquerors. But after the *Romane* league had prevaile with the *Romane* sword, the *Brittaines* themselves vied to name any thing painted by the name of *Pictis*, as may bee gathered out of *Vegetius*, who saith, that the *Brittaines* called certaine *Shallaps*, *Pictis*, because their saies, *Leek*, and *Marriners* apparel, were coloured blew, the very colout, wherewith these *British* *Pictes* (as some where they are trooly called) vied to flaire themselves. When afterward the *Irish* Scots had confederated themselves with the *Picts* against the *Romans*, they all beganne by degrees to be more civilized: the more Southerly of them being by *Numa* the *British* conquered vnto *Christ*, about the yeere of Grace 430. those other more Northerly, by *Columbanus* Anno 565. by which time it is likely, that *Civilitie* increasing, their painting and other like ruder Customes were well nigh forgotten, both amongst them, and also amongst those other *Brittaines* vnder the *Romane* Government. In which regard we haue besides those perfixt *Seneca*, and *Diocletian* of their first and most savage times, here added also their Habits, a while they beganne to put on, with conditions, a little better cloathing also.

(11) Neither may we thinke that formerly they refused such Apparell, onely to shew this flouting and colouring.

Cladon.
Why the Picts
were so called
Isidore.

* *Pictis* and *Isidore*.

* *Beda* maketh the *Picts* to be *Scythians*, but they were mostly *British* *Diocletian*, See *Cambian*.

1. The third note of the *British*, their painting of their bodies.

colouring of their Bodies: for besides it, some other be-liniments they had, which they effected much more gracefull, then either their painting was, or any Cloathes could be. Whereof the Brittaines, Salomon thus deliverteth: *The Country is in part* (note that the makes it not general) *inhabited by People barbarous, who by artificiall formes of infection have from their Child-hood faculty (supers) of Beasts depertraied in their bodies, and as their limmes increase in growth, so doth the pictured marks together therewith, neither doth these wild People boast of any greater kind of patience, then in bearing long-lasting feavres, where the paint had deeply functioned in their faced flesh.* The very parallel whereof is also by thisre let downe touching our *Picts* whose bodies fierced and picked be an artificiall punchion, did suck in the woe of the flaying herb, carrying the sear-sore on their pictured limmes, as badges of their Noblenes, thus endamished. Neither only the shapes of Beasts, but of all other things, were so printed in their flesh, which Herodian takes to bee the prime reason, why they delighted to goe naked, least they should hide thesi: their pleasing garnishments. Where also by the way may be observed, since Salomon saith that the barbarous onely vied so to doe, and Herodian, that those who did so, vied therefore to goe naked, that therefore not the Brittaines in general, but the most barbarous of them vied to goe naked. And very answerable to Salomon, (who elegantly calleth such their figuring of themselves, *inscriptis visceribus, a writing on their Bodies*;) is that of Claudius, Perieget examines *Pict's* marvellous figure as, *On dying Pict's he reads the horrid shapes,* and the beasts so lively portraied on them, seemed to be dead together with the murdered bodies of the *Picts*.

(12) By these varieties of pictureing, (if some have not misinformed vs out of their alliged ancient *Anthe 1.*;) those people so distinguished themselves, that the *marred women* were knowne by having pictured on their *shoulders flowers and knots*; the heads of some fierce beasts, as Lions, Gryphens, &c. On their *Belly*, the *Sunne* spreading his beames: on their *Pappes*, *Moones* and *Scarres* &c. On their *armes, thighs, and legges*, some other fancies of their owne Choice. But for their *Virgins*, their whole Body was garnished over with the shapes of all the fairest kinds of flowers & herbes; which (so speake indifferently) could not but yeeld, though a strange, yet so vncleaving aspect. Whereas the *Men* were (as *Caesar* speaks) *very horrible to be looked on*, having all their beault & bodie disfigured with vgly Beasts, Serpents, ravenous Burdes, scales and finnes of fishes &c. In which relation yet, this scruple will not easily be removed (if it bee true, that from their childhood their prints covered with their bodies) how those, who being *Virgins* had no print but of herbes and flowers, becoming *Men* were so easily transformed either into Beasts or beaustly Creatures.

(13) The later *Women*, (as you see by the later portraiture,) became faire more modest, that is indeed more womanly, having learned that then they openly shew most beaulty, when openly they shew not their beaulty; much lesse should they expose to the view, that which nature most endeavoured to hide, as knowing it least worth the viewing: yea

some oblerue that *women* being drowned, naturally swimme with their face and foreparts downward, whereas *Men* doe contrary, as if the impression of modesty were not to leave a Woman even after death. *Aegyptus* who mentioneth it, reporteth also of some *Macrones*, so too-mo-Jell, that they chose rather to die, then to expose some hidden discaies to their Chirurgicalians view: A point unfortunately inscribed into his witty books, in praise of *women*, which he dedicated to *Atargata* wife to *Antemilian* (afterward *Emperour*) their, of womanly bashfulness choosing rather to die, then to have her thigh cured, which was broken with a fall from a horse. The picture of this *British woman* here last depraicted, is framed to that description of the most valient *British Lady, Boudicca*, of whose braue attempts on the Romanes you shall read, more hereafter in the 7. Chapter of the Sixth Booke.

(14) Of which Sex, though naturally the weaker, yet in most *Writers* there are remembrances of some, whole Actions both *politick* and *Warlike* have become no way inferior to the worthiest Men, as our owne Age hath given testimony to the World in another *Great Lady* of British race, (the offspring of the valiant and lovely *Meredith of Wales*;) the glorie of whose Raigne and Regall vertues shall bee as lasting as the World. Whole iust, wife, and resoluteur kind of Government hath indited that Callisme of our old *Brittaines* and *Pills*, of the former of which *Tacitus* reports, as *Beda* doth of the latter, that they made no difference of Sex for the *Sovereigne Command*, yea and vied to warre under the conduct of women. In which respect though their Ordinary sort of women were not imployed in martiall seruices, otherwise then before we lawed in the fourth Chapter, yet because some of the choicest of them have been so imployed, we have so deciphered them in their Marriall habit.

(15) For their other habiliments of warre, and the manner thereof, we have described it in the same 4. Chapter, their fight being (as *Dionysius* saith) after the fashion of the *Heroes* in the first age of the World, who fought on Chariots; yet on foote also they were most brave (saith *Dio*) and also most swift, which makes me marvaile why *Strabo* should say, they were *pedestum male-fiduli, not fitly so interpreted*. Who also adds that they were (as himselfe observed at Rome) much taller then the Gauls, but yet of no very elegant shape and temper. Vñ as (*Caesar* saith) to were their haire very long and curling, otherwise shaven all their bodie save, except onely the upper lippe. Their weapons (saith *Herodian*) were narrow *stiletts* and short *spearres*, at the end whereof (saith *Dio*) was a little bell like a ball, which they shooke at their first encounter in Warre for terror of the Enemy. *Swords* also had they, but short, hanging at their naked sides; but helmet and casque they vied none, as esteeming them burdens rather then helps in warre. But about their necks they wore a round circle of Iron as an ornament, which they adorned their gold with other Nations; as also about their waite, whereas they hung their skinner, being doubtlesse, a most warlike Nation, (as their posterity have ever since proved,) and most desirous to spill blood, wherein yet their Offspring by diuine blessing are now most different from their Ancestors.

Aegyptus deinde
insensum.

Of their women
Courageous.

Queen Elizabeth
delivered from
Owen Tudor,
whom she killed
with her sword.

Tacitus
sidd.

Of the Brittain
balds or wares.

Dionysius.

Dio
Strabo

Herodian.

Dio

Herodian.





THE SVCCESION OF THE MONARCHS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE TIME OF THE ROMANS, WITH AN HISTORICALL RELATION OF THEIR EMPEROVS AND LIEVTENANTS:

So far as toucheth the affairs of this land, and so long as it stood a Province to that Empire.

BOOKE VI. CHAPTER I.



He next Nation that to the Britains obtained possession, and sovereignty of this land, were the Romans, and of them *Caesar* Julius Caesar the first, what time their State had undergone all kinds of governments, and now ripened almost to their highest pitch of glory. This *Caesar* bearing the office of *Legation* in Spain, and naturally disposed for great affairs, was thereto the more incited at the sight of *Alexander's* portraiture, standing in the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades*, where beholding it with great admiration fell into a sudden dislike of himselfe, and (as *Alexander* in seeing *Archilles* tombe) with an ambitious, yet honorable emulation, sighed and said: *Hast thou at my years attained the conquest of the whole world, my selfe hitherto having done no memorable action?* After which he disdained that his petty charge, and made suite to the Senate to be dismissed, holding that the cloude which overshadowed his following (and soone after) flowing fortunes. And forthwith returning to Rome obscured every occasion that might make him gracious in the peoples eyes, having the advantage of the time which then was swayed with most dislikes: and entering into many factions, yea and some of them not without suspicion of conspiracy, did notwithstanding so manage his proceedings, that their constructions were ever made honorable, and himselfe the man by all assents that did support the glory of their State, unto whom offices of high dignities were assigned, which daily increased his credit and power. And in the time of his *Consulship*, took upon him the government of Gallia, where he remained ten yeeres together, and forbore no occasion for warre, were it neuer so vniust or dangerous: Inasmuch that framing a Bridge of wood over the broad and fruitfull *Rhene*, he entred the country of the *Sueui*, being the first *Romane* that assailed the *Germani*: And thence with victory returning, found his charge the *Gauls* in quiet: both which fortunes were as spurres to his aspiring minde, and set his thoughts to worke vpon other attempts.

(2) For now intending a voiage into Britaine, he prepared thitherward, as well to enlarge the extent of his ambition and glory, as to satisfy himselfe with the sight and seat of the land, as for a further knowledge of those people the inhabitants, after whom he had most diligently inquired, yet by no relation could find content. But his pretence was reuenge against the Britains, for that thence (as himselfe speaketh) the *Gauls* had recruited most of their supplies against him in all his warres, or as some haue written, for the desire of Pearles that therein plentifully grew, whose beauty and weight he had oft obscured.

But because the summer was almost spent, and that the voiage seemed dangerous through want of knowledge, either for place of entrance, or safety in harbour (for our learned countryman *Roger Bacon* was doubtlesse in an error, who thinketh that *Caesar* set up *perfect* his glasse on the coast of France, and thence saw all the ports and creeks in England) he thought good to send one *Cassius Volsenus* a military Tribune in a galley before him, giving sufficient instructions for so great an enterprize in hand, himselfe drawing towards those parts of Gallia, that lay neerest coasted vnto Britaine, thence expecting his successe.

(3) These things were not so secretly done but that the Britains received notice thereof, and therupon some of their private States sent Ambassadors with proffers of submission vnder the assurances of their hostages. Which *Caesar* accepted and sent back again with liberrall promises, joining in commission with them *Cannus* a king of the *Atrebates* (for so he is called vpon his Coyne) a man well reputed, and respected among the Britains, that he might perswade the rest of the States to embrace *Caesar's* amitie. In effecting of which businesse, some few daies being spent, *Volsenus* returned, having waited vpon the coasts of Britaine so far, as with safety he might, which was no further then to view it with the eye, his foot not daring to tread the shore replenished with those barbarous people, as it pleased the Romans to terme the Britains: His discouerie and relation gave small en-

Coasts of Britaine.

Seneca, in his *Epistles*.

Caesar's *Commentaries*.

Volsenus *Caesar's* Tribune.



The Minister
of the high-
er parts of
France, as the
Minister, Calais, etc.

couragements to *Casari* hoped success, and had not the *Morines* yielded him their obedience, it may be thought his voyage at that season had been staid.

(4) But now comparing his affairs in *Gallia*, and having ready an hundred ships (wanting but two) besides many *Galliaris* for transporting his army, he looked from the shore, having a good wind, about the third watch of the night, taking order for his horsemen to imbarke with all speed and follow after *him*, his life early in the morning attained the fight of *Brittaine*, where *cliffes* he found covered with armed men, and place for entrance so naturally befit and furnished with steepe hills and rocks, that hee there cast anchor, and called to counsell the *Legats* and *Tribunes*, declaring unto them the danger of the haven that gave such advantage to their enemy, whose darts from the higher ground might much impeach their arruage, and therefore determined their landing elsewhere.

(r) Their Counsell was no sooner dismissed, but *Cæsar* both tide and wind fitting him, nor foreflowing the occasion, gave game of remove, and some eight miles distant came to a *plaine and open shore*, and made preparation to land his men. Thither also the *Britains* had removed part of their forces, and so valiantly withstood the enemies, that *Cæsar* himselfe, though wholly addicted to honor himselfe and his *Romans*, yet confesseth that his army was fore over-laid and terrified with that incounter; and had they not been assisted from the *Gallies* with an vnsual kind of *Engines*, which did beat backe the *Britains* (vncpert of that strange manner of assault) from the shore, the *Romans* had not fet foot on *Briggs* sole, nei-

durst they then adventure it, until the *standard-bearer* for the tenth legion desperately leapt forth to the ship with his *Eagle*, calling on the dandered soldiers and asking whether they would dauntedly forsake their *ensigns* and betray it through cowardice to the enemy! which opprobrium provoked them to follow his example and to throw not the *hoarse* after an

encounter fierce and terrible on both parts, as *Cæsar* acknowledges. But the first of all (even before the *Standard-bearer*) who put courage into the *Romans* and taught them how to deale, was (as testifieth *Strabo*) one *Seana* a *Britaine* (who formerly had fled to *Cæsar*) and guiding foure other soldiers in a boat to a rocke neere the shore, where the tide leauing them, his fellows slanke backe in the boat, but hee most boldly defended himselfe from the rocke against the *Britains*, like a Beare at a stake among a multitude of mistiues, till having all his armour broken in peeces and himselfe all wounded with darts, hee swamme to the fleet, and begging pardon for his foolish forwardnesse, *Cæsar* both forgane him, and rewarded his valour with the honour of a *Centurion*: and hee did *Cæsar* afterwards noble service at *Dyrachium* in the ciuill warres. *Cæsar* confessing, that hee alone saved the fortification against *Pompey*, at which time his target was shewed to *Cæsar*, having 230. holes pierced in it by the enemies, whereof *Josephus* saith that ancient Poet of Excellence writeth thus:

person and loss of his 18. *ships* (coming vnder sale with his *horsesmen* to his assistance) through the violence of a *storme*, and rage of *Sea*.

(7) In the mean time the *prisoners*, that after flight had again recovered head, and in their assemblies adufully considered their imminent dangers, concluded their submission for the safest *remedy*, and to that end sent their *second Embassadors* unto *Cæsar*, with whom *Cæsar* before remembrance was imploied, whom they had retained in strait prison for *Cæsar's ease*, but now made him a meane to worke their *peace*; which was granted after some soft and gentle reproofs, with *bullages* received for performance of *Contents*, and relout of their *Nobler* to *Cæsar's campe*, to yeeld themselves and *Cities* to his will.

(8) These *Britaines*, although rude in regard of the *Romanes*, and vnmatchable to them in *educated civilitie*, yet were so skillfull in the affaires of *warre*, and so ready to discern the least advantage, that the easily perceived the weaknesse of *Cæsars* power, both in want of *horsemen* to equall their *wagens*, wherein chiefly stood the strength and order of their *fighte*, as also of *ships* for service and safety, as occasions should be offered : whereby their mindes touching their *promised subjection* began to wauer, and the matter with better aduice to be pleaded in their *assemblies*, for that not only these foresaid *ships* for *Cæsars* supply were dispersed and hindered, but euen his owne fleet, which lay then in harbour by the rage of *winde and sea*, (beeing then spring tide, and the *moone* in the full) was not onely filled with waues, but also their *sackings, sailes*, and anchors spoiled or lost, the violent storme so dashing the *bankes* one against another, that their *bruiſed bottomes* were thereby made vnfit for burden.

(9) This *truffe* was so great, that it is accounted the first of the three adverse fortunes which ever happened to *Cæsar* in all his proceedings: and it was so well observed by the *Britannians*, that immediately they intended a *revolt*, and in Councille wrged this, as the materiall point that breathed *hope* and *life* to their former *liberties*, condemning themselves as impious if they should refuse to joine content with the *heavens*, whose elements had thus farr fought for their *freedom* and *fall deliverance*, assuring themselves (if on this advantage they might cut off these new *guelphs*) that never any afterward would adventure to enter *Britany* in hostile manner.

And thereupon they began both to slacke the performance of *courants*, and daily to withdraw themselves from *Cæsars Campe*, which gaue him iust occasion to suspect where they aimed. And to prevent their proceedings he as wisely wrought : for first repairing his *Nauie* with the huls, timber, and tackling of the most bruiſed *ships*, with the losse of *ruine* *ships* only, the rest were made able to brooke the *sea*. And providing against the aduantage of the enemy, he first forth the *seuenth Legion* for forrage to supply any occasion.

(10) Thus *Legions* taking the coast clear, and little furnishing so sudden a *result*, fell to the *fickle* and *fish* like harleut *labourers*, and laid their weapons apart, mistrusting no *Enemie*. Now the *Britaines* as forward to put in practice what they had determined, closely had laid themselves in ambush, for thither they knew the *enemie* would come, a pecke of *corne* there *standing*, whereas in all other parts *harvest* was past : and so having these *workmen* in their danger, suddenly fell vpon them, slaying some, and forcing the rest out of *their array*, who not knowing the order of their *fight*, cast themselves in a ring (the best defensive forme of embattelling) and stood on their *guard* as they might be: but had they not happily beene rescued, *Caesar* had lost one whole *Legion* at that time.

(11) For though this *shin* thus in a *ling* was altogether unknown and unexpected to the rest of the *ROMANS*, yet by the rising of the dust, appearing

* Thought to be
Dial.

This effigy was an Eagle of Brass standing in a kneeling posture upon the sepulchre stone.
Water, Ditto, 15th. c. 12th. c.

Center for the Study of the

* 572 2000-01-01

The fishery
for the conch
of the Land.
No. 1000 1873.

As Barham Downs
left the
disposition of his
ships.

The Britons
served another
day to Caesar.

Casaretti's
delivered.

Environ. Int. 2004;30:103-110.

Volcanoes erupt

The Britons
suddenly attack
the Romans.

to the Cohorts that waited before their Camps, the same was mistrusted, which caused Cæsar in all haste to make thitherward with part of his host.

(12) The Britains thus prevented, seeing more supply to maintain the battle, stood still, without further stroke: and the Romans as much amazed at this sudden attempt, and order of their fight, made a stand, not venturing any further. Which order in fight so often mentioned, and so much admired, in Cæsar's words we will declare, the rather because some have thence collected, that the Britains were the offspring of the *Trojans*, who with other *Eastern Nations* only used this kind of fight in *Chariots*.

(13) They used (saith he) to ride in wagons against the approach of the enemy, and to circulate them about with a whirling compass, and rattling noise, each waits casting their darts as they did drive, and ever as they saw advantage would wind themselves in amongst the horse and foot, to break the array: which done, they would forsake their wagons, and on foot most dangerously assault the enemy. In the mean while the Waggoners would withdraw themselves somewhat out of the battle, and place their wagons in such order that if their masters were over-charged, they might have speedy access, and opportunity of retreat, by which means they were ever as quick to move as were horsemen, and as speedy to stand the battle as were the foot, whereby they did supply the duties of both at once, and by daily exercise grew so expert in managing their horses, that running them forcibly down a steep hill, they would stop, and turne them in the mid-way: and they would run along the beam, and stand firm upon the yoke: whence with like facility they would againe returne into their Chariots.

This order Cæsar so well observed, as that notwithstanding his desire of revenge, yet warning his horsemen (as he pretended) wherein consisted the chiefest resistance, hee durst attempt no further on them, but was content to keepe the field without proffer of battle.

(14) The Britains likewise hopelesse of further

success at that present, departed without any impeachment, intending to prosecute their cause with a greater and more general supply: and thereupon sent messengers to their severall States, with notice of their hopes against so small a power: whose Camps by them if any way might be vanquished; the purchase of *Slaves*, besides their freed liberties, would requite the paines.

(15) These States, though maintaining civil factions amongst themselves, yet seeing the intended danger of this general enemy, presently assembled a great power, purposing yet once againe to trie the hazard and fortune of warre. Cæsar, whose vigilancy did ever equal his valour, prepared his army, where in now only 30. horsemen were present, and those brought to him by Comius the King. The battle joining continued not long, but that the Britains gave backe and fled, whom the Romans pursued as farre as strength indured, and returned with the slaughter of many, burning the Countrey where they came.

(16) Thus the Britains once againe vanquished, forthwith sent their third Embassage unto Cæsar, desiring peace, with promise of quiet subjection; whom he with hard termes now reproached, and imposed a double number of hostages to be brought him into Gallie, whither he made all possible preparation, for that the *Aquinoctium* drew neere, doubting his cragged ships would hardly brooke the winter storms, that usually rage upon these Seas. And having gotten a faire wind, embarked all his forces about midnight, and so brought most of his fleet safe to the continent. This enterprise so fortunately accomplished, Cæsar by his letters made known to the Senate, who decreed and proclaimed to his honour a general supplication or thanksgiving to their Gods, for the space of *tredecim diem* together, wherein all the Romans, clothed in white garments, and crowned with garlands, went to all the Temples of their Gods, and offered sacrifices for so glorious a victory.

The Britains gather a greater power.

Cæsar sends in his Army.

Comius supplies Cæsar with 30. horse.

The Britains submit themselves the third time.

Aquinoctium is when the day & night are both of a length.

Cæsar was now the first that had so, thus ever graced the greatest victory having before him but 3. days, or 20. at the most.

Cæsar's words are collected in Cæsar's Comment. b. 4. c. 13. & 14. & 15.

Cæsar's Comment. b. 4.

The manner of the Britains fight.



CESARS SECOND EXPEDITION INTO BRITAIN.

CHAPTER II.



CÆsar expecting the performance of Covenants agreed upon in the treaty of peace with the Britains, received hostages from two of their Cities onely, and no more: the rest drawing backe, refused his subjection: whereupon intending not to lose so rich

glory thus farre in his Horizon had ascended, hee appointed some troubles in Gallie, and in the winter season began his preparation to that enterprise. And having had experience of his former wanes, he furnished himself accordingly, and the next spring following drew his forces towards Calve, the shortest cut into Britaine. There committing the charge of Gallie to T. Labienus his Lieutenant, himselfe with five Legions of footsouldiers, 2000. horsemen, and 800. ships, about going downe of the Samee looted from the shoare, and with a soft Southerne gale were carried into

Most of the Britains broke the covenant with Cæsar.

Julius Partur (some think so) he Calve, being 5.6 miles.

a prey, nor to suffer that Samee to bee reliev'd, whose

into

into the streame. But about midnight the winde falling, and their sailes becalmed, the tide directed their course: so that in the dawning he well perceived his intended place for landing to be failed.

Cæsar arrives both
death at the place
of his fall actual

(2) Therefore falling againe with the change of tide, and inseason of their Oares, about noone the same day hee recovered the shore, even in the same place (and that without any loss of resistance) where he had found best landing the Summer before. There in convenient manner he encamped his host, and by certaine *Fugitives* got notice of the power and place of the enimie.

Cæsar visited at
the coast before.

(3) And lest delay should afford them advantage, he committed the government of his ships at anchor to *Quintus*, and his campe on land to the guard of ten Cohorts, besides the strength of three hundred horsemen; and himselfe with the rest about the third watch of the night tooke their march towards the enimie, proceeding with such celeritie, that by the day dawning they were entred twelve miles higher into the Continent: where seeking to passe a river, which is supposed to be the water *Barro*, the *Britaines* with their darts and chariots began in most terrible manner to assault the *Romans*. But being at length by them repulled, tooke into a wood strongly fortified both by nature and mans industrie. For in the time of their owne dissensions they had formerly made that place one of their strongest fortresses, and had cut down many trees, which overthwart the waies of entrance they had beflored.

The Britains driven
from their
fortress.

(4) In this they secretly kept, and where they saw advantage, would by companies fall out upon the enimie to their no little annoiance. Whereupon Cæsar commanded the *Eleventh Legion* to raise a banke, and to build a *glade* of boards, covered with raw hides, by which means the place without much adoe was won, and the *Britaines* forced to forsake the woods. Whole chafe Cæsar forbade both in regard the day was neere spent, as also that the country was altogether unknown to the *Romans*. But the next day the pursuit being begun, sudden newes was brought from *Quintus*, that most of his ships the night before by a violent tempest were cast on Land, their bulks shaken, their cables broken, and anchors lost. Cæsar's experience in like mischiefs the Summer before, made him so much more ready to prevent the worst. And therefore recalling his forces, in all haste returned to his Campe, finding the relation too true in their wracke, whereon forty of his ships were quite lost. Wherefore he wrote to *Labienus* his Lieutenant in *Gallia* for supply of ships, thence to be sent in all haste. Then gathering his shipwrights out of the legions, with the ruines of the bruis'd bulkes, he repaired the whole; and now having twice felt the dangers of these seas, caused his whole fleet (a strange attempt) to be drawn on land, even into the midst of the fortifications of his campe, so to secure them from the like mishaps, and that one strength might defend both.

Cæsar's Naue
is easily impaled
by tempest.

Hee dovereth his
fleet on shoore.



Cæsar. Com. Libs.

(5) In which admirable toyle ten daies and nights were altogether spent, before hee could returne to the place from whence he came, where now the *Britaines* through great confluence of people had increased their power, and entred againe their fortresse and wood. The chiefe command of these affaires was committed to *Calsibelan*, whose course we have heretofore likewise set, a Prince of good repute for feats in warre, whose *Segnorum* was feared from the Coasts towards the Sea, by the great and famous river *Tamisis*, and extended into the land full foure-score miles.

This *Calsibelan* present Gouvernour of the *Trinobantes*, had attained to the possession of their chiefe Citie by the slaughter of *Immanence* their former Ruler (a man well respected, and much lamented after death) whose sonne *Manabrac*, a gentleman of great hope,

fearing the like danger, by the new established authoritie of *Calsibelan*, had made over into *Gallia*, crusing Cæsar's assistance to let him in his right.

For Mithras
Faint.

Calsibelan's intention
at King's Lake.

(6) *Calsibelan* (if among these authentick Authors the *Brutish Writers* may be heard) was the brother of *King's Lake*, and in the noinge of his nephews gathered the *Trinobantes*, whose bonds hee sought to enlarge upon the bordering Countries of his neighbours, and in his fortunes had to borne himselfe, that he was much maligned, and more feared. But now all their dangers yoked alike in a common perill, they laid aside private grudges, and held him the only man to support the strength of their troubled and declining citie, and by a common consent made him *General* of their warres. The expectation of whose proceedings hee long delayed, but with a fierce and hot encounter did assault the *Romans*, and so manfully discharged the parts of his place, that in the sight of the whole Campe *Quintus Labienus* a military Tribune was slain, (in memorie whereof the place as yet, though somewhat corruptly, is called *Lab-lan*) and Cæsar himselfe professed hee learned many points of martiall policie by their brave and running kinde of encounter.

Lambert. Perenn.

(7) But his next daies service proved not so fortunate; for the *Romans* having learned their owne defects by the former daies experience, laid aside their *magick armour*, that with the more facilitie they might both assault the enimies, and with like nimbleness avoid their furie, they hasting now befowed their powers disorderly, and scattered their troupees into companies, whereby the *Romans* were full matched with fresh supplies. A policie no doubt of no small consequence, had not destiny determined the fatal subjection of the *Britaines*, and Fortune now raised the *Romans* almost to the height of their Monarchie.

Britains retire
to their several
Promontories.

(8) For this falling, the *Britaines* never after shewed themselves with any united resistance, but having lost the day departed, thinking it better to secure eacrie private by his owne means, than by a generall power to hazard all, as hopelesly any more to uphold that which the heavens (they saw) would hane down. And *Calsibelan* himselfe despairing of happy successe, drew into his owne territories, keeping with him not above 4. thousand wagons. And fearing the *Romans* further approach, forthwith the river *Tamisis* (then passable onely in one place) with sharpened stakes bound about with lead, and driven so deepe into the bottom, that *Seda* and *Aster* report them to be remaine in their times. All which notwithstanding, the *Romans* passed with the repulse of their enimies, and Cæsar, who grew now to the height of his honor, marched further into the Continent, and coming forward, was met by Ambassadors from the chiefe Citie of the *Trinobantes*, which first of all the States proffered submission, and promised subjection, with this intreatie also, that *Manabrac* (who being Cæsar's follower, and doublet the contriver of this submission) might be Gouvernour of their Citie.

Thought to be
Quintus.

Seda Lib. 1. cap. 1.

Manabrac.

The Trinobantes
submit to Cæsar.
Seda calleth him
Manabrac, Lib.
1. cap. 1.

(9) Cæsar ready to worke upon such advantage, treated them as *foety hostages*, with sufficiency of *grasse* for his whole armie, which with all expedition those *Suppliants* performed, preferring the satisfaction of their owne discontentments before the common cause of their *Native Country*, thus laid open, and betrayed into the enimies hands; from whose example many other States without stroke yielded to Cæsar's command: yea further treacherously shewing unto him both the power and place of *Calsibelan's* abode, who had now retired himselfe into his owne Citie called *Verulam*, well fortified both with woods and marsh grounds.

Cromagore,
Segnorum,
Aster, Lib.
1. cap. 1.

S. Aster is broken
by Cæsar.

Thither Cæsar came, and with little losse or labour won the place, and many of the miserable *Britaines* both taken and slaine. *Calsibelan* now despairing of his owne power, farr vnable to match, and much lesse to outmatch his Enemies, resigned the Gouvernours of *Kent* being four in number, *Cingetrix*, *Caracul*, *Taxamogolus*, and *Segmax*, (whom Cæsar termed

The Gouvernours
of Kent were with
Cæsar against
Cæsar.

meth Kings) to raise all their strengths, and suddenly to set upon the *Romanes* Campe that guarded their ships; which enterprise was accordingly attempted, but with such success, that the *Britaines* were on each side slain, and *Cassibelan* taken prisoner, the rest leaving themselves by flight.

(10) *Cassibelan* beholding these unfortunate proceedings, feared the end of his hapless success, for hee saw his Country walled, his owne designs defeated, and himselfe forsaken by the traitorous revolt of many Cities and States on every side. Therefore as bootlesse to bandy against fortune, he sought to hold his owne with others, and sent *Comius* King of the *Attrebatii* to be his meane to *Caesar* for peace, which was the willinglier heard and granted, for that he determined to winter in *Gallia*, his affaires so requiring it.

(11) The conditions were hard, but heeleslie must be obeyed: for *Caesar* imposed a grievous Tribute to be taxed of the *Britaines*, of no lesse then three thousand pounds yearly to be paid, and moreover included the safety of *Mandubrace*, with his *Tribunes* taken into friendship, and protection of the *Romans*; and lastly, that these *Comius* should be faithfully observed, he commanded *hostages* for assurance forthwith to be delivered. These things thus compounded, he tooke the *Sea*, about the second watch of the night, which then began to equalize the day in length, and safely arrived in the Continent of *Gallia*; Having rather shewed the place to posterities, then delivered to the *Romans* the possession thereof, as *Tacitus* saith, supposing it his glory sufficient to undergoe a matter so rare and difficult, and at his coming to *Rome*, to have presented his *British Captives* whole strangeness for attire and behaviour filled the peoples eyes both with wonder and delight. He offered also in the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*, a *Surcoat* made all of *British* pearls, as a *Trophy* and *Spoile* of the Ocean. And now his fortunes coming to the highest, the title of *perpetuall Dictator* (then which the State of *Rome* could afford nothing greater) sufficed him not, but a King hee will be, and sole governor oer all, though contrary to the Law and liking of the *Romans*; whereof in short time grew such heart-burning and hatred, that seventy principal men conspired his death, and after his many dangers of enemies in battles abroad, was in the Senate-house amongst his supposed friends, and in peace (if treachery may be called peace) cruelly murdered, revealing in his body three and twenty wounds, whereof he died, after he had been *Emperour* only five months.

(12) I am not ignorant that the *British* Writers doe varie from *Caesar* in relating these his proceedings, and speake more honourably of their owne resistance then himselfe hath set downe, namely, that by the valour of *Cassibelan* their King, in his first attempts hee was twice driven backe without his purpose, and forced to take the *Sea*, to the great hazard of his ships and men, yea and with the losse of his owne sword, which with great prowess was wonne from him in a single encounter by *Nennius* *Cassibelans* brother. And surely howsoever *Polydore* accounteth their story new, and *Caesar* carrieth himselfe glorious in his owne affaires; yet by sundry other renowned writers it seemeth that the current of this *Conquest* went nothing so smooth and untroubled, or with so little losse of the *Romans*, nor the *Britaines* liberties fugene by so easie resistance, which may be collected even out of some court passages of *Caesars* owne words, where it appeareth, that hee durst not at sundry times give the *Britaines* battle, though they were only harried in leather, and his Souldiers were all old *Legionaries* of long service, called for their huge armour, *Miles gravis armaturæ*, as having a helmet, corslet and boots, all of massy brasse or iron, with a large target, a strong two-edged sword, and a great classe or clubbe headed with an iron pike; which oddes notwithstanding had not *Cassibelan* beene vndermined by *Mandubrace*, and traitorously forsaken (which *Caesar* himselfe confesseth) by the Princes which promised him assistance,

but ever maligned him, and had now a faire time of revenge, perhaps *Caesar* might have missed this parcell of his glory. Yet for all these helpers, *Caesar* saith expressly of them,

Territa quævis ostendit terga Britanni:
He Brittaines found, but lost them soon by flight.

Extropius saith, He was wearied out and galled, both with the fierce battles of the enemy, and troas of tempests. *Tacitus* saith, Hee found out Brittaines for the *Romans*, but could not winne it for them: which was the very cause why (as *De Wittes* saith) for twenty yeeres after *Caesars* entrance, Brittaines kept their owne Kings and their owne laws, and had no forraigne Prefects to command them. And *Strabo* sheweth, that *Caesar* in this Land was both received with flatter and sore fight, and weakened by the losse of his ships, and with the most part of his men at armes. *Tacitus* also, vying the speech of *Caecilius* to his Souldiers, hath these words: He called (saith he) upon the names of his Ancestors, which chased *Caesar* the Dictator out of the Ile, by whom and by whose valour they were delivered from Harlots and Tributes, and emitted freely their wives and children without-fild. Again, in the consultations of the *Britaines* intending a revolt, hee allegeth their arguments, whereof one was the sudden departure of *Caesar* out of this Land, little better then a flight. With whom *Dion Cassius* also agreeth, affirming that *Caesar* got nothing in Brittain besides the honour and renowne of that voyage, and sight of that Country, until then unknown to the *Romans*. And againe (saith hee) *Caesar* departed thence having done no memorable act, which caused the *Brittaines* to be secure and careless to provide themselves against his second entrance. Whereby is apparent (even by *Romane* Writers) both the bold resistance that the *Brittaines* made, and the deare subjection that the *Romans* bought. But in matters so farre past, it is hard for mee to auouch any thing resolutely, vntill I could meet with that aged Brittain whom *Mr. Asper* conferred with here in Brittain (as *Quintilian* writeth) who auowed that hee was in the *British* Campe when they did beat *Caesar* from the shore.

(13) Neither will I vrge that for truth, which Authors haue left vs in their reports, concerning the many prodigies before going, and forswearing his death: things rather to be accounted the superfluities of their owne pens, and vaine imagines, euer working vpon accidentall euenes, and ascribing illud success to a supernaturall cause. Such conceit had *Caesar* of himselfe, that for his fortunes hee would bee praised amongst the Gods; and his desire to that credulous generation was further strengthened by the appearance of a blazing starre, which mooned (no doubt) an ouer-glorie opinion of his humane power, and caused his glorie much to surmount it selfe. And therefore lett ignorance should any way blemish his immortality, they haue fained the manner of his dying best pleasing to himselfe, and many ominous signes to fore-shew the same: all which be either lightly despised, or curiously neglected, as they would haue their Readers beleue.

(14) Such was that of *Spurinus* his diuiner, that forswore him of great danger, which should ouer-passe the Ides of *March*. And *Suetonius* out of *Cornelius Balbus* reporteth, that on the eleuenth of *March* of *Capua*, disordered by few months before, was found a Table of brasse, wherein was written the manner of his murder, and the revenge that should follow: his owne dreames the night before, wherein he seemed to lye in the clouds, and to shake hands with Iupiter: as also his vices, that thought him slained in her armes, and to be all bloody in her bosome. Besides many other obseruances both of beasts and birds, and that in such plentie, that it yielded sufficient matter for *Ouid* the Poet to furnish and fill vpon the latter part of his last booke of *Metamorphosis*. His feature, qualities and fortunes, are by them thus described: Of personage to be tall, strong, and well limmed, faire, and full faced, with blacke

Learn.

Extropius.

Tacitus.

Tacitus lib. 6. c. 13.

Justin Agric.

De sign. Caesar got nothing in Brittain, till then unknown to the Romans.

Quintilian.

Caesar would bee praised amongst the Gods.

Sueton. Fluctator.

Caesar forswore to take heed of the Ides of March.

His dreames.

His vices dreames.

Ouid. Met. lib. 12.

His personage.

Cassibelan sought for peace.

A great Tribute.

So such an odd women Chronicle the Author used named.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Caesar. P. 12.

Caesars ambition.

Caesars death.

British Writers vary from Caesar.

That Cassibelan repulsed Caesar twice.

Hee was won by Caesar in one d.

Strabo lib. 6. c. 13.

He is to be re-
conciled.

Seneca.

Cæsar and Ales-
bæd.

cies, and bald headed, to cover which he usually wore the *Triumphal Laurel Garland*. He was well learned, and therewithall very eloquent: and although so great a warrior, *thirsting after fame*, yet would he be easily reconciled to his enemies, yea and often times seeked the means first himselfe. And hee held it no lesse valour to subdue his wrath, then his enemy: as likewise in his *disasters* hee was of great temper and moderation, in somuch that *Seneca* writeth of him, that *whiles he was in Britaine, hearing newes of his daughters death (which was lamented as a great losse to the whole State) hee conquered that sorrow as easily and as quickly as hee subdued all things where ever he came.* And of his other moderatenesse, *Cæsar* (who then held the second place of honour and command in the Armie) writeth, that though *Cæsar* was then so great and glorious a Commander, yet he was so *farre from outward pompe*, as that when he came into *Britannie* hee had onely three servants to attend him.

(15) In his enterprises hee was both valiant and fortunate, and is therefore singled out for an *Idea* or

Patrone of an absolute General, especially for *four* martiall properties very resplendent in him: *first*, *labouriousness* in his affaires: *secondly*, *courage* in his dangers: *thirdly*, *industrious contriving* of what he undertooke: *fourthly*, *quicke dispatch* in accomplishing what hee had once began: In all which he proceeded with such success, that in *fifteen* severall battles by him fought, he *alwaies prevailed*, one only excepted, as both *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and others have recorded. *Four* times hee was created *Consul*, and *six* times entered *Rome* in triumph, bearing still the stile of *Perpetuall Dictator*. And therefore with lesse dishonour did *nations* submit themselves unto him; and this of *Britaine* with them, whose *lay* being cast among the hazards of the world, was drawn with an equall chance, as therest, and yielded their *freedomes* with in hard conditions, as did Countries of more extent, and Kingdomes of greater account. But most especially the decree of *God* could not be *gaine-lost*, who had *inspired* by his *Prophecie* the rising of these *Chittims*, and them a means to make the *metalline image* dust.

His success in
warre, and man-
ner of battles.

His Offices.

Num. 24. 24.
Dan. 11. 10.
Dan. 3. 35.



OCTAVIUS AVGVSTVS.

CHAPTER III.



fter the death of *Cæsar*, thus slain in the *Senate*, *Octavian* (the grand-child of *Julius Cæsar*'s sister) whom hee had adopted, and declared his heire, returned vnto *Rome* from *Apollonia*, where he studied *Philosophie*, intending to prosecute the reuenge of *Cæsar*'s death; where falling at oddes with *Marcus Antonius* a man of great *spirit* and *power*, and setting himselfe against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with their Complices, for the murder of his vncle, secretly wrought the friendship of the *Citizens*, before whose eyes also *Cæsar*'s wounds seemed yet to bleed.

(2) These factions thus begun, grew to such height, that in the *Senate-house* their causes were pleaded, and by the indignation and eloquence of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, *Antonius* was proclaimed enemy to the *State*: against whom *Octavian* was sent, with *Ensignes of Consul*, and title *Properator*, being yet not twentie yeeres of age; which duty and office he so well discharged in the parts of a valiant *Captaine*, that *Antony*

was forced out of the field, albeit in this battle the one *Consul* was slain, and the other deadly wounded. For which service so effected, he entered *Rome* in *Triumph*, though the glory thereof was much blemished, being obtained but in an intestine and ciuill warre, *Marcus Antonius*, to recouer himselfe, and make good his cause, joined friendship with *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus*, Capaine of the horse, who together interpreted themselves against *Octavian*'s proceedings; but by mediation of friends all three were reconciled, and jointly created that forme of government which thence was named the *Triumvirat*: for the establishment whereof they had severall iurisdictiones assigned them; to *Lepidus*, *Africa*, whereof he was present *Gouverneur*; to *Antony*, the Countries as well of *Greece* as *Asia*, that lay betwixt the *Ionian Sea*, entering at the *gulf* of *Venice*, vnto the *river Euphrates*: and vnto *Octavian* all these *West parts* of *Europe*, amongst which this our *Britaine* was one.

(3) In these ciuill broiles, and bandings of great men (as *Tacitus* termeth it) the *State* of *Britaine* lay long forgotten, and stood in peaceable termes, *Augustus* thinking it wisdom (saith he) to reframe the infinite desire of enlarging the *Roman* Empire, whose ex-
tent

Antony and Oc-
tavian reconciled.

Antony and Oc-
tavian reconciled.

* From *Messala*,
his house.

Cæsar against
Antony.
Antony, in his
disgrace.

Cicero against
Antony.

Luk. 2.

Dan. 2.

Augustus de-
scribed.
his raigues.Tiber. Annal. B. 3.
117. 2.His devotion to
Christ.
Norph. B. 3. 117.
Siden.

ness, when *Rome* was with an uniuersall subiection acknowledged the absolute *Lady of the knowne earth*. For so in *S. Luke* wee read, that this *Augustus* then first *ruled the world*. A text most strong for the full dissolution of the foure foregone Kingdomes represented in *Daniels Image*, by the fall of this *Rome* Christ, the *rocke and stay of our eternall happinesse*.

(7) This *Emperour* raigned in great honour the space of fifty six yeeres, and was obeyed both by the *Eastern Indians*, and the *Northerne Scythians*, with the subiection of the *Parthians*, a fierce and vntamed people, and generally with the loue of all. Hee was a *Prince* indowed with great *wisdom*, *magnanimitie*, and *justice*; yet faulty in this, that he rooke from *Tiberius Nero* his wife *Linia*, both great with child, and hauing also formerly borne him a sonne. Devout hee was in the worship of the *Romane Gods*; amongst whom in the *Capitol* he built an *Altar* vnto the *Hebrew childe*, with this inscription: *The Altar of the first begotten Sonne of God*: being thereunto moued by the *Oracle*

of *Apoll* that had answered his owne destruction by the birth of this *childe*. Of *Stature* he was hnt low, and of a good complexion; gray-eyed, his haire sonewhat yellow, and his body freckled with spots, which as his flatterers would haue the world beleue, were in forme like *starres*. Predictions foreshewing his gouernment and death are alleged, the which I willingly ouerpasse, holding most of them rather fantasies then truth. At his death hee demanded of the standers by, whether he had well *acted the enterlude of his life vpon the stage of this world*: and died foureteen yeeres after *Christ* his incarnation, leauing after him so honourable an estimation of his glory, that as the succeeding *Emperours* in remembrance of *Iulius Cæsar* gloried to be called *Cæsars*, so they ever held the name of *Augustus* to be *sacred*, and only besitting persons destinated to imperiall Maestie. And both their names were inserted into the number of the moneths, that the honour of them both might neuer perish while *Times ciuilitate should endure*.

His endowment
of bodie.Surre in his
August.The moneths of
July and Aug.

TIBERIVS.

CHAPTER IV.



Augustus Cæsar thus gloriously rainging, and peaceably dying, had ordained for his successor *Tiberius Nero*, the sonne of *Tiberius* the *Patritian*, and of *Linia* his wife, whom (as we said before) he had taken for his *Empresse*, and by whole incitements and

continuall insinuations that matter was procured: though *Suetonius* thinketh, it was by *Augustus* his owne ambitious conceit, to make himselfe the sooner misfed, and the more lamented, in leauing his sonne so vnlike him to succede, whose conditions as they stood vpon their owne basis, hee knew to bee both reproachable, and also contemptible.

(2) But before the deareh of *Cæsar* could be divulged, to write his imperiall stile as it were in blood, he began with the murder of young *Agrippa* the sonne of *Iulia* daughter to *Octavian*, and once his owne wife, and continued his raigues with such *tyrannie*, that ma-

ny he slaughtered, without respect of person or cause, and in his loofest lasciuiousnesse, thought of nothing but how to subuert the *Nobilitie*; for rare it was in his daies that any such deed a naturall death: and maintaining a race of men (*Procurators*, as *Tacitus* termes them, found out for a common overthrow and destruction of others) assured them by rewards to accuse the rich, though guiltles; so only this fauour granted to the condemned, that if they slew themselves before the day of execution, their bodies should haue buriall, their goods not confiscate, and their testament stand good in law.

(3) A great dissembler he was, seeming euer to hate those vices which in truth he lored, and to loue those vertues which he did most deadly hate: and for life and libidinous filthinesse so extreme, that a Christian pen may not expresse, when the *Heathen* themselves doe blasphe to name such things as hee showed not openly to commit: his publike drunkennesse, and continuall banquettings, whereat hee spent whole daies and nights together without intermission, caused exchange of names from *Tiberius Nero* to *Biberius Nero*.

Tiber. Annal. lib.
117. 3.His plotting e-
gall his Ne-
bilitie.
Tiber. Annal. B. 3.
117. 3.Tiber. Annal. B. 3.
117. 3.Tiberius his by-
pocrisie.His libidinous-
nesse.Tiber. Annal. B. 3.
117. 3.

His banquettings.

A wine-bibber.

Cæsar in government.
The provinces
rebelled.

Divides without
forming garrison
or government.

Tacit. Ann. lib. 1.
cap. 5.

Jeffrey. Mon.

Mens. Dissolute and careless he was in government, though some have accounted him a wife and politic Prince: for the *Provinces* he left to defend themselves, and yet daily charged them with larger *Tributes*, to their great impoverishment, and almost utter ruine.

(4) In this state, amongst others neglected, Britain stood, wherein *Tiberius* neither maintained garrison, nor attempted alteration, and whereby (as it may be thought) their owne Lawes and Princes bare sway amongst themselves, howsoever the cause for *Tiberius* was ballized betwixt them. And most certaine it is, the *Britaines*, if not in subjection, yet were well affected to the *Romans*, as appeareth by *Tacitus* in the kinde entertainments, and in relieving their shipwrecked soldiers, that in crossing the *Sea* were by tempest driven vpon their Coasts, and courteously sent thence by their petty *Kings* vnto *Germanicus* their Generall. Notwithstanding, *Jeffrey Monmouth* seemeth to affirme the contrary, that bringeth the reign of one *Guidicus*, and the valour of *Arviragus*, the sonnes of *Cunobelin* (of whom more hereafter) to withstand the *Romish* Command, and vterly to refuse the payment of *Tribute*, banding both against *Tiberius*, as also against *Caligula* and *Claudius* the Emperours succeeding.

(5) Other remembrances of these times concerning vs finde we none, besides that which is common to all, namely the death of our *Saviour Christ*, which vnder this Tyrant, and in his eighteenth yeere was accomplished by the proceeding of his (as wicked) Deputy *Pentus Pilate*, who hath admitted him to die, and to be quicke of departing death: whereby was wrought the myserie of our *Redemption*, with such signes and evidences of his *Deitie*, that the wicked Iudge himselfe wrote thereof to *Tiberius*, and hee to the *Senate*, to haue him consecrated among the *Roman Gods*. Which they refused to doe, that the wisdom and diuine power of God in the doctrine of *Saluation* should not need the allowance and commendation of men, as *Eusebius* hath well obserued.

(6) Finally, when hee had reigned hated of all men the space of three and twenty yeeres, with no better liking then is read of *Ioram King of Iudah*, that liued without being desired, hee was smothered to death (as is thought) by *Caligula*, the thirteenth of the *Kalends of April*, the yeere from *Christ's Nativity* thirty nine, and the seventy and eighth of his owne age. He was of *personage* tall, and of *body* strong, broad chested, and vied both his *hand* alike, faire of complexion, but great and goggle-eyed, whereby he saw so cleerely as is incredible to report.

Our Saviour
Christ's death.

Tertul. in Apolog.
chap. 16. v. 17.

2. Eph. Peric.
h. 1. v. 1. 2. 3.

Tiberius his
reigne, age,
and death.
Tacit. Ann. lib. 1.
cap. 7.
2. Chr. 23. 20.
Tacit. lib. 1. 4. 2. 1.



CAIUS CALIGULA.

CHAPTER V.



Caligula
his parents.
Tacit. Ann.
lib. 1. cap. 9.



Ext vnto *Tiberius* succeeded his nephew *Caligula*, the sonne of *Germanicus*, (whose face is expressed aboue) the sonne of *Drusus*. His mother was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Iulia*, *Cæsar's* wife; liked rather for his fathers virtues, (who was for learning,

virtue, valour, and courage, the most admired man of that age) then for any parts of his owne answerable to so high a place, as being neither naturally framed for good presence in Throne, nor qualified in minde for an Imperiall Command. Euer in condition opposite to all, and (which is more) most times to himselfe. One while lasciuiously prodigall, in excessive banquets, admirable Sea-workers, with needlesse leveling of mountains, and filling vp their vallies: Ano-

ther while extremely courteous, imposing taxes vpon the Provinces, and exacting gaires out of the base earnings of pollutions: Alwaies cruell and libidinous. His owne mother he defamed to bee incestuously begotten; his grand-mother he poisoned; his brother *Tiberius* he murdered; with his three naturall sisters hee liued incestuously, and vpon *Drusilla* the second (who was consecrated to be deified by him when they were both but children) he so incredibly doted, that he vied to sweare by her sacred name, and desired her for a Goddess by the name of *Panthea*, commanding diuine honours to bee done vnto her. The like desire conceited he of himselfe, causing his statue to be worshipped, and placed in his viall robes amongst the *Romane Gods*, and would haue let it in *Ierusalem's Temple* (as *Iosephus* recordeth) had not that great God cut him off by death. His Imperiall government was without either enlargement of circuit, or enforcing by armes a doubtful subiection, rather seeking to make himselfe

His concubines.

His vile notions.

His pride.
Tacit. lib. 1. cap. 10.

1. Eph. 2. 12.

CLAUDIUS DRUSVS.

CHAPTER VI.



Claudius Drusus
Emp.

Aulus Plautius
Lieut.

Claudius Drusus
chosen by the
Proetorian Soldiers.

Josephus Antiquities
1.9.447.3.



Ut Claudius Drusus a man of better spirit and temperance, immediately upon the death of Caligula, and even in the height of those disturbances, by the Pretorian Soldiers (who were encamped nere the walls of Rome) was nominated, and chosen Emperor, whereas the Senate had decreed and determined to reduce the City into her ancient liberty, without admission of any Caesar, or submission to such absolute and sole authority; notwithstanding, the power of this Army, and the vote of the City so prevailed, that the election was confirmed, and the Imperial dignity by him assumed, as the next, and only man to whom it must of right belong: whose father Drusus was the sonne of Livia, wife to Augustus, to whom the Emperours succeeding held it a glory to be any waies allied.

Claudius his Proetorians.

The Britains de-
voted their Tribu-
tes.

(2) In his first proceedings with the Proetorians, hee determined waite against the Britains, whose Tribute had bene a long time neglected, and whose submission was now to be feared: all of them being raised in a tumultuous uprore. The cause pretended was certain fugitives, (the betrayers of their State, and liberties) lately departed, and by the Romans received with protection of the Emperour: a matter that moved them to great discontent, and served as a snare for their iult reuolt.

Dion Cassius. de
Rom. Hist. 61.

Aulus Plautius
sent against the
Britains.

(3) Claudius, as ready to prevent the worst, being thereto further incited by Seneca one of those British fugitives as Dion reporteth, in the second year of his Empire, and from Chrysipps Natusse forty five, sent Aulus Plautius a Roman Senator, well experienced in the affairs of waite, to take charge of the Army remaining in Gallia, and with those old trained Soldiers to make ouer into Britaine to reaine their obedience. Which seruice upon them thus imposed, was generally dislik'd, as apparently was shew'd by their unwillingness thitherward, muttering and complaining, that they must now be enforced to make waite out of

the world, and protracting time, could hardly bee drawne forward, though the Emperour lent his second command.

(4) But being at last embarked and crossing the Seas, their shippes were beaten with contrary winds, which still added discouragements vnto their proceedings, and had not an accident the same time happened, the edge of their courage had bene more abated: for even in this distraction suddenly a fiery leane shot it selfe from East to West, the same way that their shippes made Gile: which presently gaue hopes to their despairing hearts, being heathenly interpreted for a signe of good lucke, and so sent from their Gods, whereupon without any resistance, they came to shore and took land.

Encouraged by a
signe from hea-
uen.

(5) The Britains that mistrusted no such sudden ionation, and now thus surpris'd vnawares, disperdely secur'd themselves in woodes and manishes, thereby to detract time, and the more to wearie the Enemy by delayes which thing Plautius well perceiued, and with much labour, and hazard followed to extremely, that many he slew, and tooke prisoner Catrautus their Captaine, the son of Camobeline but lately decaied, which brought such terror amongst the Britains, that thereupon the BODVNI, the inhabitants of Oxford and Gloucestershires, yielded themselves to Plautius deuotion: for which seruice thus effected, the Senate decreed his Triumphs; and it is probable that this defeat of the Britaine forces, and surpris of their King, fell out in the sixt year of this Emperours reigne, by the reuerse of his money then minted with



Catratutus taken
prisoner.



His Soldiers
muttering.
Dion. 61. 66.

with a triumphall arch and inscription, *De Britan.*

(6) But he following still the Enemy, being seconded by *Flavius Vespasian* (afterward Emperour) the leader of the second legion (the foundation of whose succeeding fortunes was first laid here in *Britaine*) gaue them againe another overthrow. The chiefeft meanes whereof was a *poliack* they had gotten to gill the Chariot horses, whereby their riders were murthered, and their whole powers disordered: many *Britaines* in this battaile were slain, and more in danger, had not the night ended the skirmish.

(7) The next day the battaile was againe begun and maintained on both parts with equal aduantage, till *C. Silius Geta* enforced the *Britaines* to retire, whereby the victory rested in the *Romanes*: for which exploit *Triumphall honours* were assigned him, although he had not yet attained to the *Consular* degree. In this Conflict, *Vespasian* hardly escaped, being fore oppressed by the Enemy, and in such fort, that had not *Titus* (his renowned sonne) come to relieve, he had beene slain, whose valour after: was tried in one and thurty battailes, and in the Conquest of the Ile of *Wight*.

(8) After this conflict, the *Britaines* withdrew themselves into places of more aduantage, and in the mouth of *Thames* betwixt her fall into the Sea, passed the shallows and firme grounds in *Essex*, whereas the *Romanes* ignorant of both, brought many into danger, and in their distressed passage, were sharply assailed by the Enemy, in which tumult, a bloody battaile was begunne, wherein *Togodannus* a *British* Prince, brother to *Catragat*, and sonne to *Cunobeline*, was slain: Notwithstanding, the courage of the *Britains* was nothing abated, but rather exasperated to a further reuenge: for effecting whereof, new forces were gathered, and confluence of people assembled from each part of the Ile. *Plautius* the Lieutenant being daily the increafe of their power, *Vespasian* impliued in other parts, and himselfe furnished in a place of danger, proceeded no further, but sent word to the Emperour of the doubtfull estate of their affaires.

(9) At that time (saith *Suetonius*) the Senate had by decree allowed *Claudius* his *Triumphall ornaments*. But he supposing that such a hore title of honour was inferior to the Maiestie of an Emperour, and willing of himselfe also to enterprife some exploit whereby he might winne the glory of a compleat *Triumph*, made choice before all other Provinces, of *Britaine*, attempted by none since *Iulius Caesar* of famous Memory. And with great strength entered into the journey, hauing with him a mightie Armie both of horse and foote, as also *Elyphintia*, a beait of great bignesse and barthen, whose intrancible then amazed the *Britaines*, and whose Carcases falling in this Land, their late found bones (no doubt) haue bred our error, being supposed to be of men, and not of beafts.

(10) With very great danger he passed the Seas, and joining strength with his Lieutenant and *Vespasian*, they all together crossed the *River Thames*, where presently they were encountered by the *Britaines*, who a while maintained the battaile very desperately, but in the end gaue place and fled, whom the *Romanes* pursued down to their strong *Canaledunum*, then the seat of *Aulemus*, a *Cunobeline* sonne, as may be coniectured by the Medal of *Britannicus* the Emperours darling, figured in the front of this Chapter, which Citie they surprisid and fortified with their owne Garrisons, which the Emperour in the eleventh of his reign, as appeareth by the other coine, turned to a Colony of *Roman* Citizens. *Claudius* now disarming the *Britaines*, remitted further punishment either vpon their bodies or confiscation of their goods: The which his favourable clemencie moued those distressed *Britaines* to such liking and love, that they erected a Temple and Altar in his name, and gaue him diuine honour, as a God: The rest as vnable to resist, professed their submission, and promised a peaceable subiection vnder the *Romanes* gouernement.

(11) These things thus achieved, at the end of

sixe months *Claudius* in his ninth yeare returned and entered *Rome* in triumph with more then viuall manner, stamping againe vpon his monies his Arch of victory, as appeareth in the face of this Chapter, a perpetuall trophie of his victories and memory of ourirruade. After whose *Triumphall Chariot* rode *Mesfalina* his wife, the *Mistress* of her sexe for impudencie and lasciuious life: and vpon the topp of his Palace he placed a *Nauall Ceremony* in memoriall of the ocean by him failed oner, and subdued: withall assuming to himselfe, and sonne, the *Surname Britanicaus*: And honoured *Plautius* with his presence in his *Triumphs* for *Britaine*, giuing him the right hand, ascending the *Capitol*, and besides graced diuers Captaines that serued vnder him in that warre with *Triumphall Ornaments*. So great an echeuue was held of the Conquest of so small a part of this Island.

(12) The *British Historians* relate these things farre otherwise, reporting that their King *Arminius*, the yongest sonne of *Kymbeline*, withrood *Claudius* in his enterprife, with whom (say they) he came to composition by giuing him his daughter *Genissa* in marriage, in memorie whereof, he built the Citie *Gloucester* according to his name, which now is called *Gloucester*: But *Suetonius* writing the life of *Claudius*, his wives and children, nameth his daughters onely to be *Claudia*, *Antonina*, and *Octauia*, without mention of *Genissa* at all, and therefore not likely to haue any such: And *Dion Cassius* reporteth that *Claudius* himselfe staied not aboute sixteene daies in *Britaine*, a time too short for the sending to *Rome*, and the neede for the returne with his daughter, or for the building of so great a Citie as *Gloucester* is. Neither indeede was *Arminius* knowne in the daies of *Claudius*: But rather liued in the time of *Domitian* the french in rebellion after him, as plainly appeareth by *Iustens* the Poet, in those his verses spoken to *Domitian*, which elsiu here we cited. Whereby appeareth that the stirres of this King could not accord with *Claudius*, and that the truth of this report is much weakened from more sufficient authorities. But to proceede, *Aulus Plautius* (the first Lieutenant authorised ouer the *Britaines*, vpon some occasion was the neede reuoked, the warres not quieted, and with a small *Triumph* (as *Tacitus* saith) entered *Rome*. Vnto him succeeded *P. Ostorius Scapula*, for reputation in martiall affaires nothing his inferior, who at his first landing found all an vprore: Of whose proceedings let vs heare *Tacitus* speake: The *Britaines* (saith he) that were yet unconquered, ranged the Countreies of the confederates, presuming both vpon the approach of the winter, and the Proprietors consequence with his Army. But he knowing that the first successe breedeth either feare, or confidence, gathered the Coherts, and made towards the Enemy, slaying all that made head against him, and disarming those whom hee most suspected. And to retaine *Cogidunus* the King in stricter assurance and fidelity to the Emperour, granted diuers Cities and States to him by way of Donzation.

The first that beganne to stirre, were the *Deceans*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolk*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington-shires*, a strong people vnshaken with warre: And with them (at their instigation) their neighbors adioining. These together chose a fit place for fight, compassed in with a rude, but defensible trench, which had only one narrow entrance whereby the *Harlemes* must be much impeached. This Rampire notwithstanding the *Roman* Captaine, with the onely aide of the *Albion* brake downe, and disordered the Enemy euen in this their owne fortreffe, who freing all passages for escape to bee stopped vp, (*Ostorius* hauing hemmed them in with Garrisons betwene the *Ruurs*: *Antonia* and *Sabrina*) shewed great valour in defending themselves, and

Claudius returned to *Rome*, & entered in *Trianumph*.
Sueton. in vita *Claud.* c. lxxij.

The *British Historians* varie in relating *Claudius* doing in *Britan*.

Dion Cass. lib. 60.

Aulus Plautius first Lord Deputie.

Tacit. in vit. *Agric.* c. xxiij. *Ann.* c. lxx.

Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 8.



Consideres perchaunce is meant.

Now in Northampton-shire, South Camde.

Britan in vit. Agric.

C. Silius Geta his valour.

The *Britains* retire into places of aduantage.

Togodannus Prince.

Claudius the Emperour returned into *Britan* with a great Army.

Dion Cassius, lib. 60. c. xxiij. *Elyphintia* first brought into *Britan*.

Claudius entered *Britan*.

He brought *Caesars* image.

His clemencie murther him to be honored for a God.

and by their deaths gave place to the *Romans*. This overthrow and slaughter of the *Irish* wrought a more staid resolution in those that before were warring between warre and peace. And the Army led against the *Cangi*, with wife and spoile consumed the Country, the inhabitants not daring to bee scene in field. Whereupon the *Romans* pierced thorow the Land even unto the *Sea-coast* that looks towards *Ireland*.

A small *refuge* was made by the *Brittains*, but without much trouble *some* quitted by the execution of some few, and pardoning of the rest.

(13) But the *Silures* (that is, those of *South-wales*) could not be brought to beare the *Romany* of submission, who besides their owne courage relied much vpon the strength and valour of their Prince *Caradac*, whose Coine we have here expressed a man which had waded thorow many dangers, and in many adventures both prosperous and luckie had gotten such reputation, that hee was preferred before all the *British Captains*. This General knowing his owne strength vnable to match the enemy, by police thought to supply that want, and having advantage of the Country, remooued the warre vnto the *Ordinices*, which is now *North-wales*, where all

joined to him that either feared or dilained to hold peace with the *Romans*. Heere he chose a place to encampe his *host*, even on the top of a hill naturally defended from access: and where any doubt was, there he stopped up all passage with heapes of stones in manner of a *Rampire*; neere the foot whereof ran a *River* with a foord somewhat dangerous, and not easily found, where a troope of his best soldiery were set in order to recuse the *Enemies*.

The more to animate their mindes, the *Leaders* were about exhorting and encouraging the *Souldiers*, taking all occasions of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all inducements of resolution: especially *Caradac*, who courting hither and thither, protested that day and that battle should bee the beginning either of a recovered libertie, or else a perpetuall seruitude and bondage: and ever hee called vpon the names of his valiant *Ancestors*, who formerly had chased *Caesar* the *Dictator* out of the *Isle*, by whose valour they were deliuered from *Hatchets* and *Tributes*, and enioied freely their wives and childrens bodies vndetiled. The *Souldiers* also themselves shewed as great forwardness, and as *Rebels* redoubled his words, *swearing* according to the Religion of their Country, *power to yield* for wounds or life, which they all were ready to sacrifice in the cause of their libertie. This their apparant resolution much appalled the *Romans* chiefeales and most of all the *Captains* and *Leaders*, who before their faces flew the *River*, on both sides of them had the hanging hills, and the Fort commodious for the enemy, but deadly vnto them: all which notwithstanding the common *Souldiers* despised, and demanded the battle. *Ostorius*, whose studie was chiefly to performe the parts of a General, passed the *River* with some little difficulty, and leading his *Armie* up to the *Rampire*, was met with such a shew of odds, that many therewith were wounded and slaine. Yet at length breaking downe those rude compacted stones, joined battle with the enemy, and afront came close to handy strokes, wherein the *Brittains* having better courage then armor (for they had neither headpiece nor coat of defense) were fore galled with their fauelling and two-handed swords, and so disordered, that they betooke themselves to flight.

(14) This victorie as it was almost vnexpected, so was it made famous by the taking of *Caradac* wife, daughter, and brethren, and himselfe flying for succor and protection to the *Druides*, was (as we haue before shewed) by *Carismandus* their *Queen* betrayed and deliuered into the hands of the Con-

querours after his nine yeeres most generous resistance. Whereupon his fame being carried ouer the *Islands*, and spread abroad thorow the *Prouinces*, was also renowned in *Italy*, and they desired to see him that so many yeeres had contemned their forces. Neither was his name nearly effected of at *Rome*; for whilst *Caesars* worth and power was there commended, a more glorious conceit was held of the conquered *Caradac*: and against his coming to the *Citie* the people from all parts were assembled, as to behold some notable and most rare spectacle. The *Emperors Guard* in armes and good order were placed in the field before the Campe, thorow whom the *Captiues* and *Trophies* were carried, and presented after this manner: first the vassals of *Caradac* going foremost bowed their bodies to the people as they passed, and seemed by their ruefull countenances to discover the sense of their calamitie. The caparisons, his chaines, and other spoiles gotten in the warres, were carried after them. Then *Caradac* his brethren, wife, and daughter followed, and last of all himselfe, whose attire and stout behauiour filled the peoples eyes with wonder and delight. His *body*, for the most part, was naked, and painted with figures of diuers beasts. Hee wore a chaine of iron about his necke, and another about his middle: the haire of his head hanging downe in curled lockes, couered his backe and shoulders, and the haire of his upper lip parted on both sides, lay vpon his breast. Neither was his behauiour lesse noted then the strangeness of his habit: for he neither hung downe his head, as daunted with base feare; nor cringed mercie, as the rest; but with a confident spirit, and bold countenance, held on till he came before the *Imperial Seat*, where making his stand, and a while beholding *Caesars Majesty*, at last with great courage spake to this purpose.

(15) If my modestie in prosperitie had beene answerable to the greatness of my birth and estate, or the success of my late attempts to the resolution of my minde, I might haue come to this *Citie* rather as a friend to be entertained, then as a *Captive* to be gazed vpon; neither wouldst thou disdain to haue recieued me on termes of amitie and peace, being a man of roiall descent, and a Commander of many warlike Nations. But what cloud sooner hath darkened my present lot, yet haue the *Heauens* and *Nature* giuen mee that in birth and minde, which none can vanquish, or deprive mee of. I well see, that you make other men miseries the subiect and matter of your triumphs; and in this my calamitie, as in a mirror, you now contemplate your owne glory. Yet know that I am, and was a *Rome* furnished with strength of men and abilliments of warre; and what maruell is it if all bee lost, seeing experience teacheth that the events of warre are variable, and the success of policies guided by vn-certain fates? As it is with me, who thought that the deepe waters like a wall inclosing our Land, and it so situated by heauenly prouidence, as in another world, might haue beene a sufficient priuilege and defense for vs against foraine incursions: but I now perceiue that the desire of sovereignty admits no limitation; and if you *Romans* must command all, then all must obey. For mine owne part, while I was able I made *resistance*, and unwilling I was to submit my necke to a seruile yoke, so farre the law of *Nature* alloweth every man, that he may defend himselfe being assailed, and to withstand force by force. Had I at first yielded, thy glory and my ruine had not bene so renowned. Fortune hath now done her worst: wee haue nothing left vs but our liues, which if thou take from vs, our miseries end; and if thou spare vs, wee are but the objects of thy Clemencie.

(16) *Caesar* wondering to see such resolutions and so free a minde in a *Captiue* estate, pardoned *Caradac*, his wife and brethren, who being vnbound, did their reuerence to *Agrippina* the *Empresse*, that late aslott on a *Throne* *Reiall*. This Conquest and Tri-

Here is shewed the Roman warre, Tacit. Annal. lib. cap.

Caradac had his strength.

His build and voice.

His lower part, broad.

His intendment, noble.

His Oration to Claudius Caesar.

Events of warre variable.

Prisoners wall.

A nation hath no bounds.

Nature defendeth force.



His manner of encamping.

His animating of his souldiers.

His resolution.

Ostorius his care.

The Brittain put to flight.

Caradac wife, daughter, and brethren taken prisoners. His wife betrayed by Carismandus.

Triv. Ann. 11.
in cap. 2.

Offitius and his
fortunes decline.

The Britons
take heart again.

Their history.

After thrown
make the Britons
more distrust.

Offitius death.

Aulus Didius
and Livianus
into Britain.

Triv. Ann. 11.
A. Claudius Pulchri
encountered the
Britons with ill
success.

Didius for a
while keeps
them in awe.

umph over *Carallatus*, manifested matter of discourse and admiration through out all *Rome*, and the *Lords of the Senate* held it no less honourable, than that of *P. Scipio*, who triumphed over *Syphax* the *Numbidian King*, or that of *Perfes*, whom *Paulus Aemilius* vanquished, or then any other King that had been taken in warre, or exhibited to the view of the people. Then were also publicke *Triumphall honours* decreed for *Offitius*; whose fortunes untill then had beene very prosperous, but now began to be doubtfull, or rather to decline, either because *Carallatus* (the foile of his glory) was removed, and thereupon (as though all had beene subdued) a more circelsse service entertained, or else the courage of the *Britains* was more inflamed to revenge through the fierceest compaffion of the fall of so mighty a King.

(17) For immediately they enuironed the *Camp-maister* and the *Legionary Cohorts*, which were left to build fortresses in the Country of the *Silures*, whom with eight *Centurians*, and the forwardest *Souldiers*, they slew, and had put all the rest to the sword, if rescue had not speedily come from the villages and forts adjoining. The *Ferragers* also and troope of horse that were sent to aid them they put to flight. These affronts touched *Offitius* to the quick, and left their aids should grow to a greater head, he sent forth certaine light-armed companies, which with the *Legionary Souldiers* undertooke the battle, and with small oddes was it continued till the night came, and parted them: diuers other *Sheriffes* afterwards were made, though for the most part in woods and marshes, whence taking their advantage in fallying forth, they many times prevailed, sometimes by strength, sometimes by meere courage, and sometimes by chace; neither were they awaies commanded by their Captaines, but many times fought voluntary and without warrant.

(18) The principal motive that induced the rest to take Armes, was the example of the *Silures*, who were most resolutely bent, as being exasperated by certaine speeches that the *Roman Emperour* himselfe had uttered, which was, that as the name of the *Sugambri* was destroyed, and the people transported into *Gallia*, for the memorie of *Silures* yet vterly be extinguished: And in this hate as men desperat (whose destinies were read and lots cast already) they interpreted the scattered troopes of the *Romans* that vncircumspectly walked and spoiled the Country, taking of them many prisoners, and reconering rich booties, which they sent and distributed amongst their neighbours; whereby many other were drawne to revolt: These proceedings sore to neere *Offitius* his heart, who with long cares and trauchs had wearied his spirits, spent the strength of his bodie, and thereunto had now added the discontentment of his minde, that in these vexations hee gave vp the Ghost, the *Silures* reioicing that so worthy and victorious a Captaine was fallen in their warres.

(19) But *Claudius Caesar*, lest the Province should make head, presently sent *Aulus Didius* for his Lieutenant into *Britaine*; where, notwithstanding all his haile, he found all out of frame. For *Naulius Volens* with his Legion had encountered the *Britains* with ill successe, yet not so bad as the *Islanders* gave forth, thinking thereby to terrifie their new-established Government: which report himselfe also in policie was contented to augment, thereby to purchase more praise in appearing so dangerous a service; or if hee could not, to retaine his own credit without his valours impeachment. These resistlers had made many inroads into the subdued Countries, against whom vpon his first arrivall, *Didius* entered the field, and for a while kept them in awe.

(20) But *Vennius* a very expert man in Militarie affaires (truly to the *Romans*, and defended by their power so long as the marriage betwix him and *Cartimandua* continued) began a new rebellion: for *Cartimandua* (in speciall fauour with the *Romans* for the delivery of *Carallatus*) abounding in wealth, peace, &

pleasures (which commonly are the Nurles of licentious living) fell in loue (as before was touched) with *Velleatus* her bulbands seruant, and harnesse-bearer, & forgetting her owne honour, preferred him before *Vennius*, and laboured to make him King. The good-will of the Country notwithstanding went generally vpon the lawfull husband: who being deeply touched with this open iniurie, raised a power against her and her *Parasite*. At the first this quarrell was onely betwixt them, untill that *Cartimandua* by policie had taken her husbands brother, and some of his neere kindred, prisoners. Whereupon the next Inhabitants fearing her purposes, and dreading to be brought vnder the yoke of the *Roman* so defamed, declared themselves for *Vennius*, & with a choice band of youthful Souldiers invaded her Territories: whereof *Didius* hauing intelligence, sent certain *Cohorts* to second her, and encounter them. In which conflict, the *Romans* for *Cartimandua* did preuaile; yet the kingdomes remained to *Vennius*, and the warres still vnto them.

(21) For the *Silures* were not altogether quieted, & a Legion commanded by *Cassius Nafiga*, fought luckily against the *Britains*. In all which furies *Didius* in person was absent, as being stricken in yeares, and hauing recieued many honours, held it sufficient to execute his charge by the assistance of others. The State of *Brittain* thus standing, let vs so leane it, during this *Emperours* reign, which now began to draw towards his last period, by the working of *Agrippina* his wife, and by her vpon this occasion.

(22) It chanced, *Claudius* in his wine, to call forth a word of great suspition, in saying: That it was fitt all vnto him first to beare the leadeness of his wines, *Gods then to punish them*. She knowing her selfe gailtie in disinheriting *Britannicus*, who was *Claudius* his owne sonne, for the adoption of *Nero* who was hers, besides other infortunities, wherewith he might be taxed, sought therefore to clear her owne way by taking him out of the way: and with *Laelia* a woman skilfull in poisoning, and *Zenophorus* a Physician, as large of conscience, conferred for the manner of his death: who in fine, concluded that poison was the surest and the least in suspect, or at leastwise the most difficult to be proued against her.

(23) Thus then resolved, they temper poison in a Mulshrom, whereof he greedily did eate, and shortly after ended his life the thirteenth day of *October*, when hee had reigned thirteene yeares, eight moneths, and twentie daies, the yeare of *Christ* his incarnation fiftie fixe, and of his owne age sixtie foure. He was of stature tall, and of a pleasing Countenance, full of Maistie and comely gray haire, his Head continually shaking, somewhat hammering in his speech, very learned, but therewithall very forgetfull, and altogether ruled by his wifes, and domestick Seruants, the two ordinary bases of most men who are adduced to any eminent place of gouernement & command.

(24) This *Emperour* (saith *Seneca*) might make his boast that he was the first conqueror of the *Britains*, for *Iulius Caesar* did but shew their land vnto the *Romans*, whereas *Claudius* made their necks yield to the chains of their captiuitie. And *Agrippinus* saith thus of *Claudius*, His wifely is *Britain*, which lived without the world, but now by him reduced vnder the *Roman* Empire, and those whom the former ages knew not, neither themselves any seruitude, are now by him both made known and seruants to the *Romans*. And againe: As great a matter it was to passe these Seas, as to haue triumphed ouer those *Britains*, whereas (saith he) euens the elements haue done homage vnto *Claudius*. In loy whereof, and reuerence to the Gods in his triumph he mounted the *Chaires* of the *Capitol* vpon his aged knees, being supported and lifted vp by his sons in Law on either side, the glory of this *Islands* conquest had so possessed this old *Emperours* mind.

N E R O



Triv. Hist. 5. cap. 9.

Triv. Ann. 11. 2.

Claudius his own
word is the occasion
of his death.
"My wife was
his first wife, a
woman of vnsat-
isfiable lecherie,
who was just to
doe this."

Triv. Ann. 11.
in cap. 12.

Triv. Ann. 11. 2.

The continu-
ance of this
reign.

ASINO D. O. 36.

His indolence
of body.
His superstiti-
ous.

Wives and ser-
uants most au-
antageous pro-
perties.

NERO.

CHAPTER VII.



His violent and unexpected death of *Claudius*, gave breath and life unto *Nero's* further hopes: for whilst the *Consuls* were assembled to make supplications for their *Prince*, (not knowing him already dead) *Nero* suddenly set open the *Palace* gates,

and accompanied with shouts and acclamations, entered the *Courts* that kept the watch, where of them and the rest of the soldiers he was saluted *Emperor*, the *Senate* as men affrighted with amazement, not once contradicting the same.

(2) He was the sonne of *Domitius Nero*, and of *Julia Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus* brother to *Claudius* the precedent *Emperor*, vicious by nature, as sprang of those parents from whom (as his owne father *Domitius* said) no goodnesse could proceede: and the same vile disposition was perfected and augmented by his owne affected study and pursuit of all possible leaudnesse, as one who could well fit his wanton and lascivious humours to the vorapenesse of his yeeres, being not passing leueteene when he assumed the *Empire*. All religion he had in contempt, and all lawes violated, letting loose the reine to all vnauersall lusts, and licentiousnesse of life.

(3) For blood and libidinesse hee was held a most vnchaste furie, and amongst men a very monster of nature. His father he poisoned: vpon his mother he committed both incest and murder: vpon males, pollutions against nature: deflowred the *Vestal* (a matter sacrilegious & impious) slew his brother *Germanicus*, and his sister *Antonia*, his wiues, *Poppæa* and *Ocellina*, his aunt *Domitilla*, his sonne in law *Rufinus*, and his renowned Tutor *Seneca*. With such savage laughter of the *Romane* Nobilitie, that *Tacitus* (their best Remembrancer) was wearied to record their names, whilst with a feruile patience (as he termeth it) they did remember.

(4) The City *Rome* hee set on fire, charging the Christians with the fact, and inflicted such torments and death vpon them, that they were pined of their enemies, and his owne cruelties thereby made more notorious. Whole Religion, though *Suetonius* tearmed *new*, and a wicked superstition; and *Tacitus* (as it were in contempt) nameth the Author thereof to be *Christ*, who in *Tiberius* raigne (as he with the *Euangelists* agreeeth) was put to death vnder *Pontius Pilate* Procurator of *Iudea*, where that religion first began; yet by him it is confessed, that these men were innocent of the fact, and their doctrine to burst forth further into many other parts, inasmuch that *Rome* it selfe did affect the same. Yea and in *Nero's* Court also some embraced that faith, as by the words of the *Apostle* is manifest, who from the *Saints* in *Cæsars* house sent salutations to the Brethren. *Phil. 4. 22.*

(5) And lastly, to fill vp the measure of his bloodie crueltie, he crucified *Peter* vpon the *Crosse*, and beheaded *Paul* with the sword, two principall *Apostles* of *Iesus Christ*, and worthy instruments of the worlds saluation; and forgetting the Mailetie of his estate, fell into the sinke of contempt and all *summes*, guining his monde leuue to digest all vnchastenesse, and his bodye over to worke any base exercises, attending nothing besides his *Harpes* and *Hurlets*, whereby a carelesse (but yet a cruel) gouernment was intertained, and the *Senate* fashioning themselves to feed his loose humors, stroue each to outstrip other in their base flatteries.

(6) In this state the *Provinces* subiections began to stand doubtfull, and the greatnesse of the *Empire* to overcharge the foundation; for the *Parthians* vnder *Vologeses* gaue *Patru* the *Romane* a great overthrow, and that in such wise, that those which escaped were teamed the unfortunate *Armenie*. And in *Britaine* their affaires proceeded with no good successe; foraged *Didius* could doe no more then keepe that which he had already gotten: and *Veranus* his successe, only with small imbroades assailing the *Silures*, was in his first yeere cut off by death, inasmuch that *Nero* hauing neither will, motion, nor hope to propagate and enlarge the *Empire*, minded once to haue with-drawn the forces out of *Britaine*, had it not bene for very shame.

(7) But *Paulinus Suetonius* attaining the gouernment of that *Province*, in skill for seruice, and opinion of people comparable to any, sought to match his conseruent *Caracalla*, who with daily victories prospered in *Armenia*, himselfe wanting neither courage nor discretion to achieve the like, only matter and occasion the *land* afforded none. Therefore determining an expedition into further parts, he made preparation to invade the *Ile of Mona*, separated from the Continent by the *River Mersey*, and fronted vpon the midle of *Ireland*, both strong with inhabitants, and a receptacle of Fugitiues.

(8) Against his approach the *Islanders* had gathered their powers, which *land* thicke vpon the shore ready

Nero offendeth the Emperors.

His parents.

Suetonius in vna Nerone.

His excessive lust and bloodshed.

Suetonius in vna Nerone.

Tacit. Annal. 16. 49. 3.

Nero set on fire by Nero.

See in vna Nerone.

Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 16.

Christians in Nero's Court.

Peter and Paul put to death. Lucif. l. 1. c. 25. Tacit. Apol. c. 6.

A great overthrow of the Romans. Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 6.

Tacitus in vna Agri. Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 6.

Angels invaded

readie armed to make resistance, their women running among in mourning weeds, their haire loose, and firebrands in their hands, like furies of hell, together with their *Druides* (men of religion) who with hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, cried for vengeance, and powdered out curses as thicke, as hail. With the *strangeness* of which sight the *Romans* stood amazed, not offering one stroke, forming rather to protect themselves for a pray vpon their enemies weapons, then for the *Conquest* of their land or liues; which sudden and vnexpected discouragement, their *Captaine* soone redressed, by putting them in remembrance of their wonted valours, which now was farre outmatchable vnto a fearefull flocke of weakke women, or a company of frade and franckie men: whereupon their *Druides* were displaced, and the *Romans* presently dispersed and slaine, themselves becoming maistrs both of the field and whole Ile: which no sooner was thus obtained, but sudden *armes* came to recall their powers, the *Princes* being called to a present *meete*.

(9) For the *Britaines* in absence of the *Generall*, laid open their publike *griouances* growne now both common and intolerable by the oppressions of the *Romans*, who from the diseases of their *Head*, had sicked and dispersed their corruptions throughout the *Provinces* of the Empire: and *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator* here in *Britaine*, renewed the confiscation of their goods, which *Claudius* had formerly remitted. The *Romanes* Colonies at *Camelodunum*, thrust out the ancient *Inhabitants*, seating themselves in their *possessions* without any other recompence, sating reprochfull *termes*, calling them their drudges, slaves and *vassalls*: besides the *Temple* there erected in honour of *Claudius*, was now become an ensigne vnto them, as an *Altar* of their perpetuall fabrication, while the *Angels* *Priests* there attending, washed all their wealth vnder pretext of Religion. But the very *spring* or head, from whence the cause of this sudden *Rebellion* issued, was the pretence abuse offered to a *Brude*, *Quene* of the *Islemon*, late wife to *Prasutagus*, deceased vpon the insuing occasion.

(10) This *Prasutagus* King of the *Islemon* famous for his riches, which a long time hee had bene gathering, made *Caesar* with his two daughters his heire, by Will, thinking by that flatterie, his kingdom, and house had bene sufficiently warranted from future injuries: which fell out cleane otherwise, for his kingdom of the *Centurians*, and his house by slaves were galled as lawfull booties: his wife whipped, and his daughters deflowered, and the chiefest in that *Province* dispossessed of their rightfull inheritance, and the *Isle* kindred reputed and vied as *Slaves*.

(11) Whereas upon the *Islemon* began seriously to discourse of their present misery and bondage, made subiect not onely to a *Luxuriant* that sucked their blood, but likewise to a *Procurator*, that sought their subuance, while with a *ferule* *fear* they yielded to please the meane *Souldiers*: As though the *Heauens* had framed them onely for *seruitude*, and the *Earth* appointed to beare their inuents vntreuenged, whereas contrariwise, they saw both *heauen* & *earth* flexible to their deuilerance: For (whether by policie or chance) the Image of victorie at *Camelodunum* fell downe reuered without any apparant cause knowne: the women dilturbed with *furie*, ranne in the streets, singing, and prophesying *disfranchises*: strange noises were heard in the Court, and howlings in the Theatre, and strange apparitions, and *Edifices* scene in the *Riuer Thames*: the *German* selfe betwene *Gallia* and them, seemed all *bloodie*, and the prints of dead bodies left in the *sand* at the *Elbe*. Again, washing the present estate, they saw *Suetonius* absent, and bailed to enlarge the *Confines*, the *mult* but slenderly guarded, and by those who were readier for *private* game, then diligent to discharge the office of warre. The examples of other *Provinces* also whetted the edge of their *encouragements*: for *Germany* (they saw) had well shaken off the yoke of *subuallion*: The *Parthians* had reuol-

ted, and *Armenia* held play with *Corbala*, as famous as *Paulinus*: Their cause was as iust, their land as well defended: their *armies* as valiant in resisting the first *King-leader* *Caesar*, and themselves better experienced of their *adversaries* powers, and their owne *abilities*. So now hauing attained the hardest point, which was their assembled *Confederations* (a matter of as great danger to be taken with, as in assisting their *intendments*) in fine this was resolved, that *liberty* was to be preferred, though bought with their *liues*, and bondage to bee avoided, if not otherwise then by their deaths.

(12) These their often and sooted assemblies brought suspitions of some *designements*, and the prodiges daily happening as they were mooues of *encouragements* vnto the *Britaines*: So were they ominous signes to the *Romans*, of either part framed in their owne *imaginings*, and confirmed according to their hoped or feared *conies*.

(13) The *Confederates* in this businessse were not to lacke their *Leader*: their *Queenes* *dissemblers* so apparently knowne, (and for matter of government they made no difference of *sex*) her birth extracted from their *Isle* *Island*, her heartes affection appressed to her *Countrey*, her indignities recruited of the proud *appetites*, and her haughtie spirit threatening *vengeance*, assured them of her *victorious* *rule*: which accordingly she effected to her dying day, and so her *poster* dying fame.

(14) The *Romans* likewise prouided themselves, and in the absence of *Suetonius*, craved aide of *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator*, who sent them not above two hundred men, and those but badly armed. These joining with the rest made no great powerfull of them relying more to the *franchise* of the place, then securing themselves with *Trenches* or *Battlements*: And giuen ouer to pleasure, and play, as in the time of publike *peace*. Which aduantages by the *Enemy* were wisely *girded*, and by *Badus* coming on as nobly *purposed*, when with sword and fire he wasted all in her way, the *Temple* onely excepted, whereinso part of the *Souldiers* were fled, but after two daies *siege* it was battered and taken.

(15) In this hate of *furie* the *Britaines* proceeded, and meeting *Petilius Cerealis* Lieutenant of the *Isle* *Legion*, on a hasty March to *refuse* that which was already *lost*, they encounter his forces, and *slay* all his footmen, him selfe with his troope of *horse* hardly elapsing to his *Camp*, where in great *scare* he entrenched, not daring to attempt any further matter. At notice of these mishaps, *Catus* like a tall man, *run* to his heeles, and *laied* into *Gallia*: by whose crueltie and courtoisies the *Britaines* were thus *conspired* to take *Armes* and *resolue*, and their entrance thus fortunately proceeding, *gaue* heart and hope to further *success*.

(16) For in this heat of blood and *furie* they set vpon, and sacked the free-towne *Ferolacium*, both strong for garrison, and rich in *treasures*: which *Cities* (as also *Camelodunum*) had felt the rage of their *mercilesse* hands, from whence great booties were carried, and no lesse then *franchise* they *saued* Citizens and *Confederates* *flame*. This commotion in *Britaine* by *Suetonius* *Tranquillus* is accounted one of the most *unfortunate* losses to the Empire happening vnder *Nero*, and the more *inimiculous* to the *Romans* (as *Dion* obserueth) in that it was performed under the command of a woman, neither experienced in the feates of warre, nor vnder the *will* according to the Law of *Armes*: for not any *prisoner* taken in regard of ranfome was *liued*, nor intercouise of exchange *admitted*, but kill, hang, burne, and crucifie, as though the measure of their *vengeance* could neuer be sufficiently *heaped*, or the wish of their *Gods* satisfied with the blood of their *Enemies*.

(17) By this time *Suetonius* the *Lieutenant* was returned, and taking muller of his forces in *London* (a *City* euen then famous for concourse of *Merchants*, and of great renouue for prouision of all things *necessary*)

Their Rebellions.

Queene Brutus chosen Leader.

She fortified the Roman.

She pursued Petilius Cerealis to flight.

The forces Catus reduced into Gallia.

She sacked Ferolacium.

Suetonius threatened Nero by her Army.

Dion Cass. lib. 61.

London long last recovered.

jury) stood yet doubtful whether hee should chuse that place for the *seat of warre*; or no. But better aduising, dislodged his *Hog*, and with the *fourteenth Legion*, the *Standard-bearers of the twelfth*, and other aids from places adjoining, incamped vpon a plaine, enclosed with woods, hauing a narrow entrance, and free from *Ambush* or enemie at his backe.

(18) The *Brittaines* likewise, inferior neither in number nor courage, triumphed abroad by such troupes and multitudes, as the like had not bene seen, yea and so force of courage, and with such assistance of hope, that they brought their wines to the place to be witnesses of their valours. *Badus* in her Chariot doing the parts of a most noble *Generall*, droue from troope to troope to see and commend their *forwardness* and dismounting attended with her two daughters, and two hundred and thirty (and so voluate *Brittaines* got her to a feat made of marishurfes, after the manner of the *Romans*, appareled in a loose gowne of changeable colours, wearing a *kerle* thero-under very thicke *plated*, the tresses of her yellow haire hanging down to the *shirts*. About her necke shee had a *chaune of gold*, and in her hand held a light *flare*, being of perionage tall, and of a comely, cheerful, and modest countenance, and so a while shee stood pawling, in viewing her *Armie*, and being regarded with a *reuerend silence*, at length to this effect the spake vnto them.

"(19) My Friends and Companions of equal fortunes, there needeth no exalt for this my prestat authoritie or place, in regard of my *Sex*, seeing it is not vnknown vnto you all, that the wonted manner of our *Nation* hath bene to warre vnder the conduct of a woman, and not only ours, but also of the greatest Monarches swaied vpon this vniuersall Globe: for the *Empire of the Assyrians* (the first and most famous that euer was) vnder the command of *Sennacherib* triumphed ouer the fierce *Atthiopians*; and the gold-veined *Indus*, *Babylon* for strength and beauty was both defended and enriched by *Ninur*; her sole Emperesse. The *Syrians* vnder *Tamyr* ouercame, and slew the great Conquerour *Cyrus*. *Aegypt* governed by *Cleopatra*: yea and *Rome* Monarches themselves ruled, if not ouer-ruled, by *Messalina* and *Agrippina* the monisters of our *Sex*. My blood and birth might challenge some preeminence, as spring from the roots of most *royall seeds*; but by my breath received from the same aire, my body sustained by the same soile, and my glorie clouded with impoiled ignominies. I disclaime all superiouritie, and as a fellow in *bondage* beare the yoke of *oppression*, with as heauie waighe and pressure, if not more. Had I with *Cassius* mother bene suspected of *Treason*, or with false *Artimandus* falsed my *Bed*, to the disturbance of their peace, my goods might haue gone vnder the title of *Confiscation*, and these prints of the whip vnder pretext of *justice*. But why name I *Iulie* in these grand Catalogues of oppressions, whose *Alto* respect neither *person*, age, *sex*, nor *cause*? For what shal I can be so vile, that we haue not suffered; or *condemne* so contemptible, that we haue not borne? My stripes, yet felt and scene against their owne *lawes*, and the violent rapes of these my barmlesse daughters, against the *Lawes of God and Man*, doe witness what wee government they intend: and your wealths consumed by their wastefull wantonnesse, your painfull travels upholding their *idleness*, doe scale the issues of our succeeding miseries, if not timely preuented by one ioint endeavour. You that haue knowne the *freedom* of life, will with me confesse (I am sure) that *libertie* (though in a poore estate) is better then *bondage* with fetters of gold: and yet this *emparison* hath no correspondence in vs: for we now enioy no *estate* at all, nothing now being ours but what they will leaue vs, and nothing left vs, that they can take away, hauing not so much as our very heads toll-free. Other ibidued *Nations* by death are quit from *bondage*; but wee after death

"must liue *seruile*, and pay tribute even in our *graves*. Hane the *Heathens* made vs the ends of the world, and hane not assigned the end of our wrongs? Or hath *Nature* among all her fierer workes created vs *Brittaines* only for *bondage*? Why, what are the *Romans*? Are they more then men, or immortal? Their *flaine carcasses* sacrificed by vs, and their perturbed blood corrupting our *Aire*, doth tell vs they are no *Gods*. Our *perijurages* are more tall, our *bo-dies* more strong, and our joints better knit: and (to say as it is) every part of vs framed more fit for the *glorie* then for the *shade*. But you will say they are our *Conquerours*. Indeed ouercome we are, but by our felices, our *enue factious* still guing way to their *intensions*: for bed not the *Drutator* & *Mandabate*? *Caligula* an *Admirus*? *Claudius* a *Bericus*, and *Caligula* *Nero* (that *drumper*, and our still-living shame) *Carissimanda*? *Rome* instruments, and *Brittaines* vipers: without which, you shall see *Caligula* in single fight, lose his *sword*, and after flee the Country (a *dissoner* indelible) *Tiberius* forgoe his *Tribute*, though extremely couetous, *Claudius* glad to make peace, and be quiet: and *Nero* might still haue followed his *fillding trade* at home, if our *disorders* had not made vp his *Mischie* heere abroad. Our *disfines* therefore haue bene their only rising, and our *disfines* still weakened by home-bred *conspirators*. Neither hath our noble *resistance* euer bene without our desert and note of *honour*: their publike triumphs being made more *admirable* by one *Brittaines* Conquest, then vntill hath bene foisted ouer whole Kingdomes. *Caligula* for beholding our cliffs only would haue diuine honours: and for getfull *Claudius* remembered vnto posterities (in his *Britannicus*) a glorious surname from vs. Our *strength* haue bene acknowledged the maine *part* of other States, and shall it not be supplied to maintain our owne? We haue as much to keepe as *birth-right* hath giuen vs, that is, our *Island* possessed by our *Ancestors* from ant antiquitie: ours by inheritance, theirs by *intensions*, claimes so different in the scale of *justice*, that the *Gods* themselves must needs redreffe, and set the *ballance* in their equal *paye*. We haue scene their *peripitius* beginnings, in making vs instruments of our leuenty thousand of our enemies; and yet in this reuenge our *forces* not diminished, but much increased in number and power: which thing, as it serues to our encouragements; so is it to their *fears*. For *Catus* hath let the *Sea* (a sure defence) betwixt him and vs; yet not a *Brittaines* pursuing for any had, he would haue hid himselfe in the waves. *Petulus* the *field-mouse* doth keepe his hole, and with the *Made* works the earth for his safest refuge: And *Pastunus* their *Camp-mayster* is too wise to venture all at a cast. Only *Plautius* belied by his late victorie ouer a company of *vaarmed Priests*, whose resistance consisted only in prayers, and a few weak *women*, whose weapons were only fire-brands, baides the hopes of his *aspiring* *maide*, as *Caligula* did his *Trophy* of *Cockle-shells*. For see we not him encamped rather to defend his owne, then to offend others? His *Armie* crouched together, as fowles flocked against a *storme*, or rather like to fearful *Hares* squatted in their bushes, who no sooner *hail* heare the crie of their pursiue, but their *Muske* or *Fortrize* will bee left: and for their last refuge, as *Hares*, truit to the swiftnesse of their speedy feet. Suddenly, as thee was thus speaking, there let lip a *Hare* which hee had secretly conched in her lappe, which with a great shout *escaped* thorow the *Campe*, and gave occasion to the *Armie* (who little suspected it was done by her of purpose) to *construe* it as an ominous and luckie *signe of victory*.

(20) And therupon with great force they assaile their enemies, whiles *Suetonius* was likewise encouraging his *Souldiers* to the like resolution. The *fourteenth Legion* by his direction kept the *strait* as a sure place of *defence*, till the *Brittaines* in the fury of their

Tate Amalibi.
1447. 11.

Cofu. 2m. 50. 5.

Brittaines
vipers.

Tuon in vita
Apie.
Domesticke con-
spirators most
dangerous.

Cofu. Com. 11.

Monsters inclining
to peruse the
Romans.

Her device as
concluding her
speech.

Romans
succeeded
her troups.

Her smile.

Her Oration to
her Armie.

Tact. 2nd. 1. 1. 1.

The custom of
this kind of
Monarches
to be governed
by women.

Jafin. 1. 1. 1.

Sennacherib.

the Assyrian
Romans.

9. 1. 1. 1.

Tamyr.

1. 1. 1. 1.

Cleopatra.

Agrippina and
Agrippina.

Shew disclaime
all superiouritie.

Relieth in her
innocence.

The indignities
offred by the
Romans.

See Cofu. 1. 1. 1.

first order had spent all their darts, which with good success they had begunned; but then failing and wearied in their first coming on too hotly, the Romans fellied out vpon the plaine, the Auxiliaries and Haryones with long lances making their way and beating downe all that stood before them, The Britaines unable to endure or withstand such fierce assaults, were forced to giue backe, and at length sought to saue themselves by flight, but were hindered by their owne Waggon placed in the reer-ward of the Army, which gaue the more impediment to their retreat, in that they were then full of their women who in confidence of the victory came thither to behold the fight, which were among the rest all slaine, without regard of sexe or mercie. This day was famous and comparable in renowne for valour to any other of former times, for therein were slaine of the Brittaines to the number of eightie thousand men: And the Land brought vnder an vnrecoverable subiection.

(21) *Bolus* seeing the overthrow of her *Army*, was notwithstanding *unconquered* in her own *Noble spirit*, and coming to be a Spectacle in their *Triumph*, or a fall to their wiles, after the example of *Cleopatra*, she made an end of her miseries and life, by poison. And *Pompey Posthumus*, *Camp-master* of the second *Legion*, seeing the good success of the *fourteenth* and *fourteenth*: for that dissolving the *Generals* contrary to the discipline of warre) he had *defended* himselfe and followers of their parts of *glorie* in that service, for very griefe *new himselfe*: and for their good service there performed, *new* greatly honoured the *eleventh*, *thirteenth* and *fourteenth* *Legions*, reposing a most sure trust in their *valour* and *fidelity*, ever afterward.

(22) *Sarcismus* animated with this victorie gathered his Army, & *encamped* again, purposing to eat the residue of the *warre*, if any *refractors* should remaine: And at that present were sent him out of *Germanie* two thousand *Legionarie Soldiers*, eight *Coborts of Auxiliaries*, and a thousand *Horse*, whereby his strength was augmented, and the north *Legion* which had become much weakened by the rathnes of *Petilius*, fully supplied: So that bootlesse it was for the poore *Britains* to make any further resistance, and such as did, or stood *desperately* afield, were daily put to the sword. But nothing distressed them so much, as did *famine*, and want of *Corn*, being a people in all ages more given to waite then *good by boundary*, and rather relying vpon the prouisions of others, than by the *plough* to provide for themselves, fierce of nature, and flowie lending eare to peace, or their minde to such *Arts* as either nourish, or are nourished by peace.

(23.) In these stirres *Julius Cæſar*, ſent from *Nero* to ſucceede *Catrin* in his office of receipts, an enemy, & at variance with *Suetonius*, the more to cloud his reuerence, gaue it forth for certaine, that a new Lieutenant was to be expected, who without either heſtyle rancour, or pride of a *Conquerour*, would treat the yeelders with all *Clemence*: And likewiſe by letters ſent to *Rome*, he ſignified that no end of warre was to be expected, ſo long as *Suetonius* remained *General*, attributing euery aduerſe lucke to his intolerable pride, and euery proſperous ſucceſſe onely to the good fortunes of *Cæſar* and *State of Rome*. Theſe Great mens diſſentions awaked *Nero*, fearing leſt the *Britaines*, thereby would be more forward to advantage, with whom experience had ſhewed there was no *dabbling*, and his former loſſes among them being againe reuerſed, he thought himſelfe diſcharged and quit from all ſmall *Colanities*, as *Tranquillus* doth affirme. Therefore he ſent *Polyclerus*, one of his freed ſeruitors, with *Commiſſion* to examine the differences, and to interpoſe his *authoritie* to worke a reconciliation: at whoſe greatnes it was alſo thought that the *Britaine* would haue quaked, and come in vnder feare. Which thing fell out otherwiſe: for howſoeuer the *Captaine* and *Souldiers* regarded him for his place, vnto whom he ſhewed himſelfe both arrogant and terri-

ble, yet the Britains made him but their laughing stock, as being themselves borne free, and knew not what the power of freed-men was, much admired that such Commanders and Armies which had achieved so great exploits, could be brought to obey, and yield account of their actions to so base a bondage as they termed him.

(24) But *Suetonius* growne great by his fortunes in these warres, and as it should seeme both suspected and feared of *Nero*, was by him commanded (the warres yet continuing) to deliuer vp his Armie to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had lately giuen ouer his *Cassibelus* to *Rome*, a man of a fobber, and more intreatable condition; and as a blagrato to the faults committed before, readier to receive to fauour and forgive: who having compassed the former troubles, not daring any further, neither egged, nor provoked the *Enemies*, but gaue himselfe to a quier, or rather idle life, which hee thought might passe vnder the title of an honourable peace. In which citate he gaue vp his charge to *Tiberellus Maximus*, and after flame by *Galba*, nothing objected against him, but his faithfulness to *Nero*, in that he would not betray him, as the rest had done. For *Nero* now growne odious to God and *Man*, Conspiracies were continually attempted, though not in act effected, vnill that *Iulius Vindex* Lieutenant of *Galba* opposed his proceeding, being the first firer, and the twofold floue that (as *Tacitus* termes it) troubled *Nero* out of his *Seat*.

(25) For hating proclaimed *Galla* *Emperour*, an old and weak man, at that time *Gnaeus* of *Armenia*, neither priuie to the conspiracie, nor assenting to the title, he set vp daily many bitter and biting *Edicts* against *Her*, whereby he was rowled from his *lustrations* *regis*, and began to feare the fatal end, whereunto his *unhappy* life and bloody raigne had now lately brought him, who destitute of all power of resistance, did now let his whole hope and refuge, vpon that *meane*, to which the compass of his time had euer pointed; for relying onely vpon his *skill* in *Medicine*, he intended his flight into *Egypt*, there to teach the instructions of that *Art*: into such sudden *badness* was his misde deiection, that formerly had lasted out beyond all measure in *luxurie*, *pride*, and *prodigality*. Vnto this conspiracie ioined *Virginius Rufus* Lieutenant of this *Germanie*, with *Nymphidius*, *Sabinus*, and *Sophronius Tigellinus*, Capaine of the *Guard*, who after *Vindex* his death, (which happened vpon an accident euen in his entrance to *Armes*) maintained the election of *Gallus*: and the *Senate* as forward to *Neroes* destruction, proclaimed him *Enemie* to the *State* and pronounced his punishment more *mauorant*, sending out each way to apprehend him aliue.

(26) In this faine *Nero* attended with foure seruants onely, had hid himfelfe in a Countrey *Cottage*, not paffing foure miles from *Rome*; whence hearing his decreed *iudgement*, and demanding what was meant by that *ſentence*, it was answered, that his *necke* ſhould be locked in the forke of a tree, and his *body* all naked, whipped to death: whereupon lamenting that to good a *Manſervant* ſhould be made away, he ran himſelfe through on his ſword, and ſo rid the world of a *Monſter*.

(27) Of *feature* he was indifferent, his *body* full of freckles, his *hair* somewhat yellow, his *countenance* rather faire then lovely, his *eyes* gray and dimme, his *noſe* faire, his *belly* bearing out, and his *legges* ſlender and ſmall; A moſt fullſome *Maſtiffe* he was, and in that *Art* fought he excell'd others, and to equalize *Apule* himſelfe, as alſo in his *Chariot-riding* to imitate the *ſwiftnes* of the *ſunne*. So prodigall in apparell, that he neuer wore one *Garment* twice, & ſo ſumptuous in *building*, as is vncredible. He *reigned* thirteen *yeeres* and eight *daies*, and *died* the eight of *June*, in the one and thirtieth of his age, and after the birth of our *Sauour Chriſt* the threeſcore and tenth: as *Bayle* ſhew'doth account.

Liberals or Free-
men, were such
as being still
bound slaves, by
their former situ-
ation, and many of
them about the
Emperor came
so late of great
use.

Patience Tappin
and grace up
his charge as
Trebble Max.

Petrusiois Turpili
anus filius, he-
camitrus to Ne-
re.
Infer 2nd index ap-
posito Nere.
Tactu huius anit.
Nere.

Proclaimeth
Globe Express

My name is _____

The *Savage* tried to apprehend him.

Nereis bicolor
blanfordi.

He Villets him-

High Commissioner,
East Africa and Nyro.

File qualities:

Joseph. Hall
Ind. Lib. 5. cap. 4.
Harris. Lib. 3. cap. 5.

His raider and
are.



GALBA.

CHAPTER VIII.



With the death of this Tyrant, ended the progeny of the *Cæsars*, and the Emperours succeeding were afterwards elected, either for the opinion of their owne worth, or els, (and that oftner) by the faction and voice of the *Souldiers*, whose violence the *Senate* ever feared to contradi-

dict, and whose *Colonus* in euerie *Province* sought to raise their owne *Generall* to that high estate. In which time of Combustion, though little be recorded of the *British* affairs, yet because the *March* of this *Island* was then and long after insuited in the *Imperiall* dominie, we may not omit to speake somewhat of the ensuing Emperours, as the chiefe *Gouernours* of this kingdom. Vpon *Neroes* declining, diuers there were (as *Vindex* and *Virginius*, *Nymphidius* and *Septhimus*) set vp against him, but *Galba* for his reputed integritie got the Garland from them all: who little dreaming of the *Imperiall* *Diademe*, fortune set it vpon his head before his hand had toucht the same: for *Vindex* in *Gallia* hauing proclaimed him *Emperour*, and him selfe in *Arragon* not free from *Neroes* hatred, bee fought rather to hazard his life with the *Glorie* of a *Crowne*, then depend vpon his mercie, who had sent secretly the *sentence* of his death. And therefore mounting the *Tribunall*, the more to im presse a fresh remembrance of former cruelties, he placed before his throne, the *Images* of certaine *Nobles* executed by *Nero*, with some personages sent for out of *exile*, whose presence might provoke a deeper edge of hatred; and his *Army* about him ready for mutation, these, or the like words he spake.

(2) *My fellow Souldiers and friends*, wee at this time are assembled, to bestow that vpon others, which wee our selves have finally enioied, I meane, *libertie* from bondage, and *freedom* from feares of a *Tyrant*. The life that I haue hitherto lead, will sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceit, and my owne *Conscience* doth witness that I speake not vpon malice or priuate respects: It grieueth me to lye, but it booties not to hide, that which euery man seeth. Hath euer *Romans* vnder a cruell master passed a yeere of harder seruice, then we haue done fourteene vnder *Nero*? what kind of *exaltation* hath he not proued to supply with *extortion*, that which with shame hee hath spent? what kinde of crueltie hath hee not practised? If we would concale or seeke to suppress it, these dumb stones would declare them: For behold, he poisoned his *Father* and *brother*, abused and slew his owne *mother*, murdered his wife, his *Tutor*, and what els is euer valiant or vertuous in *Senate*, in *Ci-*

tie, in *Province*, without any difference of *Sex* or *Age*. I neede not to speake of the sorrowfull sight, and bitter teares of so many yong gentlemen bereft of their *fathers*, so many *wiues* robbed of their haubands, so many great men deprived of their Country, all which cry vengeance vpon such a *Prince*: a *Prince*? nay an *Incendiarie*, a *Singer*, a *Fidler*, a *Stage-plaier*, a *Cart-driver*, a *Crier*, no *Prince*, nay no man; that hath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankind: And in truth a subiect, vpon whom, shee hath made her full experience, and raised her triumphs from the base of *Cæsars* throne. Against whom, what *Vindex* in *France* hath already intended, I am sure you doe know, and I, for my part, am most sorrie to heere. The whole course of my former life hath bene hitherto removed from *Ambition* in Court, or from aiming too high abroad, and this little that remains of my daies, I could hardly will were to be spent in more ease: But sith I know not by what my *misfortune*, some haue imposed vpon me a *Part* which I neuer meant to sustaine, and least of all at this age, I will not refuse, if you will also approve it, to discharge this old *Caresse* of mine for the wealth of my Country, not as *Emperour* or *Augustus* (which *seuerd names* I adore alar off, not daring to approach them) but as — — — And no further beard, was with great acclamations saluted *Emperour*.

(3). But such is the height of *glory*, which is raised by the *blasts* of the multitude, that it falls againe as the *bubble* burst in the swelling, which leaues neither circle nor signe of his former pride. And so is the state of *Galba* with one breath applauded, and placed vpon the *Imperiall* *Throne*; and that scarce cold, ere they dislike of their owne *hastie election*: for newes being brought that the *Seate* stood firme for *Nero*, and for certaine that *Vindex* in his quarrell was slaine, euen in his first enterprise of revolt; that *Virginius* was killed by his *Germane Legions*, and his name inscribed in their banners; that *Nymphidius* was the man whose desert could not be sufficiently honoured with lesse recompence then the princely *Diademe*: These distractions so much ouer-throw his aged and passionate heart, that he retired to *Clonus* in great deiection, repenting himselfe of that which hee had done, and wished againe his priuate estate.

(4) But the death of *Nero* commonly disouged, and *Virginius* his refusall of the *Imperiall* *Tule*, gaue strength and life to his former election, now further ratified by the full resolutions of the *Arms*: who the more to seeme both strong and valorous, though indeed a weak, sickly, and illly old man, *Souldier*-like in his coat of *Armes* shewed himselfe, and in that array passed the vast mountains for *Rome*. With whose entrance, entered the dislike of his person, as one vn-

Here the fall of the *Cæsars*.
See in the *Galb.* still 1.

The manner of choosing the succeeding Emperours.

Galba got the Emperre ere hee looked for it.

Galba his politie to make *Nero* odious.

His Oracion to his souldiers.

Nero deified.

Nero solemnly maintained one of his youths called *Disperion*, and kept him as his wife: so his wife's did he with *Speron*, whom hee encountered to transgress less common.

Clonus like a bubble.

Galba crusheth
Piso's Legions
for his Caesar.

Tacit. lib. 2.
S. 10. 11.
Salinus Otho
compelleth Gal-
ba's death.

Astrucius and
Sextus's sons.

fit to support the state of others, that by age and imbecillie was not able to sustaine his owne: to which were added the *imperfections* of his government, carried every way farre vnder expectation. And long bee late not before hee saw his owne defects: to redresse which hee elected *Piso Lucianus*, Caesar, joining him in power with himselfe, and declaring him his Successor, in a short and blunt Oration, in presence both of the Senate and Souldiers.

(5) Whereat howsoever others stood affected, yet *Marcus Salinus Otho* (one, who for commerce in leaudnes was very deare to Nero, and whose hope depended vpon the common disturbance, for that his excess in riot had now brought him to the brinke of beggary) much enuied therat, rather because himselfe had contentained a hope that Galba would haue adopted him, and therefore as his concurrent set his own aspiring mind for the Crown. And euen now this time beell fitted his attempts, as being the wane of Galba's authority, and before the full of *Piso's* power; his *Astrucius* and *Sextus's* sons forwarding him with their vaine predictions, a kinde of people euer to

Princes vnfaithfull, to hopes deceitfull, and in a common-wealth alwaies forbidden, yet alwaies retained. The souldiers likewise euer dalking the present, and affecting the new, fell without respect to *Otho's* side: amongst whom *Sulpitius Flarus*, one of the *Brutus's* Captiues, slew *Piso* the elected Caesar: Galba himselfe being murdered and mangled by the Souldiers and band of Horsemen.

(6) He was of a good stature; his head bald, his eyes gray, and his nose hooked, his hands and feet crooked by reason of the gout, and a bunch of flesh or wen vpon his right side. A great feeder and *Sadumite* hee was, seuer in iustice, and ouer-ruled by his seruants. Hee died aged seueny three yeeres, hauing out-liued his Princes. In prosperitie happier vnder the Empire of others, then in his owne; for hee late only seuen moneths, and them with small contents. In his flourishing age with great renouew he had serued in Germany: *Africke* he ruled as *Proconsul*, and the neerer Spain by prouerty and well; seeming more then a priuate man whilst he was priuate, and held capable of the Empire, had he neuer bene Emperor.

Piso slain.
Galba murdered.

His desolacion.

His vices.

His age.

And reigns.



THE FIRST PLANTING OF RELIGION IN BRITAINE.

CHAPTER IX.



Britains in quiet
repose.
Tacit. lib. 1. c. 13.

His short time of *Galba's* gouernement, with the conspiracies against his Predecessour, admitteth small remembrance of our Brittain affairs: which *Frontinus* (saith *Tacitus*) among all other stirres against both *Nero* and *Galba*, held amity, and stood

in quiet; whether it was the farre distance of place, secured by Sea from the seditions of the *Reuelers*; or that by continual seruice against the *Enemies* the malice of their humours were spent, it is vn certaine. Therefore a while to digresse from the Succession of our Brittain Monarques, and to fill vp the emptinesse of those Times with matters incident to our felices, let not seeme either tedious or superfluous, to speake of the planting of his Kingdome in this Island, whose Rule in short time extended to the Ends of the Earth, and whose Ambassadours (as some haue written) about the midle of *Nero's* Reigne, and in the yeere of *Christ's* Incarnation sixty three approached for the Inhabitants saluation, *Arminius* then swaying the Scepter of this Kingdome.

(1) At what time (say they) were sent certaine Disciples out of France into Brittain by *Philip* the Apostle, whereof *Ieseph of Arimathea*, that buried the body of *Christ*, was chiefe; who first laid the foundation of our faith in the West parts of this Island, at the place then called *Auulin*, (afterwards *Insul Witin*, now *Glastenbury*) where he with twelue Disciples his

Assistants preached the Gospell of life vnto the Islanders, and there left their bodies so remaine for a most full Resurrection. This doth *Gildas* affirme, and *Malmebury* in his Booke of the Antiquitie of *Glastenbury* written to *Henry de Blois*, brother to King *Stephen*, and Abbot of the same place, report, and is consented vnto (for the matter, though all agree not touching the time) by the learned *Antiquaries* of later times, grounded on the Testimonies of the best approved Ancients writers: who account the most happy influence of *Christians*, to haue bene by those glorious conductors conuayed into these remote parts of the world: that by (according to the promise of God by *Isaiah*) The Isles a farre off which had not heard of his name, should be converted, and haue his glorie to them declared among the Gentiles.

(2) And if the credit of *Dorseton* Bishop of *Tyre*, (who liued to see the Apostolicke of *Indus*) weigh any thing with vs, in his tract of the Lives and Deaths of the Prophets, Apostles, and Disciples, he bringeth *Simon Zelotes* (an Apostle of *Iesus Christ*) to preach the word, and to suffer Martyrdom on the Crosse here in Brittain: with whom *Nicophorus*, and after him *Iohn Capraue* (in his Catalogue of English Saints) agree, saying that the same *Simon* spread the Gospell to the west Ocean, and brought the word of life into the Isles of Brittain: and, in the conuersion of Countreys wrought by the Apostles, the same *Nicophorus*, with *Egypt* and *Lybia* aliueth *Brittain* also to be one. And the forsaide *Dorseton*, as also *Arminius*, nameth *Arminius* one of the seueny Disciples (the same whom *Saint Paul* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* among others

Joseph of Arimathea buried at Glastenbury. Gildas as vs. doth. Malmebury.

Credence, in this. Note, Gen. 1. Math. 24. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Ely 66. 79.

Downe in the
Isles of Saltois.
Lok. 6. 39.

Simon Zelotes
married in
Brittain.
Necrophorus
as vs. 40.
Iohn Capraue.

Necrophorus
as vs. 40.

Rom. 16. 17.

Christianity
spread into
Brittain by
Simon Zelotes.
Necrophorus
as vs. 40.
Iohn Capraue.

John Gregory. lib. 1.
Ireland first
conuertyed by St. Patrick.

others (salute) to have taught the doctrine of Salu-
tion, and to have executed the office of a Bishop here
in Britain.

(4) To these first Planters and Sowers of this hea-
venly Seed, *Cæsar Barinmus*, that voluminous Histo-
rian, to which *Mary Magdalen*, *Lucernus*, and *Martha*,
who (by his relation) being banished *Jerusalem*, in a
masterless ship without tackling arrived in *Gallia*, and
with them *Isidore of Armenia*, who afterward land-
ed in *Britaine* (not *tradens*), as hee saith, out of an old
Manuscript which he saw in the *Vatican Library*: yea
and with them also *Eurgain* the sister of *Isidore*, who
afterwards married a *Britaine* named *Sarklus*, if the
authoritie whereon *George Owen-Harry* doth ground
that report, be of any credit.

(5) But yet there are others, who vpon a very
good ground from the words of *Gildas* (the most an-
cient of our *British Historians*) will haue the *Summe* of
the *Gospel* long before to haue risen in this our *West*,
and this *Island of Britaine* to haue enioied the very
morning of his *Afcent*, the brightnesse thereof piercing
thorow the mistic clouds of error, and shining here
in *Britaine* even in the daies of *Tiberius*, towards
whose end *Christ* suffered his death, and by whose in-
dulgence towards *Christians*, their profession was
propagated farre and neere. Which assertion the said
Gildas doth not deliuer coldly or doubtingly, but
with great confidence, & relying vpon good grounds,
as he appeareth when he saith, *Scimus, &c.* We know
for certainty, that this was in the latter times of *Tiberius*,
Which was immediately after our blessed *Sauours*
Paschan.

To which *uncontrovertible testimony* some others
haue added (though not perhaps on so vndoubted
warrant) that *S. Peter the Apostle* preached the word of
life in this *Island*, as to other *Gentiles* he did, for whom
God had chosen him, that from his mouth they might
heare the *Gospel* and beleeue, (as himselfe allegeth)
and that hee here founded Churches, and ordained
Priests and *Deacons*, which is reported by *Simon Me-
taphrastes* out of the *Greece Antiquities*, and *Gualterus
Ejtingerius* in the first of his *Centurie*, who saith
that *Peter* was here in *Nervus* time, whereas *Barinmus*
thinketh it was in the reign of *Claudius*, when the
Iewes were banished *Rome*, and that therefore *Paul*
in his *Epistle to the Romans* mentioneth him not. Indeed
Barinmus and some others plead very hotly for *S. Pe-
ters* preaching here: but I see not well how it can
stand either with *Eusebius* his account, which keeps
him so long at *Rome* after he was *Bishop* there, or with
Orosius, who denieth that he went west-ward (be-
ing expelled by *Claudius*) but to *Jerusalem*, and thence
to *Antioch*, where he lived till the death of *Claudius*:
whence it must follow, that if *Peter* were here at all,
it was before ever he went to *Rome*, and that the *Gos-
pel* was preached here before it was in *Rome*, if *Peter*
were the first (as some hold) that preached there: both
which may be the more probable if wee consider the
huge multitudes of *Christians* (fiftene thousand,
saith *Barinmus*) which dispersed themselves into all
parts of the world vpon the martyring of *S. Steuen*
at *Jerusalem*, (which was presently vpon the death of
Christ) and that *Isidore of Armenia* was one of that
number, *Barinmus* doth confesse. I am heere contented
to step ouer that Monkish tale reported by *Alu-
dus Rhodensis* (the writer of *King Edward* the Confes-
sors life) that a holy man (forsooth) studious and
carefull for a Governour to succeed, was in his sleepe
told by *S. Peter* that the Kingdome of *England* was
his, wherein himselfe had first preached, and would
also provide him *Successors*. For seeing it was a
drame, for a drame wee leaue it, and *Peter* among
the other *Elders* to attend his Throne, that now li-
teth in glorious *Majesty*, and who in this life minded
no such earthly preeminence, no nor to diuide be-
twixt brethren, though the Kingdome and rule of all
things was his alone.

(6) Certes *Peter* was principally the *Apostle* of the
Conuerfion, and therefore more likely to haue spent

his conuersors on them: but for *Paul* (the *Doct* of
the *Gentiles*) his arrival here may seeme more war-
rantable, who doubtlesse (after his first releasement
from *Rome*) confirmed the doctrine of *Christ* to their
Western parts of the world, and among them, as may
appeare, to this *Island of Britaine*, as both *S. Epiphanius*
Patriarche of *Jerusalem*, and *Theodoret* an ancient Do-
ctor of the Church, doe affirme and approoue, saying
that *Fishers*, *Publicans*, and the *Tax-maker* (meaning
S. Paul) which brought the *Euangelicall light* vnto all
Nations, revealed the same vnto the *Britaines*. That
Paul came into *Byzantium*, *Gallia*, and *Spain*, and filled
all those parts with his doctrine, both *Eusebius*, *Doro-
them*, and *Epiphanius* doe testifie: and of this generall
Ambassage the *Apostle* himselfe saith, that the *Sound*
of the *Gospel* went throughe the earth, and was heard vnto
the ends of the world: which his sayings cannot more
fitly be applied to any other Nation then vnto vs
of *Britaine*, whose Land by the *Almightie* is so placed in
the terrestriall Globe, that thereby it is termed, of the
ancient, *The Ends of the Earth*, and deemed to be si-
tuated in another world: so in an Oration that *Agrip-
pa* made to the *Iewes*, and *Agripola* to his *Romans*, it is
called: which made *Salinus* write, that the coast of
Francia had becme the *End* of the *Earth*, had it not becne
for *Britaine*, which was as another world. And in *Dion*
we read, that the old *Souldiers* of *Gallia*, whom *Cleau-
dus* commanded for *Britaine*, complained that they
must bee enforced to make warre out of the world.
And of this Land and latter *Apostle* (if credit may be
giuen to a *Poet*) *Venantius Fortunatus* thus recordeth:

*Transit Oceanum, & quæ facit Insula Perlim,
Lusit. Britannus habet terras, quæq; vicinas Thule.*

He cross the sea vnto the Land, and vtmost coasts of *Thule*,
Arriving at the Ports and Isles where *Britains* haue the rule.

(7) Thus for *Paul* is well known in *Rome* by his
long imprisonments, and (at that time) in reuerend
regard for his doctrine with many there: among
whom also there were some *Britains* that embraced
the faith, whereof *Claudius Rufinus* (remembered by
Martial another *Poet*) was one, whom he thus extol-
eth

*Claudius cernere cunctis Ruspina Britannia
Edita per Latia pellora plebis habet?
Quale decus forma? Romanæ credere matres
Iulides possunt, Athides esse suam.*

How hath Dame *Claudius* forme of *Britains* blew,
Woe same for wisdom with our sages graue?
Her comely forme and learning, as their due,
Rome claimes for hers, and hers would *Athen* haue.

This *Claudius* is by the learned commended to haue
becne most skilfull in the *Greece* and *Latine* tongues;
of whom heere them (not me) speake. At the com-
mandement of the *Tyrant Nero* (say they from *Tas-
tius*) many Noble *Britains* were brought to *Rome*,
who remaining there their *Confederates*, they held it
an honour to haue their children named after the no-
bilitie of the *Romans*: and from *Claudius* *Cæsar* was
this Ladie *Claudius* named, who according to her
worth was matched in marriage to *Rufus* a gentleman
of *Rome*, then a *Coronel*, after a *Senator*, a man of a
milde disposition, naturally modest, a great *Philosophy*
in the Sect of the *Stoicks*, for his sweetnesse of be-
haviour called *Pudens*, who by his grace perswasions
cauled *Martial* (the witty but wanton *Poet*) to re-
forme many things in his writings, and by him is e-
commended for his *humane*, *pietie*, *learning*, and ele-
quence: as also his wife *Claudius* the *Britaine*, for her
beautie, faith, fruitfulness, learning, and languages. In
proofe whereof, *Balauch* mentioned three severall
treaties, besides others by her compiled, both in the
Greece and *Latine* tongues. *Dorotheus* nameth *Pudens*
to be one of the *Seuente* two, and *Valerianus* affir-
meth them both *Pauls* disciples, from whom he sen-
deth greeting to *Timothew* in these words: *Eubulus*

For I and

S. Paul preached
in *Rome*.

Euseb. in his
Season of the
way of the
Angeles.

Theodoret. de
scriptis *Quærens*
officiis.

English p. 1.
Death Lines of
Spain,
Epiphanius
Tom. 1.
Rom. 10-18.

Amos 55. 2.
Josephus 1. 1.
Deus. 1. 1.
Tact. 1. 1. 1.
Ag.
Solomon.

Dion Cassiodorus

Martial 1. 1.
Epig. 10.

Martial 1. 1.
Anch. in *Agrip-
pa* *Britann*.
Balauch, &c.

Claudius has
been
Dion. of the
Sons of the
186. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.

1. Tim. 4. 17.

Isidore in *Isid.*
Isid. *Mary Magdalen*,
Lucernus, and
Martha in
England.

Eurgain the sister
of *Isidore* married
Barinmus a *Britaine*.
George Owen on
his *Britannia*.

Gildas de *Con-*
quest. 1. 1.

S. Peter the *Apos-*
tles supposed to
haue preached
in *Rome*.
Act. 15. 7.

Metaphrastes.

Cæsar a *poet*. 1.
1. 1. 1.

Barinmus.

Eusebius.

Orosius.

Aluodius tale
of *S. Peter*.

Apo. 4.

Luk. 12. 13.

The last class
Debat First and
Manual speak-
ers of

Wash. Navy Dept.
Feb. 2, 1900.

...Kiribinder his
became an old
man.

Classical
Rock Bands and
Starliners
Jazz was the
1980s.

Amos. 5. 2.
Erg. 10.

Table 10.11.11

Julia Plunkett's husband became a Christian in Rome.

Text. Avest. 113
p. 44, 11. 10.
Spartan in 1914

B. Rheum, in the
Hill of Germany.
Zurich.

[illegible]

and Paulus, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren
folate here. But some may object, that *Martius* Claudia could not be that *Lady*, who living in *Nervus* time
gave hospitalities unto *Peter* and *Paulus* for their being in
Rome, for that the could not retaine such beautes and
perfection as the *Poor* to her dooth ascribe in the raigne
of *Domitian*, the fourth in succession from *Nerva*,
the time being too long (saith *Ada*, *Bishop of Trevers*,
Fleurbaey and others) for beautes to be so freely pre-
served. Now these account her age then to be lxxij,
but if we reckon according to *Eusebius*, we shall find
that hee fees the last of *Claudius* in the year of grace
ffive hundred, and the first of *Domitian* in eightie three,
between which are but twentie foure years, and yet *Paul*
came not to *Rome* till the tenth of *Nerva*, and in his
thirteenth year, from the prison wrote his Epistle to
Timothy, as the same *Eusebius* declareth: so that from
hence unto *Domitian*, is left but fourteene years, a
time no whit vppailable to retaine *Beautes*, though
twentie years and many moe of her age had bene
formerly spent; seeing that in those times *Platarch*
praiseth *Alcebiades* to be paffingly faire when he was
thre score yeares of age.

This *Clasico* then with *Poets spirituall Manna*, is
 said to send likewise the choicest and chafiest of the
 Poemes of *Marshall* (whose verses generally are no les-
 sons befitting Ladies) for new-years gifts vnto her
 friends in *Brittaine*, both for to feede their *Sauies* with
 the bread of life, and to instruct their *moules* with les-
 sons best fitting vnto ciuill behauiour; which thing
 moued the *Poet* himselfe with no small selfe-glorie
 in his verse thus to write :

Dicitur & nosſras cantare Britannia verſus.
And Britaine now (they ſay) our verſes learns to ſing.

(8) It hath also passed with allowance among the learned *Senae* of our *Antiquaries*, that when *Claudian* & *Nero* began to banish and pericute the Christians in *Rome*, (whose superstitions, as *Tacitus* pleaster to tearme them, from *Judea* had infected the *Citizens* Gelfe) many *Romans* and *Britaines* being converted to the Faith, fled thence unto these remote parts of the earth, where they might and did more freely enjoy the libertie of their *Professions*, vnell the search of *Tyrants* by the flame-light of *Persecution*, had found out all secret places for the societies and assemblies of *Gods Saints*: as after in the daies of *disclosure* we shall finde. And from this *Sanctuarie* of *Saluation* the laid lamenting Lady *A Pompeia* Gracious, the wife of *Andrus Plautus* (the first Lord Lieutenant of *Brittain*) brought that *Religion*, whereof she was accused and stood indicted vpon life and death, which was none other, then the *Christian* Profession, seeing the same both by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, is curiously there termed the strange superstitions and new kinde of Sect that the *Christians* embraced, and for which they were accounted unworthy to live.

(9) And much about these times (as *Beatus Rhenanus* in his *Historie de Germanie, P. antea* and others do report) one *Saxonicus* a Noble man sonne of *Ursinus* converted to the Faith by the first *Planters* of the Gospel in this Land, and after his *Baptisme* called *Beatus*, was sent by the *Brethren* from hence unto *Rome*, to be better instructed and further directed by *Saint Peter* himselfe; and returning thow *Switzerland*, found such willingesse and flocking of the people to heare and receive the *Doctrine of Christ*, that he there abided and built an *Oratorie* not farre from the lake *Thusa*, and neare the Towne called *Vindelicorum*, where in preaching and prayers he employed his time to the day of his death, which happened in the yeare of grace 1100.

And that there were Christians in Britain at these times I make no question, though some exceptions may be taken against the *Memoir of Barton* the reporter thereof, who saith in the 141 years and reign of Hadrian, many masters of Grammar were baptized themselves & preached to others the Gospel in Britain, howsoever falseth in the Emperours name, which year was the

second of *Anthonis Pim* his successor, and ascribed to these men Schoole-degrees, altogether unknowne for nine hundred years after, yett he do not hinder the truth of the thing, though that *Munk* was one of the best *Historians*. It is reported also that *Patrick* the Irish *Apollle*, and Canonized *Saint*, long before the *Emper* of King *Lucius* preached the Gospel in many places of *Wales*; As also that *Nonnus Bernarius* of the race of the British Princes converted the *Picts* to the Religion of *Christ*. Vnto these aforesaid authorities and testimonies howsoever we stand affected: yet it is certaine by *Clementius* citing *Sabellius*, that the Brittaines were with the first Converts: And *Jerusalem*, who lived within two hundred years of *Christ*s Nativity, sheweth so little: Who the more to provoke the *Iewes* against whom he wrote, calleth to witness the fruitfull increase of the Gospel of *Saluation*, through many Countries and Nations, and among them nameth the Brittaines to haue received the Word of life, the power whereof (saith he) hath pierced into those parts whither the *Romans* could not come. Whence *Petrus Clouicropius* supposeth the *Scythians* to be the most ancient *Christians*, as not being in the like situation to the *Romans*: neither then were

(10) *Origen*, who flourished not much above two hundred years after *Christ*, in his Homilies upon *Esau's* *sheep*, that the first fruits of *God's* *herd* *herald* *was* gathered in the Island of *Britaine*; who confessed to the Christian faith by the doctrine of their *Druids*, that taught *one* *only* *God*; with whom *Hellor* *Socius* agreed, saying, that some of these *Druids* condemned the worship of *God* in Images, and allowed not the application of the *God-head* unto any visible form, which might be the cause why *Claudius* the *Emperour* forbade their Religion, as labouring in these things too much of *Christianity*, whom likewise he banished *Rome*, as some from *Suetonius* conjecture. Of these *Druids* we doubt before, that their offices were most imploied *about* *holy* *things*; and that their doctrine chiefly consisted in teaching the immortality of the *soule*, the motions of the *heavens*, the nature of *things*; and the power of the *Gods*; yea and *Poetibus* from others will inferre, that they prophesied likewise of a *virgin's* *conception*. Their were the helps, *Guth* *Trenthall*, that caused the *Britons* to be soone to embrace the Doctrine of *Christ*, and thereupon immediately after his death doth *Cyclus* fallen our conversion, where he writeth, That the *Glorious* *Gospel* of *Iesus* *Christ*, which first appeared in the world on the latter time of *T. Thomas* *Cesar*, did once then spread his bright beames upon this frozen Island of *Britaine*.

(11) Whereby were the waters of life, flowing from Jerusalem Temple, into their fane, let Coun-
trians and utmost Sea, to be made both fruitful &
wholesome, according to the sayings of the Prophet,
that on that day the waters of life shall issue from Jeru-
salem, half of them toward the East Sea, and half of them
toward the uttermost Sea, and shall promote fruitfulness
both in Summer and winter: and even in the infancie
of Christenheit, both the Apostles themselves,
and also the Predestinate their Disciple to become fishers
therein for the Soules of Men, as Christ in chafing of
them said they should bee; whereby his Kingdom
was done enlarged unto their Ends of the Earth, and
his Throne established among those Heathen, whom
God his Father had given to be his. So fruitful and
famous was this spreading of the Gospel, that Augustin
Mentanus, a Christian Poet, compares the Increase
thereof with that of Noah, thus alluding unto it:

*Sicut aquae quaedam Nec sua missi in orbem
Figuera sedatis, ut Geni humana per annos
Debita Celitibus Patri daretur aequa terrae;
Sic sua cum vellet Deus alta in regna reuerti,
Discipulus quosdam transfudit ad Vltima Mundi
Littera, de Throni Grates quo nomina rursus
Sunt eranda, quibus Celum placabile Sacris.
In English thus:*

44: Noah sent from the Ark his fowls, to teach

Patron the first
Apostle preached
in Mainz.

Chemical analysis of
some of the
Tribes, and the
the

Verbeek, 1900.
Indica, pag. 3.

Pepper, C. J., and
Barnard.

Originals of the
manuscript.

Walter Reed, Jr.
1891-1892.
The Druids a
bowed not long
ago nor any reli-
gious form of the

Impressum des
Landes-Verlages.

Tenth. Annual. 1. 2
exp. 1 m.
Casper, Conn. 1891.

Table 1

Gylden de Enge
de Tork.

Ezech. 47. 8.

Zachar. 14.8.

Matt. 4. 10.

1861-2.

Baptist, 1st class

The

*The Lawes of God onto the World brought
By Christ his Servants sent abroad to preach
The Word of Life, and Gospel to each Wight:
Naphes lay shadowed from that glorious Light:
The furthest Isles, and Earths remotest bounds,
Embrace'd their Faith, and said as their sweet sounds.*

(12) To which effect also the sayings of S. John Chrysostome, Bishop of Constantinople, enforce, who shewing the increase of Christianity, and the success of the Gospel preached, sheweth the power thereof to have extended, not only to the Countries farre incircled in the Continent, but also to the Islands situated in the Ocean itselfe, and amongst them expressly nameth this our Brittain; whose inhabitants (saith hee) have also consented to the word which is planted in every heart, in honour whereof they have erected their Temples and Altars. And againe: Those Brittaines (saith hee) which had formerly fed upon humane flesh, making no difference betwixt the blood of man and beast, now through the power of the word by them embraced, have learned the law of true piety, and give themselves to a religious abstinence, and holy fasts. Of which Barbarisme S. Jerome also complained, that some of those Nations vied to eat the buttocks of boies, and Paps of Virgins, in which their Feasts were served for the daintiest dishes. But elsewhere speaking of the Brittaines conversion, he saith, that they had turned themselves from their westerne Paganisme, and now had directed their faces towards Ierusalem in the East, whose beaustie shone them the word of God.

(13) And thus wee see by the planting of the Gospel in this Land, the saying of the Psalmist accomplished, that God would give his Iovest Christ the Heath in for his inheritance, and the Ends of the Earth (the proper attribute of this our Brittain) to be his possession. And the success in History most apparently sheweth these parts (by an especiall prerogative) to be Christ's Kingdom. For albeit that Ierusalem and Antioch may rightly claime the precedence of all other places, the one being as it were the chamber where Christians were first borne, and the other the fane where they were first Christened with that most sacred name: yet Brittain in some other graces hath outstript them all, having the glory to be graced with the first Christian King that ever reigned in the world, which was our renowned Lucius, the first fruits of all the Kings that ever laid their Crowne at the foot of our Saviours Crosse: as also for producing the first Christian Emperour that ever by publicke authoritie established the Gospel thorow the world, which was Constantine the Great, borne and brought up here in Brittain by Qyrene Helena, a most vertuous and religious Britishe Lady: vnto whose daies the succession of Christianity did here continue, as by the martyrdomes of many Saints vnder Discipline is apparant. Heerein also reigned the King that first concurred the head of the usurping Beasts, and triple-headed Serpents, and freed the Land from his decouring Lascivious: putting downe Idolatry with Hezkeiah that brake the Brazen Serpent: and with Sisaac new digged the Wells that those Phylistines had flapped. And lastly hath this Land produced that most valiant and Christian Monarch, whose learned pen hath first depainted Antichrist, and pierced the heart of all Papall Supremacie, as the sword of Gedeon did Zalmonna (* the Image of trouble) King of Madian. And as a Lion hath he met that crooked * Serpent in the way of his usurped authoritie; whereby in short time vnderpanted the * * All of his heart will be broken, if other Potentates likewise by his most godly example, cast off the yoke of vassalage, and in their severall Dominions gouerne (as free Princes ought) the people that God hath committed to their charge. So that in these and many other the like Princes of this happy Island, most properly is performed that propheticall promise made vnto the Church of Christ that Kings should become her nursing Fathers, and Queens should be her nursing Mothers: Of both which may be truly said to Brittain, in imitation of that of Solomon,

Many Kingdomes haue done gloriously, but thou hast surmounted them all.

(14) And of such power hath Christ bene in these His Possessions, that even the Heilige Kings and Conquerours thereof, were they neuer to fange and Idolatrous at their first entrance, yet when they here had tasted for a time they became milde and religious, and gladly submitted their hearts to the Religion of those, whose necks themselves held vnder the yoke of subjection.

(15) Such were the Romans in this Land, whose Deputies at the day-spring almost of Christianity were converted; as Trebellian, Pertinax, and others, which submitted themselves to that profession, and were mooued to King Lucius more publicly to maintain the same: as also Constantine the father of great Constantine that here in Brittain permitted the profession of the Gospel, with the erections of Churches for the true seruice of God, and prohibited the superfluous worship of the Gentiles.

(16) The Saxons after them (in time, but not in Idolatry) had neuer tasted the liuing waters of Ierish, till they were here fasted in Christs Possession, where they changed their Affections as farre from their wonted manners, as did the Messengers to Iohn, which turned after his Chariot to destroy the Altars of Baal: or as Saul and his seruants, who no sooner had entered Naath in Remah, but that their spirits were ioined to the Prophets, and the heat of their furie, with their garments, cast downe at Samuels feet.

(17) The Danes likewise, their Conquerours, and Successors in this Royal Throne, euer vntill then were both bloody and barbarous, and therefore of all our Writers commonly called the Pagan Danes; whose many delusions and ruines remaine as records of their cruelties in many places euen vnto this day: yet being a while in this Land, King Guthorn, with tharrie of his chiefe Princes and people, were drawn by the valour and vertue of King Alred, to receiue the Christian Faith, by whose bounty thereupon they enioyed the possession of a faire portion of this Kingdom. And afterward Canutus, their greatest King, no sooner almost had this Imperial Diademe set vpon his head, but that hee beld it his chiefe Maistrie to be the vassall of Christ, confessing him only to be King of Kings: and with such religious deuotion as then was taught, crowned the Crosse with the Crowne he wore: and neuer after, thorow all his raaigne, by any means would waue the same: and the Domes his Soldiers remaining in England, began by little and little to embrace Christianity, and in short time were all conuerted to the Faith. Thus then wee see the happie increase of these holy seeds springing from the furrows of this blessed ground: and the Tents of Sion to be spread vpon the Mountaintops of Brittain, wherein God (according to his promise) perswaded vs who are of Iephthah, to dwell.

(18) As hitherto wee haue searched the first foundation of our Faith, so neuer want wee testimonies concerning the continuance of the same in this Land vnto following Posterities; although the iniurie of Time and Warre haue consumed many Records. For the Brittaines that were daily strenghtned in their reformed faith, by the Doctrine of many learned and godly men, left neither their loue with the Church of Ephesus, but rather tooke hold of their skirts, as the Prophet speaketh, vntill the tortures of Martyrdom cut them off by death: And those Fathers euen from the Dyspenter themselves, held a succession in Doctrine, (notwithstanding some repugnance was made by the Pagans) and preached the Gospel with good success, euen till the same at length went forth with a bolder countenance, by the fauourable Edicts of Adrian, Antonius Pius, and Marcus Aurelius Emperours of Rome (as Eusebius hath noted:) and in Brittain was established by the authoritie of Lucius their King: whereby this was the first of all the Provinces (saith Marcus Sabellicus) that receiued the Faith by publicke ordinance: Of the teachers of those times Bala

Pro. 31. 29.

Brittain continued her Conquest to the last of Charles.

King's 34. 2.

1. King. 9. 18

1. Sam. 19. 20.

On Gomer.

Constantine crowned the Crosse with the Crowne hee wore.
Hie. Mart. lib. 4.
Petrus de A. c. 2.
Bala vnto. 2. 1.
Acts and Mon.
lib. 3. p. 228.

Gen. 9. 27.
Danyel upon his first Ier. 2.

Apoc. 1. 4.

Zech. 8. 23.

Rashid Nigro.

Zeland.

Rashid. 4. 1. 2.
4. 1. 2. 1. 2. 1. 2.

Marcellus Sabellicus
Edward 3. lib. 7.
De Brit. vnto. 2. 1.

Christ. in Ierom.
de Eusebius.

Adolf. Iam. 1. 6.

Epiph. Mar.
et de Iudeis.

Psalm. 8.

Act. 11. 26.

Brittain had the first Christian King.
S. A. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Brittain had the first Christian Emperour.

Helena mother of Constantine a Britaine.

King Henry the 8. giveth the first chart granted the Pope.
Apoc. 9.
1. King. 18. 4.
Gen. 2. 6. 11.

King James.

*Tis the word Zalmonna signifieth, Iudg. 7. 20.
*Iliad. 7. 1.
*Holly. 1.

116. 49. 23.

from some other hath these verses.

*Sicut erat celebris cultu numerus, Deorum
Cum iis uisum imperium flet, Britannia totum:
Sic ubi terre preceps alio de fœderis ad ora
Expellere salus, patriam fuit incipit fœdis.
Lætæ Neptunium campos, et Cambria rura,
Corymbis, casusque de solata, colant.*

*As were the Brittaines famous for their zeale
To Gentle Gods, whiles such they did adore,
So, when the Heavens to Earth did Truth reveal,
Worsh' d was that Land with Truth and Learnings floure:
Whence Britisb Plaines, and Cambrian desert ground,
And Cornwalles Creege, with glorious Saints abound.*

Flora, W. gen.
Two learned Do-
ctors sent to the
Bishop of Rome.

Alf. Faganus et
Faganus & Dama-
nus.

*Bishop Dene
of London is also
mentioned in the
Kings Library,
ad an. 121.

Saint Denise in
Wales.

King Edwin the
Apostle to the
British.

Archiepiscopus
de Prælothana,
Brevem de
dilectione, p. 3.

Bede, Hist. Angl.
lib. 1. c. 1.

Archiepiscopus
de Prælothana,
Brevem de
dilectione, p. 3.

Bede, lib. 1. c. 1.
Archiepiscopus
de Prælothana,
Brevem de
dilectione, p. 3.

The Bishop of
Britannia with-
stood the Arian
Heresie.

Wigornius Epi-
scopus,
Archiepiscopus
de Prælothana,
Brevem de
dilectione, p. 3.

France and Germany at this day with our voice doe ap-
parent the same. As also that of Arminius, in the
year three hundred fiftie nine, and in the reigne of
Constantine, who caused foure hundred western Bi-
shops to be there summoned in favour of the Arians,
whereof three were out of Brittain, (as Sulpicius Seve-
rus the good Bishop of Burges hath reported) that
came thither suffrages against that Heresie. These doth
Hilarie terme the Bishops of the Promises of Bri-
taine, by whom they were somewhat derided, because
being farr from their owne Countie they lived vpon
the Emperours charge. And Zolastilius, that
from Dioclesian time they both reedified their
former Temples, and founded new also in memorie of
their then fresh-bleeding Martyrs, and enjoyed a ge-
nerall and ioufull peace in their religious profession,
till that Arian Heresie having first filled the Contre-
ment, sought and found passage over the Sea into our
Island.

Gomarus in his Catalogue Illustrium Doctorum
tells vs of another learned Bishop of Brittain, Iohannes,
who in the time of Crispian Bishop of Rome, wrote
vnto one Iohannes a booke de uita Christiana, and ano-
ther de uoluntate seruandis, of much diuine learning
and comfort. Crispianus likewise is recorded by Ni-
cephorus, to be sonne of Bishop Martinus, who having
become a Confessor Depoite in Italie vnder Theodosius,
and made Lieutenant of Brittain, where with great praise
he managed the common wealth, was againe his will
afterward made Bishop at Constance of the Novatians,
that called themselves Cathari, that a pure, mak-
ing a schisme in the Church by their deniall of Sah-
satian, to such as fell into relapse of sinne after Ba-
ptisme once received. This is that Bishop of whom we
read, that of all his Ecclesiasticall revenues he reuered
only for himselfe two loaves of bread vpon the Lords
day. And in the first Tome of Camerlens mention
of Augustinus Bishop of London, whom (because that, as
is most probable, Christian Religion had in those pri-
mitiue times taken more firme footing in Brittain
then in France) the French Bishops called their Na-
tionall Councils the second at Arles, in Anno three hun-
dred thirty sixe, that he might with his suffrage ap-
peare their Decrees. About the yeere foure hundred
fourty, was a Provinciall Council held in Brittain for
the reformation of Religion, and repairing of the ruined
Churches, which the Pagan rage of Vortiger had
decayed, to the great griefe and discomfite of the peo-
ple, a pregnant signe of the consuming zeale, which
vnto those daies had left a glorious memorie.

(20) And the Enligne of Arctur, wherein the
Virgin with her sonne in her armes (as is noted by Vi-
centius) was portrayed, so often displayed for Christ,
and his Countreys libertie, against the Pagan Saxons,
is as a leale to confirme vs of their Professions, and doth
shew the badge of that ages Christianity. But the famous
Monastrie of Bancher, as a College of diuine Phi-
losophers, and by Christianis truly acknowledged to be
the Mother of all others in the world, and her Masters
distributed into euen severall parts, every part num-
bering three hundred foules, and earning their bread
by their daily labours, doth notably witness to all
fucceeding ages, that Christian Religion was then both
planted and preached in this Island. And in the Synod
held at Anglus Oke were seuen old Brittain Bishops,
besides other Doctors, who met with that Romane
Legate, and not in points of doctrine, but rather in
their severall rites and ceremonies did varie, by any
thing that in that Assemblie appeared. For as it is
most vndoubted, that (if we speake properly) Ierusa-
lem is the Mother of us all, and of all Churches; and our
former allegations doe euince, that the first Planta-
tion of the Britisb Faith was altogether by Iewes and
others of the Egiptian Church; so the very rites of this
Religious College of Bancher doe evidently prove, that
their first institution in Religion came from the East,
Bede shewing that small of them they diffused from
the Romane Church; yea, and that they neuer did,
nor then would acknowledge any authoritie of the Bi-
shop

Bishop Augustinus.

Wrote in an Ep-
istle, on the Ba-
ptisme.

Archiepiscopus.

Gomarus in Ca-
talogue, Dna.

Augustinus in Ro-
m. Hist.

Triguer, Histor.

Arctur Religio.
Pavilion in the
British Religion.

Christianis in
Wales in Irish Mon-
astrie in the
world.

Bede, Hist. Angl.
lib. 1. c. 1.



O T H O.

CHAPTER X.



Ann. Do. 70.



Vt leaving, *Christi* proceedings to the dispose of himselfe, let vs returne to the *subiect* from whence wee haue wandered, and continue the successions of Great Brittaines Monarchs, vnto them that haue held it, whether by chance of *warre*, or voice of *Electum*: In which sort (as is said) *Gallus* got it, and hat short time kept it: And from him *Otho* tooke it, and a shorter time enioied it.

Otho his original. Tacit. Hist. a. cap. 17.

(2) Whole Originall (*saith Tacitus*) was from *Ferretum*, his Father a *Consull*, his mothers blood somewhat disparaged, but yet not base; his youth run ouer with voluptuous wantonness, and prodigall expences, more ready for disturbances, then depending vpon preferment or dignitie of *State*; and hauing gone thorough all his wealth, retained onely the heartie affections of the *Souldiers*, which *Gallus* had vnto vnto alienated. Neither did *Otho* himselfe bandy against *Gallus*, but *Vitellius* in Germanie was fauoured against both: Two persons so vile and ambitious, as was feared, would proue the scourge of the *Empire*, and the ruine of *Rome*.

Vitellius much incouraged.

(3) Vnto *Vitellius* sided the *Brittaines*, vnder the Conduct of *Tribellus Maximus*, (remembered before) a man vsite for *warre*, and vnexperienced of seruice, compounded altogether of *crueltie*, *insensibility*, and for his nigardly sparing, and vnnumerall pollings, exceedingly hated of his *Armie*: which was further aggravated by *Rufius Calpurnius*, Lieutenant of the *fourteenth Legion*, his ancient Enemie, betwixt whom the sparks of *enue* shortly burst forth into flames of reciprocal accusations. *Tribellus* being charged of insufficiency for command, with the begging of the *Province*, and *Legions*; and he againe accusing *Calpurnius* of factious behaviours, & dissolving of discipline through which dissensions a negligent regard was held of the *Souldiers*, who carried themselves arrogantly, euen against both; and as men that had rather be doing ill, then doing nothing, grew daily into mutinies. In these times *Maximus* finding himself vnable to withstand *Rufius*, (the common affection swaying on his side) with his friends and followers entered *Germanie* in the quarrell of *Vitellius*, and joined thoe British forces to maintain his cause, who now presuming vpon his owne strength, and others his *Confederates*, ambitiously plaid the Prince, growne to that height euen of nothing.

In chap. 9. lib. 24.

Rufius Calpurnius & Tribellus accuse each other.

The Souldiers thereby discorded.

(4) *Otho* his Concurrent (in this thing onely commendable) fought by all meanes to stay the effusion of more ciuill blood, and that already spent, to posselt his thoughts, that his minde was still distracted and nightly affrighted with the seeming appearance of *Gallus*'s ghost: for which causes hee sent conditions of peace to *Vitellius*, offering him an equall part in the *Empire*; and to giue him also his daughter in marriage. But *Vitellius* disdainning any competition, refuseth all Capitulations, and prepares himselfe for the *warre*. *Otho* thus constrained, lets forth his forces, and in three severall skirmishes had the victorie, but in the fourth at *Brictionem* lost the daie; yet not so much weakened or vnrecoverable, (his *Armie* in number and courage farmaoning the other) as himselfe was vsuall to trie the chance of *warre* more; for being importuned by his *Captains* and *Leaders*, to reinforce the *Battaille*, with many reasons, and probabilities of an assured victorie, in a thankfull and short *Oration*, answered thus their *Petitions*.

Otho affrighted in the night.

Sextus de vita O. lib. 1. c. 7. His offer to Vitellius.

Hath the victory in these skirmishes. Lost the day in the fourth.

Importuned by his Souldiers to renew the battell vsuall.

(5) To hazard your *vertues* and *valours* for one *Mans* estate, I hold dangerous, and needlesse it is, that my life should be prized as so decre a rare; *alredys* *desire* and I haue had sufficient experience each of others, and not the least in this my short time of glorie, wherein I haue learned, it is harder to moderate *afflictions* in the excess of *fortune*, then either industrie or hazard for attaining the same. These ciuill warres *Vitellius* beganne; which I for my part purpose not to continue; and hereby let *Posteritie* eche me of *Otho*, that others haue kept the *Empire* longer, but neuer any that left it more valiantly. Let this minde therefore accompany me to the *Grave*, that you for your parts would haue died for my sake, and I to save your liues die voluntarie and vnacquainted. I blame not the *Gods*, nor enue your *Emperors* rising glorie: It is sufficient that my house hath touched the highest frame of *Honour*, and my life to be left in records, *The foreign March of the World*.

His Oration to his Souldiers.

He himselfe killed.

His age and rage.

His discontent and hatred.

(6) And therupon solemnely taking his leaue of the whole *Army*, went to his *Tear*, and with his dagger wounded himselfe vnder the left pappe, whereof immediately he died, in the year of his age thirty seven, and daies of his raigne ninetie five. He was of stature but lwe, feeble in his feet, and vnto so great a minde, his bodie not any waies proportionable; his face without haire and woman-like, his attire nice and delicate, and his life and death nothing at all consonant or agreeable.

VITELLIVS.

VITELLIVS.

CHAPTER XL



Ann. Do. 70.



Then certaine newes of Octavius death was brought Vellius, he presently assumed the name of Caesar, and administered the affairs of the Empire, with no lesse authoritie then the absolute Commander of the World. And of such acceptance was the accident, that he dedicated the dagger wherewith it was done, vnto Mars in his Temple at Collegen, as the luckie instrument of his aduanced Estate.

(1) Naturally ambitious hee was, and now the fame the more inhauced by his strengths of the German Sooldiers, and the flatteries of the Senate, which euer bare faile with the fairest winde. His entrance into Rome was about measure magnificall, hauing the naked sword of Iulius Caesar borne before him, with foud of Trumpetts, Ensignes, Standards, Banners, and Flags, accompanied with an Armie worthe of a better Prince then Vellius was.

(1) His original is diuerly reported: either framed according to the affections of his flatterers, or blasted with the tongues of depraying back-biters; & both in extremes, extremely disagreeing. For Suetonius, as Suetonius writeth, deduceth his descent from Faustus King of Aborigines, and Lady Vellia his wife, worshipped in many places for a Goddess. But C. Iulius Severus assermeth him to bee sprung from no better roote then a Cobbler, and a common naughty-packer the daughter of a Baker. Howfooeer, true it is, that Lactius his father bare thrice the Consulship in Rome, was Praefect of Syria, and in such credit with the Emperour Claudius, that in his absence and expedition into Brittain, he had the whole charge of the Empire committed vnto him; himselfe in speciall fauour with Thierius, and in vife for his strumpets: with Caius, for his Chariot-running: with Claudius for his dice-playing: and with Nereus, for his flatterie: vnto whose Ghost in publike hee was sacrificed, and disposed the Emperors affaires at the discretion of best Stage-Players.

(4) His vamefurable gluttony was such, that the whole implotments of his Capaines were to provide him Carres, and therein such excefse, that two thousand dishes of Fish, and fouen thousand of fowle, were serued to him Table at one supper; and yet was he not ashamed to commend his owne Temperance, in a few Orations before the Senate and People, who well knew him to be guiltlesse of that vertue: in somuch that Tactius reporteth, in thuse few monthes wherein hee reigned, he had wasted more hundred millions of sesterces, which amounteth to fouen millions, thery one thousand, two hundred fiftie pounds sterling. And Iosephus thinketh if he had liued longer, the whole revenues of the Empire

had not bene sufficient to maintaine his Glottomie. A Prince otherwise no way memorable, as being indeed without skill in profession of Armes, without counsell in matters of the greatest importance, commonly drowned in sauset, and farre vnnuete to weld weighty affaires.

(2) Thise defect's found ready vent to his opposites, and gave libertie of speech in the Assemblies of three Estates: amongst whom Vespasian was held the only Marston-Starre, worthy to ascend on the setting of this darkened Sonne, vnto whom Licinius Mationis, Gouernour of Syria, was no aucter, Marcus Caelius Rufus of Spain stood very well affected, and Thierius Alexander of Egypt for him the formost. Also with him sided the Kings Iabeneus, Abinichus, and Agrippa, with the beautiful Egeria Berenice: vnto whom Vespasian and his sonne Titus were well knownen, Gouernours together in the Provinces of Syria and Indoe.

(6) The first that did reuolt, were the Syrian Bands: to suppress which, Vellius sent vnto Vellius Bolanus Lieutenant of Brittain, for aid of that Praemour, hauing had good experience of their seruice in his warres before. As when Herodotus Flaccus brought eight thousand Brittaines to his quarrell against Orbs. As also when Trebellius Maximus (formerly mentioned) ioined them to the German forces. Which last man had now againe resumed his former place in Brittain, without either Makellie or Authoritie: but rather ruled by way of intreatie, and at the discretion of the Sooldiers.

(7) Vnto whom, this Vellius Bolanus succeeded for Departure: a man of no great parts in warre, but more temperance, and not odious for any crime. His answer vnto Vellius was, that the Countrey of Brittain stood not so quiet, that he might spare any number thence, the Sooldiers and Confederates hauing their hands full to hold all vpright. Neither (in truth) were they fitt to his side, but rather affected Vespasian, whose reputation in warlike affaires was first gotten amongst them in Brittain, in the might of Claudius: though we find in Tacitus, that the Vespasianes of three British Legions followed Vellius in his expedition against the Syrian Armie, wherein the flower and strength of all the Brittaines are reported to haue been, and that their fourteenth Legion came to his aide, in whom notwithstanding he had no good confidence: but hearing the daily reuolts of the Praemours, and the approach of Vespasian, was minded to resigne his dignitie vnto him, had not the ouer-cies of the people bene against it.

(8) Finally, when he had reigned only eight monthes, and fise daies, as Iosephus accounteth, he was slaine in most ymnominious manner: for his hinds were bound behinde his backe, a halter fast about his necke, his clothes rent and torne, a sword point set vnder his chaine, and head held backward by a bush

Orbs affligit in the night.

Suetonius in his 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th.

Hadst the vife in three shew thee.

Loth the dy is the length.

Importunely his Sooldiers to renew the warre.

His Orations his Sooldiers.

Forbes glad of others death.

Suetonius in his 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th.

Orbs magnificall about a table.

His descent diuinely reported.

Copie.

Tactius 1. 3. 23.

Forbes in foue years, rears foue Emperours.

Herodotus Flaccus. Suetonius in his 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th.

He killed his wife.

His great reproch.

His Emperour and his Sooldiers.

Vespasian his adherers for the Emperour.

Tactius 1. 3. 23.

The full reuolts vnto Vespasian.

Tactius 1. 3. 23.

Tactius 1. 3. 23.

His 1. 3. 23.

His 1. 3. 23.

His reigne.

His death. Iosephus 1. 2. 12. 13. 14.

bush of haire, as condemned malefactors were vied, to the end, that he might see and bee seene of all, to satisfie their malice and augment his miseries. Hee diod aged fiftie seuen; and as bee is set in the Table after *Malinbarie*, *Huntington*, and others our English writers, the ninth Calends of *January*: But yet it should seeme by his edicts set out against *Afringers*, that commanded all of that profession to depart out of *Rome* and *Italy* before the first day of *October*, that much about that time he should die: for *Suetonius* re-

collected, that the said *Afringers* set another against him in the words as follow. WE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS, THAT BY THE CALENDIS OF THE SAID OCTOBER HEE BEE NOT SEENE IN ANY PLACE WHERESOEVER.

(9) Of stature he was exceedingly tall, his face red, and a fat paunch, and somewhat limping vpon one legge, by a hurt formerly received.

See in the First
Vol. 14



FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XII.



Vespasian.

Petilius.

Ann. Do. 72.



O acceptable was the fall of this Prince, and such hopes reuised at the entrance of his Successor, as that all mens mindes were raised to an expectation, that the glorie of the Empire, so much eclipsed through the ciuill broiles of *Galba*, *Otho*, and this last *Vitellius*, should now shine againe in the beaue of her former libertie, by the desired government of aged *Vespasian*; whose integrity, valour, and seruice, had become sufficiently approved by his many Expeditions in all the *Provinces* wherein he had to doe.

(2) His descent was from the *Flavian* family, and that but bare and obscure: his Father called *Titus Flauus*, his Mother *Polla Vespasia*, his Wife *Domitilla*, and his Sonnes *Titus*, and *Domitian*, both Emperours succeeding after him.

(1) In his yong yeares, hee serued as a *Militarie Tribune* in the Countrey of *Thracia*, and as *Quæstor* in the *Provinces* of *Cyrene*, and *Cyrene*: Vnder *Claudius* the Emperour, he went forth into *Germanie*, as Lieutenant of a Band, and from thence was sent into *Brittaine*, to be Leader of the second Legion, where the foundation of that greatnes whereunto after hee attained, was first laid: for as *Suetonius* hath written, therein with victorie hee fought thirty set Battails, and was also Conquerour of the Ile of *Wight*: whereby two mightie Nations were subdued to the *Romans*, and twentie Townes wonne from the *Brittaines*: for which exploits he had *Triumphall ornaments*, worthily assigned him by *Claudius*, whose owne Triumph (as *Vespasian* saith) was gotten without his paines, but by the only prowess of *Vespasian*. After this, he gouerned *Africke* with singular integrity and much honour, and was lastly sent by *Nero* for his Vice-roy into *Syria* vpon this occasion.

(4) There had bene spread thorow all the *East*, parts an old Prophecie and litle opinion clandestinely belerred, that it was appointed by the *Destinies*, there should come out of *Isrie* him that should be Lord of the

whole world: which how it serued for the *Iewes* to reuolt, or for the *Romanes* to apply onely vnto *Vespasian*, the euent sheweth, which cannot agree to any other, then to the person and power of *Christ Iesus*, there borne, and throughout the whole world still reigning: Yet vpon the confidence of such an accomplishment, the *Iewes* reuolted from the *Romanes* obedience, and slew their President *Salinius* by name, putting to flight *Gallus*, Lieutenant General of *Syria*, that came to his aide, and got from him the maine Standard, or Ensigne of the Eagle. This Nation was so populous and strong, that none was thought fitter to stay their attempts, then was *Vespasian*, who with great hope and approbation, reduced that *Province* vnto their former subiection, and there remained the short time of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* their Raignes; of whose proceedings there *Vespasian* writeth at large, vnto whom I must referre the vnderstanding Reader.

(5) All which times, the ciuill strifes amongst the *Romanes*, gaue the *Provinces* occasion to attempt their former libertie; as did the *Bataniens*, *Germanis* and *French*, with whom the *Brittaines* also tooke hart to reuolt: But the first that sided with *Vespasian*, were two thousand expert Souldiers, drawne out of the *Mesian* Legions, and sent to aide *Otho* against *Vitellius*; who marching as farre as *Aquileia*, they heard there of the certaine death of *Otho*, and thereupon taking the aduantage of the offered opportunitie, with an uncontrolled libertie, committed many robberies and outrageous villaines: In so much, that fearing condigne punishment, they held it their best policie, to combine some speciall man by their fauours vnto them, whereby their faults might bee either quite smooched, or lightly reprehended: neither in their opinions was any so gracious for desert or power, as was *Vespasian*, and therefore with one assent they proclaimed him Emperour, and wrote his name in their banners, thinking themselves as worthy to make an Emperour, as were the Legions either of *Spain*, or *Germany*.

(6) Of the like minde were his owne Legions in *Syria* and *Iurie*, growne now so famous by the prosecution of those warres, that they highly concanted

An ancient prophesie in all the East parts.

The credit of the lowest truth.

Joseph de bello Iud.

Tab. Hist. 3. chap. A.

Vespasian chosen Emperour by the Mesian Souldiers.

15th age.

Vespasian with and climation.

His original. Series in sub. Vespasiani.

His employment in several times. Tab. Hist. 3. chap. A.

Vespasian bel. Iud. 3. chap. A.

Series in sub. Vespasiani.

Agriola.
169. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Tacitus. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Pet. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Pet. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

An end to
where in it
had gone.

Julius Frontinus
169. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

The east
lives much.

Julius Agriola
169. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Agriola. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Tacitus. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Agriola. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Agriola. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Agriola. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

his valour, and their own sufficiency to be inferior to none : And therefore all on the sudden at Cæsarea, both Captains and Soldiers alike him Emperor; which title when he resolutely gained and refused, with drawn swords they threatened his death. Thus then being brought into danger every way, he sent his letters unto Tiberius Alexander, Lieutenant of Aegypt, who likewise at Alexandria, presently proclaimed him Emperor.

(7) At this time Vespasian sent by Petellus, was Lieutenant of Britain, there ruling in a gentler and milder manner than was fit for so fierce a Nation: for the Soldiers having gotten head, by the remiss Government of Trebellianus Maximus, continued the same looseness in discipline still: and Vespasian in stead of awe and Obedience, retained only their affections and goodwill. But most especially the short Reigns of these last Emperours (whose beginnings were altogether unpolished to satisfy their licentious pleasures, and later times spent for the defence of their Lives from violent Deaths) gave way to many imperfections of the Government, and misdeemeanors of the common Soldiers.

(8) But when Vespasian had assumed the Empire, great Captains and good Soldiers were sent into the Frontiers, and into Britain, Petellus Cerealis, that had formerly there made proof of his service under Nero, in the wars against Bodas, and afterwards in other parts, as against the Gades and Batavians, with prosperous victories. The fame of this man brooke great terror into the hearts of the wavering Britains, and amongst them of the Brigantes, the most populous State of the whole Province: against whom at his first approach he warred, and in many battles, and some of them bloody, the greater part of these people were waikd, and their Countrey came into the Roman subjection.

(9) Whereby the glory of Cerealis might well have dimmed the fame of his Successor, had not Julius Frontinus a great Soldier also, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, in subduing the strong and Warlike nation the Salures: where he had, beside the force of the enemy to struggle with, the straits, and difficult places of rocks and mountains, for access.

(10) After whose government (no further Acts being mentioned) Julius Agriola, who in Rome had been Quæstor, Tribune, and Prætor, and Lieutenant in Aquitania, was sent General into Britain by Vespasian the Emperour, the year before his death. This man formerly had there served under the command of Petellus Cerealis, whereby hee had gained experience both of the People and Province; and at his first approach gathered the Legions of the Legions, and other aids of the Auxiliaries, (who for that yeere attended an end of their travels, because the Summer was almost spent) left by procrastinating time, the violence of the Ordnance should further burst forth, who a little before his entrance, had utterly almost cut off a way which lay on their Borders, the rest of the Countrey, as men desirous of Warre, allowing their example.

Against these Agriola addressed, who kept themselves in places of advantage, and durst not defend into indifferent ground. Hee therefore being himselfe foremost, lead up his Army to their encounter, and seconded with the courage of his trained Soldiers, put them all to sword and flight, whereby the whole Nation was almost quite destroyed.

(11) And now that his fame began to ascend, and as the first affairs had issue, the rest would succede, he therefore deliberated to conquer the Island Mona, from the possession whereof Paulinus Suetonius was revoked, by the general Rebellion under Bodas. But in a purpose not purposed before, and thus wanting, the policie of the Captaine devised a passage; for hee commanded the most choice of the Aids, to whom the shallows were well known (and without whom

the Romans did almost attempt nothing) to pass out at once, and suddenly to invade them. These Britains, after the vie of their Countrey manner, were most skilfull swimmers, and in swimming armed, able to govern themselves and horres. The Monast thinking themselves secure, for that no Ships were sent in their River, now thus suddenly surprized, as men amazed, firmly thought that nothing could bee invincible to them, who came with such resolutions to Warre, and therefore they humbly desired Peace, and yielded the Island unto Agriola's devotion.

(12) Who now in these prosperous proceedings of his fortunes, fought not with any glorious relations or letters of aduancements, to improve and augment the greatness of his honour, but rather in seeking to suppress his fame, made it shine more bright; and addressing himselfe for civil government, reformed many abuses in his House, his Camp, and in the whole Province, and those especially that most touched the poorer sort, as by moderating the increase of Tribute and Corne, wherewith the Britains were daily burdened: by the suppressing of which enomities (and the like) an honourable opinion of him was cury where entertained, and a general inclination unto Peace, which partly by the negligence, partly by the avarice of former Gouverneurs, had beene no less feared then Warre it selfe.

(13) And whereas the Britains hitherto still harried with Oppression and Warres, had little leisure or will to apply themselves to things which accompany Peace, and are the ornament of Civil and settled Societies, and therefore were prone upon every occasion to tumult and flire: to induce them by pleasures to quietness and rest, he exhorted them in private, and helped them in publicke, to build Temples, Houses, and Places of Assembly, and common resort; and likewise provided that the Summes of their Nobles should be instructed in the liberal Arts and Sciences, commending the industrie, and preferring the wits of the Britains before the Students of France, as being now grown curious to attaine the Eloquence of the Roman Court, (yea even the German, the habit of peace and peaceable Arts) and to delight in gorgeous Traddings, Banquets, and Feasts.

(14) And thus farre had Agriola proceeded before the death of Vespasian, whose managing of the Imperiall dignity was cury way answerable to so high a place, and whose death was as much lamented, as his Vertues did surmount his Predecessours. But as touching his marvellous cures of the Blind and the Lame, as they serve not either to be veyed or inferred in this our present History; so yet may they convince the indurance of Athyris, whose confidence is scared with the faine of incredulitie of the Miracles wrought by our blessed Saviour Iesus Christ. For if the wisest Historians of those times have beleevued themselves, and left Records upon their credit to following posterities, that by his touch onely hee cured a Lame man, and with his spittle opened the eyes of the Blinde, being a mortal and sinfull man; shall it then be doubted, that hee which knew no faine, neither received the gifts by measure, either in power could not, or in act did not worke such Miracles as were the witnesses of his Godhead, and for such are recorded to confirme our faith? But to our purpose.

(15) When Vespasian had lived three score and nine yeeres, seven months, and seven daies, and had reigned ten yeeres, as Eusebius saith, he died peaceably in his Bed, which no Emperour since Augustus ever did, having beene a great Scourge and Instrument of God against the miserable Jewes, whose kingly race from Davids line he fought by all means to extirpate, that so all their hopes and expectations might for ever be cut off.

(16) Hee was of a middle stature, well set, and strongly compact: his countenance not altogether amiable, neither any waies deformed: a great favourer of Learning, very Liberal, a just, wise, and most Valiant Prince.

He winneth the Island of Mona.

Agriola good to the peace.

His good course in raising the people from idolatry.

The Britains chastised.

Agriola cures the blinde and the lame, and the unmercifully.

Sent in vlt. Ps. 134. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Tacitus. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Agriola's miracles convince A theists that deny our Saviours miracles.

Vespasian dieth peaceably. 169. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

A great scourge to the Jews.

His endowments of body. Tacitus in vlt. Ps. 134. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

TITVS FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XIII.



Titus Emp.

Agricola
Lieut.

Ann. Do. 81.

Titus made Em-
peror without
the consent of
the Senate.Called the de-
light of mankind.Born in A.D.
38. Educated
with all
honourable
virtues.
His employment
in former times.Josephus tells
that Titus
was the first
to be called
Emperor.

His looks.

His repentance
at his death.

Recently upon the death of this Emperor, *Titus* his eldest sonne, surnamed *Flavius Vespasian*, without all contradiction was received and obeyed for his rightfull successor, as well for that his Father in his lifetime had made him his Partner in the Empire, and

at his death by Testament declared him his Heir, as also for the generall opinion conceived of him, for his inbred goodness and noble conditions; called & esteemed the *lively darling and delight of mankind*. Indeed of a most comely presence he was, & fitted thereunto with all heroical virtues, a great *Souldier*, learned in the Arts, a good *Orator*, a skillfull *Astronomer*, and could by artificiall characters write both very swift and very faire.

(2) His youth he spent in Militarie qualities, and served in *Germanie* and *Britaine* with exceeding commendations, and in *Laric* warred with the like glorie, which is nothing impaired by the learned stile of his Recorder *Josephus*, unto whom againe for these affaires I must referre the curious Reader.

(3) *Jerusalem*, with the slaughter of eleven thousand *Teues*, even on the birth day of his daughter, with such honour he wonne, that thereupon presently he was surnamed *Emperor*, even in the life time of *Vespasian* his Father: and from that day carried himselfe as his Associate in the Empire; for with him hee Triumphed, and with him hee iointly administrated the *Consulship*, his *Colleague* hee was in the *Tribunes* authority, and his Companion also in seven *Consulships*: In all which, though the *Edilits* went forth in his fathers name, yet were they pennied by himselfe. Of this his victorie over the *Teues*, hee left the remembrance to posteritie by stamping upon the reverse of his coines IVD. CAP. with pictures expressing his Triumph and the *Teues* overthrow, which in the front of this Chapter we have also placed.

(4) Somewhat hee was blemished with the loue of *Berenice*, the beautifull *Queene of Iudrie*, and much more with the murder of *Anna Coma*, only through jealousy conceived of her: and whether that was the sinne whereof at his death hee repented, is vncertain, when lifting vp his eyes to *Heaven*, hee complained why his *Life* should be taken from him, that excepting one offence deserved not to die. As himselfe in glorie wielded the *Emperiall Scepter*, so did his Sub-

stitutes governe the *Provinces*, at which time in *Britaine*, *Agricola* was President, and therein had spent almost two yeares vnder the raigne of *Vespasian*, in such manner as wee haue declared.

(5) In his third yeare, hee discovered new Countries, and parts of this *Iland* yet vntouched, or at leastwise not thoroughly subdued, as altogether vnusitate of that which was gotten, & fought to draw the confines of the Empire with a larger compass: therefore marching Northward to the *Erub* of *Tam*, waisted all as he went, and without any resistance fortified the places with *Castles* and *Bastowkes*, which hee stored with sufficient provision, where euerie *Garrison* wintering, garded it selfe; and with the Summers service, euer repaired the *Winters* euents, whereby euermore the *Enemie* went to the worke, and his designs prospered as himselfe wished.

(6) The fourth Summer was spent in perusing and ordering that which hee had ouer-runn. And if the glory of the *Romane* name could haue permitted, or fo beene finished, it needed not to haue sought other limits of *Britaine*: for *Glota* and *Bodetris*, two armies of two opposite *Seas*, shooting farre into the *Land*, and onely diuided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, the same was both garded and fortified with *Castles* and *Garrisons*: so that the *Romans* were absolute *Lords* of all the South-side, and had cast the *Enemie* as it were into another *Iland*.

(7) In this state stood this *Province of Britaine* at the death of *Titus*, whose short raign hath left no long matters of discourse, and his *All*: greater vnder other *Emperours*, then when hee was *Emperor* himselfe; yet that little time wherein hee gouerned, was with *Iustice*, *Liberaltie* and *Loue* of all. A great *Enemie* hee was to *Procurers*, *Peisijagers*, and *Extortours* of penall Inues, which *Canker-wormes* of *Common-wealths* and *Catterpillers* to Courts of *Iustice*, hee caused to bee whipped and banished out of *Rome*. Louing and familiar hee was to all his *Subiects*, and so delirous to giue them satisfaction, that his vniuersall saying was, *No man ought to be sad from the speech of a Prince*. Mercifull hee was to the poore, and so readie to do them good, that one day being spent by him without any notable action, in borrow hee said: *I haue quite lost a day*. Hee died the thirteenth of September, the yeare from *Christi Nativity* eightie three, when hee had reigned two yeares and two moethes, and in the two and fortieth yeare of his age, being poisoned by *Domitian* his Brother and Successor.

Tacitus, Julius
Agricola
Tavernier, as
is thought.

* The fish of
Dorchester,
* Sandorough
fish.

Titus gouerned
with loue of
all.

His propensitie
to do good.
8. April, 11. 12.
His age 43. years.
Reigning 4. years.



FLAVIVS

FLAVIUS DOMITIAN.

CHAPTER XIV.



Domitian Emp.

Agricola Lieut.

Ann. Do. 83.



Domitian attaining the Empire by the death of Titus, (wrought by himself) as fate differed from him in various conditions, as he was linked neere him in consanguinitie of blood: His youth not spent in Armes, with his Father and Brother, but inercially consumed in lasciuiousness and penurie.

(2) At Rome hee was in the *Mithellan* troubles, where, with *Sabinus* his Vncle, he had bene murdered, had not the Sexton of the Capitoll hid him in his house, and in the habit of a Minister unknown, thence elapcd : which place afterwards, when hee came to be *Emperour*, he gorgeously built for a *Temple* to *Iupiter* his supposed Prefectur, and consecrated himselfe in the lap of that heathenish *Idoll*. Hee very speedily apprehended the hope of an *Emperre*, for no sooner was his Father made *Emperour*, but that hee assumed the name of *Caesar*, and in Rome caried himselfe with such prodigallitie, and so liberally made promises of the *Imperiall Officers*, that his father hearing thereof, said, he marvelled why his sonne sent not one to succeed him in his place. But to dissimble and cloake his idle conceits, he gaue himselfe to the study of *Poësie*, (although with little affection, as the end produced) for which notwithstanding both *Pliny* and *Marshall* doe highly commend him, as it is the manner of men to admire the very shadow of a good quality in Princes and great ones : and so doth *Isaenall* and *Suetonius* praise his braue minde, for his shewes in the *Amphitheater*, wherein not only men, but women also were brought, and forced to fight for their lues with wilde beasts: a cruell spectacle neuertheless and vnbecoming to humanity.

(1) His first entrance into state and dignitie was neither greatly applauded nor painfull, hee seeming to carrie an equall mixture, and his vertues to hold leuell with his vice. But Ambition now supported with Souerainie, did quickly set the scale onely for the worse side. The affaires of the *Empire* hee altogether neglected, and impatient of labour, or affection to Armes, daily retired into a priuate chamber or Gallery, wherein hee vially applied himselfe onely to catch *Flies*, and with the point of a bodkin so pricketh them thorow : whereupon one being asked what company was with the *Emperour*, replied, *Not so much as a flye*. In which princely exercise let vs a while leaue him, and returne to his better employed Lieutenant *Agricola*.

(4) Who now in the fifth yeere of his gouernment tooke the seas, and with many prosperous combats subdued some adiacent places and people, before that time unknown, and furnished with forces

those parts of *Britaine*, which lay coasted against *Ireland* : to which *Countrey* also hee had a minde, and would often say, that if the *Romans* were therein planted, the *Libertie* of the *Britaines* would soone be banished quite out of fight, and out of hope.

(5) Now in the sixth yeere of his Prefecture, because a general rising of all the farther *Nations* beyond *Baduria* was feared, and passages were all beset with power of the Enemies, he manned a Fleet to search the creeks and harbours of the ample Region beyond it, and with his Arme marched farther North. The *Britaines* heereat, especially at sight of their ships, much amazed and troubled, knowing now that the secret of their Seas were all discovered, and no refuge left if they were overcome, armed themselves with great preparation; and the *Caledonians* (a most puissant and strong Nation in those parts) the foremost; who, as challengers, braced the *Romans* so boldly, and in such manner, that some counselled the *Generall* to retire his forces on this side *Baduria*, and rather of his owne accord to depart, then to be repelled with shame.

(6) *Agricola*, whose courage could not be clouded with any dastardly feare, held on his ventures; and hearing by prisoners taken, the manner of his Enemies proceedings, ordereth his host accordingly, diuiding his arrie into three batties, and so lay entrenched; the weakest whereof, containing the *North Legion*, the *Britaines* by Night assailed, and hauing slaine the *Watch*, brake into their *Campe* with a furious noise : to whose rescue, *Agricola* sent his Light horsemen, and a Band of foot, whose *Engines* and *Armour* glittering in the appearance of day, so rebated the edge and further purpose of the *Britaines*, that they gaue backe to the gates of the Trench, where, in the straits the conflict was sharpe and cruell, till in the end they were forced to quit the field. Vpon this battie so manfully fought, and so famously won, the *Romans* presuming that to their prowess all things were now easie and open, cried to lead into *Caledonia*, and to finde out the limits of *Britaine*, with a courie of continued Conquests; and those which erewhile were so wary and wise, waxt forward and bold after the euent, and grew to speake bigly : such being the hard condition of Warres, that if ought fall out well, all challenge a part, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise, the *Britaines* presupposing that not valour, but skill in the *Generall* by vying the occasion, had carried it away, abated no whit their wonted courage, but armed their youth, transported their Children and Wives into places of safety, and fought by *Assemblies* & Religious rites to establish an *Appellation* of the *Cities* together. And so for that yeere both parties did depart, intended to further preparations.

(7) In the beginning of the next, *Agricola* sending his Naue before, which by vnexpected spoiling in

Agricola his captain of Ireland.

He searcheth the creeks and harbours.

Caledonians most puissant.

Agricola's success over the Romans of Britain.

Suetonius vit. Dom. lib. 1.

His escaping killing.

Tacit. Ann. 13. 63. His dedication to Temple to Jupiter.

Plinie in his Prae. of natural history.

Marshall in his E. 1472. Rom. E. imp. lib. 134. Sueton. in vit. Dom. lib. 11. 4.

His retirement into the house.

Tacit. lib. 14. Agr.

"*Grampine.*

The *Britannici*
show a great
power.

Galgarn their
General.

His Oration to
the *Britanni*.
Treat of war,
Army,
The ends of a
Warlike
State,
The necessity of
rebellion.

A discourse for
the choice of a
Nation to be
defeated.

Former Roman
not reformance.

Subjection will
not ensue.

The Roman
government
and
peace.

The fall to be
conquered ought
not to resist.

Manhood and
bravery of place
must be settled
of avarice
Sovereigns.

in several places, should induce a greater and more uncertain terror, followed himself with his *Armie* by Land: having drawn to his partie some of the valiantest *Britanni*, whom by long experience in Peace, he had found most faithful for his Warres: and so arrived at the Mount "*Grampius*, where the *Britanni* had lodged themselves before, and as men nothing dejected by the unfortunate chance of the former battaile, had now prepared themselves attending only for *Revenge* or *Servitude*. And being taught, that common danger must be repelled with mutual Concord, by Leagues and Embassages they assembled the power of all their *Cities* together, about thirte thousand armed men, as by view was taken, besides an endless number of youth which daily flocked vnto them, and many laiffe Old men renowned in the former warres, and bearing the Badges due to their honour: at what time, *Galgarn*, for vertue and birth, of all the *Leaders* the Principall man, feeling the multitude body demaund the *Battell*, in lead to haue vied this, or the like speech.

"(8) When I behold this present Assemblie, and consider the cause of this instant necessity, I haue reason to presume, that this day, and this our agreement in consent, will giue a happy beginning to our freedom, and an end of troubles vnto our *Land*. For, wee which inhabit these farthest Pro-montories, know no Land beyond vs wherunto we may flie, nor no Seas left vs now for safetie, the *Roman* Naine thus (as you see) surueying our Coasts: So that combat and armes, which men of valour desire for honour, the very dastard of force must now vie for his securitie. Wee that are the flower of the *British* *Militarie*, and are seated here in the vntermost part of the *Isle*, law neuer yet the borders of those Countries which serued in slaue-rie, our eyes being vnpolluted and free from all contagion of Tyrannie. Our former *Battailles* fought with the *Romans* had their euenes, yet so, that refuge and hope rested still in our hands; wee haue hitherto liued in libertie, whereas none beside vs are free; vs hitherto this Corner and secret recess hath defended, now the Vntermost point of our Land is laid open: and things the lesse they haue bene within knowledge, the greater the glorie is to achieve them. But what Nation is there now beyond vs? what else see we but *Water* and *Rocks*, and the *Romans* within, *Land-lords* of all, nay rather *Rulers* of all, both in Land and Sea? whose intolerable pride by humble subiection in vaine shall wee seek to auoid. If the Country be rich, they seeke to winne wealth; if poore, to gaine glorie: but neither *Earth* nor *wey*, can satisfie their greedy affection, much lesse this cold *North* can let an end to their desires. To kill, to spoile, and take away by force, that falsly they terme *Empire* and *Government*: and when all is made a waste wilderness, that they call *Peace*. Most deare vnto man are his Children and blood; but those are pressed for their warres, and serue as their slaves, we know not where our Goods are their tributes, our Come their prosellian; our Wives, Silvers and Daughters, in *Warre* violently forced, in *Peace* vnder title of friends and guests, shamefully abused, and our own Bodies worne & consumed in paying of Bogs and other seruile drudgeries, with thousands of stripes, and many indignities more. Slaves which are borne to bondage are sold but once, and after are fed at their Owners expences; but *Britannic* daily buyed, daily feeded, and is at charges with her owne Bondage. We are the last to be conquered, and therefore is our destruction most fought, as being the most vile in account: No Fields we haue to manure, no Mines to be digged, no Ports to trade in, and to what purpose then should they refuse vs alie? Besides, the Manhood and fierce courage of the subject, plentiful not much the zealous *Sauaigine*; and this Corner being so secret, and out of the way, the more securitie it yieldeth vs, in them

"it workes the greater suspicion. Then, seeing all hope of fauour is past, let vs take courage to defend and maintaine our owne libertie as well as our honour. The *Servant* by a *Woman*, fired the *Colours*, forced the *Cassies*; and if that lucke beginning had not bene ended in a carelesse securitie, the *Southerne Britanni* might with ease haue shaken off the yoke. We as yet neuer touched, neuer subdued, and borne to bee free, not slaves to the *Romans*; wee (*Livy*) now are to make proofe of our valour, and to shew in this encounter, what men *Caesar* hath referred forher selfe. And do you thinke, that the *Romans* are as valiant in Warre as they are wanton in Peace? I assure you, nothing lesse: for not by their Vertues, but by our larringes, they are growne into fame: and of the enemies faults they make vie to the glory of their owne *Armes*, composed (we know) most of diuers *Nations*; and therefore as in prosperitie they hold not alwaies together, so doubtlesse, if fortune turne aside, their seruices will appeare: vnlesse you suppose the *Gauls* and *Germanes*, and (to our shame be it spoken) many of our owne *Nations*, (which now lend their liues to establish a *foraine* *Vijour*) bee lead with heares affection; whereas contrariwise it is apparant, that *Terror* and *Distrust*, (weake workers to conferre loue) are the onely causes which once remoued, then those that haue made an end to feare, will soone begin to hate. All things that may incite vnto victorie are for vs: the *Romans* haue no *Wines* to batten them on, if they faint; no *Paras* to vbrayd them, if they flie; most of them haue no Countrie at all, or if they haue, it is by intrusion taken from others: A few fearefull persons stand here before vs, trembling and gazing at the strangeness of the heauen it selfe, at the Sea, and at the Woods, whom the Gods haue deliuered, mewed vp and fettered into our hands. Let not their braue shewes of glittering *Gold* or *Siluer*, any way dismay you, which of themselves neither offend nor defend. And be you well assured, amongst our enemies wee shall finde many on our side; The *Britanni* will agnize their owne Cause; The *Gauls* will remember their wonted libertie and former estate; And the rest of the *Germanes* will leaue and forsake them, as of late the *Pyssini* did. What then shall wee feare? The *Cassies* are empty; the *Colours* are peopled with aged and impotent persons; the free Cities discontent, and in factions, whilst those which are vnder, obey with ill will, and they which doe gouerne, rule against right. Here you see before vs is the *General* and the *Armie*, on each side Tributes, *Servitudes* and other miseries inseparable, which whether we shall continue for euer, or cast off subiection as free-borne *Britanni*, is lyeth thus day in the *Field* and your approoued manhoods. Wherefore I beseech you in ioyning *Battell*, beare in your Minds your worthy *Ancestors*, your Selues, and following Posterities, which if you fail, shall for euer lye in subiection and slaue-rie.

"(9) This speech was so vehemently deliuered, and so cheerfully of them all received, that with songs and confused acclamations (after their accustomed fashion) they clustered together on heaps, and some of the boldest advanced forward, whilst *Agricola* likewise was encouraging his men, who straightwaies ranne to their weapons, and rushed on furiously toward the Enemy.

"(10) The *Britanni* were marshalled in the higher ground, sly both to the shew, and to terrifie: the first Battalion standing on the plaine, the rest on the ascent of the hill, knit and rising as it were one ower another; the middle of the field was filled with clattering and running of Chariots and horsemens. *Agricola* seeing their number to excede his, drew his battaile in length, and leuning his horse, advanced himselfe before the *Engines* on foote.

"(11) In the first assault before the ioyning, both sides encountered with discharge of their darts, wherein the

Women whom
might be flane
into the
straw.

Thirteen the
first to promote
our
valour.

The *Romans*
stand in peace.

Their *Armes*
respectful of
diuers nations.

They are deli-
uious of many an
encouragement.

Many Chieft
in
saction.

The number of
Britanni exceed
the *Romans*.

The first encounter.

the Britains, employing both art and valour, with their great fwords and little Targets, avoided the volue of the *Romans*, throwing down withall great force of theirs vpon them, whereas they were both galled and sore wounded. *Agricola* seeing his men thus stoutly refused,ooke another course: for, spying the advantage, he commanded three *Batavian Cohorts*, and two of the *Tungrian*, to press forward, and bring the matter to bloody strokes and din of sword, at which (in respect of their long seruice) they were very expert in, but contrariwise to the Britains very preiudiciall, by reason of their little Bucklers, and huge fwords, being blunt pointed, and no waies fit for the close in fight. This command advantaged the *Romans* much: for these with the pikes of their Bucklers, when they came to deale blowes, so mangled the faces of the Britains, that they were not able to stand before them; and the rest, gathering courage vpon emulation of these, ascended the hill, bearing downe all that was in their way, so that many halfe dead, and some wholly vnwatched, were ouer-passed, and left for halfe of winning the field. In the meane while the *Chariots* mingled themselves with the battle of footmen, and the troopes of horsemen began for to flie: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselves, by the vacuennesse of the ground, and thicke ranks of the enemy, and were forced to fight standing still, and by the maine weight of hories to beare downe one another. The wandering Wagons alio, and mallerlike hories, as chance or feare did guide them, ouer-bare many times their friends, and thwarted their way that met them.

(12) The other Britains that kept the hill, and had lesseure to behold the manner of fight, beganne to come downe by little and little, and sought to compasse the backe of the enemy; which intent *Agricola* soon preuented, by sending foure wings of *Horsmen*, retained purposely about them for sudden dispatches and chances of warre. These so fiercely assailed them, that a most sharpe and bloody battle ensued, wherein the Britains on each side were beaten downe and slaine, notwithstanding many of them shewed both valour and reuenge euen to the end: the rest disbanded, turned their backs, and fled towards the desert; whose pursuit was followed vntill Night, and fulnesse of blood made an end of the chaffe.

(13) Of the *Romans* side were slaine (if wee must credit their owne figures) onely three hundred and foure persons, and of them, one of extraordinary note and account, *Aulus Atricus*, Captaine of a Cohort, who vpon a youthfull heat, and fiercenesse of his hore, was carried amidst his enemies. Of the Britains fell ten thousand, and their delignes so defeated and broken, that as desperate men, they forsake their houses, and in despite for fire on them themselves: the hurt persons they carrie and draw with them, and call them that are wharnt, hoping to be releued by them. One while they chuse out holes to lurke in, for their liues safetie; sometimes in great haile forsake them, as doubting therein their owne securitie. Dispersed asunder, they lament, and attend death: assembled together, exspoliuate of their meanes and life: one while conceiuing a glimmering of some small hope, another while dejected with vter despair: Sometimes at the sight of their dearest beloued, moued to pittie; but much oftner stirred to rage, for reuenge, and many of them, each by way of compassion, slew their dearest *Wives* and *Children*, to rid them from their future miseries.

(14) *Agricola* hauing made euery where a desolation and silence, withdrew his Armie towards the *Horreflens*, where taking hostages for their fidelitie, sent the *Admirall* of his Navy to liue about the North Coast of Brittain, who with strength and store tooke the Seas, their terror gone already before, himselfe with ealie and gentle iourneys disposed his foot and horsemen in their Winning places, and planted Garri- sons vpon the Borders betweene *Gloia* and *Bodo-*

tria. And his Naue with prosperous winde and felicitee arrived at the Port of *Tranucis*.

(15) Thus, after many conflicts, about the space of one hundred thirty six yeeres from *Julius Cæsar* first entrance, the vtmost limies of Brittain, and the *Iles of the Orades* lying on the North side of it, were by the valour and industrie of *Julius Agricola* first discovered, and made knowne vnto the *Romans*; and the South part of the *Ile*, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of *Dominian*, (being the yeere of our Sauour eightie six) reduced into a full Province, the government whereof was euer annexed and appropriate to the *Roman Emperours* themselves, and not at the disposition of the *Senate*, as other Provinces were.

(16) This state of affaires in Brittain, *Agricola* signified by letter, without any amplifying termes to *Dominian the Emperour*, who (after his manner) with a cheerefull countenance and great desire, received the Newes, being inwardly prickted with feare and disdain, that his late counterfeited Triumph of *Germanie* (wherein certaine slaues bought for money, were attired, and their haire dressed as Captiues of that Countrey) was had in derision, and idly scorned abroad; whereas now a true and imperiall victorie of so many thousand enemies subdued and slaine, was current and famous in euery mans mouth: as being indeed a thing dangerous, that a priuate mans name should be exalted about his Prince. In vaine then had hee superstitious the studie of *Oratorie*, and other worthy polite Arts, thereby to keepe downe other mens reputation, if he should in Military glory be disfigured by another. And to be a good Commander of an Armie, was to be a more priuate estate, that being a Vertue peculiar for a Prince, and therefore not lightly to be passed ouer. With these and the like incentives his minde was tormented; yet thought he it best to dissemble his malice, vntill the heat of his glory, and lone of his soldiers were somewhat abated. And forthwith he commanded for *Agricola*, *Triumphall* ornaments, *stare*, honours, and what else vntually conferred in lieu of *Triumph*; hee yet remaining in charge, from whence, with the like police alio, hee was shortly displaced. For *Syria*, by the death of *Attilius Rufus*, lay destitute of a Lieutenant; and that place referred for Men of great qualitie, *Dominian* gaue forth was purposed for *Agricola*, and sent him both his *Patent* and *Successor* into *Brittain*; who thereupon deliuered vp the Province in a peaceable estate vnto *Salsustius Lucullus*, and returned to *Rome*.

(17) Where the life of *Dominian* was now grown vnreuerable vaine. The surname *Germanicus* he assumed to himselfe, for some small seruice therein done. The Moneths *September* and *October* hee changed into the names of *Germanicus* and *Dominianus*, because that in the one hee entered his Empire, and in the other was borne. He caused his Senate to be made in gold, and commanded, himselfe to be called *G.O.D.* His cruelty euery way matchable to his pride. The *Senators* and *Nobles* vpon small fauours hee murdered: many new tortures hee inuented: *Consecrations* and *Banishments*, were fauours, not punishments. Amongst all which, the *Christians* bare a part, whose *Second Persecution* this Tyrant raised and began. The great *Euangelist Iohn* hee banished into the *Ile of Patmos*, where hee reeched his *Revelations* from *Iesus Christ*, appearing vnto him in no lesse Maiestie then *Daniel* before time had seen him in his *Visions*, and both (after a sort) in one and the same manner: their *Visions* alike, and almost to the like end: For as *Daniel* saw a *Lion*, *Beare*, *Leopard*, and *Man* with Ten horns, persecute the *Iewes* Gods people, and to fall before the Stone cut without hands, which brake into powder the Image of their Tyrannicall Government, to giue place to the peaceable Birth and Kingdome of *Christ*; so *Iohn* saw one *Beast* compated of these foure, moucht like a *Lion*, footed like a *Beare*, spotted as the *Leopard*, and horned for number and power with the *Man*, reigning their *Tyrannie* in raising *Persecutions* in the Church of *Christ*, and clouding with Military

* Richmo.

Wilm. mags. Brit. lib. 2. cap. 17.

Wilm. wholly discovered by Agricola.

Ann. Dom. 86.

De lib. 35.

Agricola written to Dominian.

Agricola receiveth Triumphall ornaments.

Sexton in vita Domitiani. Domitianus hie vocat.

Hee banished S. Iohn to the I. of Patmos. Apoc. 1. 9. Daniel 10.

Apoc. 13. 2.

* Hetero. & Lupin in the Low Countries.

The Britains Chariots disorder the footmen.

The fight fierce on both sides.

The Britains discomfited.

The Romans loose. * Aulus purchases.

The Britains that died.

* Joseph in Zeph. 2. 13. Agricola sends to discover the North coast.

2. Theſſ. 2. 8.

Saluſtius Lucullus
put to death.
3 years in od. Do-
miſt ſett in
his offence.

the hightneſſe of his Word: which ſhall bee caſt into the Lake of fire and brimſtone, when Chriſt ſhall hinder vp Satan, and by his appearance aboliſh the Man of Sinne.

(18) Among many others ſlaine by Domitian, Saluſtius Lucullus whom he had made Lieutenant General of Brittain was one, and the onely cauſe is reported to bee, that hee had deuſed and made certaine Spies or Launces for ſeruice, which hee cauſed to be called Lucullians after his owne name; which was a matter held very ſuſpicious by Domitian, who thought euerie memorable act done by another, did plucke a feather from his plume. And in theſe courſes continued ſo long, that laſtly hee grew odious to all, even to his neareſt friends and followers which himſelfe had raiſed, who, together with his Wife, conſpired his death.

(19) The chiefeſt in the Action was Stephen, a Procurator and Steward to Domitilla his Emperreſſe,

who ſaining himſelfe lame of the left arme, in deluſing him a ſcroll containing the names of the conſpirators, ſtroke him into the bellie with his ſword, & the reſt comming in, with ſeuern wounds made an end of his life; whole death was ſo acceptable to the Senate, that they diſgracefully ſhuled his carcaſſe, caſt downe his ſcutcheons and Images, and forbad all manner remembrance of him; albeit ſome of the Souldiers ſtill much ſtormed, ſeeking to reuenge his death, and canonized him for a God.

(20) Of ſtature he was tall, his complexion faire, his countenance modeſt, his head verie bald, his eyes red, full, great and dimme, of a comely forme, onely his bellie bearing out, his legges ſmall, and his foote ſomewhat ſhort. He died the eighteenth day of September, aged forty five, when hee had reigned fifteene yeeres, the yeare of our Lords incarnation ninetie eight, with whom both Tacitus and Suetonius end their Hiſtorie.

The officers of his death, and their executione

The Senate glad.

The ſouldiers enraged.

His perſonage.

His death, age & reigne.
Engh. Eccleſ. li. 9. cap. 21.



The Reſiſters of the Roman proceedings in this our Iſland of Brittain, in the daies of this Emperour Domitian, for theſe Southerne parts, was Aruſtrugus, as from Inuetnal wee haue ſaid; and in the Northerne Calcedonia, was Gulgarnus their Captaine; whole Coines, as Remaines and Monuments of their neuerdying fame, wee haue heere againe inferred.



NERVA.

CHAPTER XV.



Nerva Emp.

Ann. Do. 98.



were the moſt favourable Reſiſters of things done by the Romans, yet had they beſt meanes to know, and publiſh their Hiſtorie with warrantize of truth. But after the death of Domitian died many Records, and the Preſenters proceedings (eſpecially thoſe that moſt concerne Brittain) left vn certaine; and therefore are

neither with the like largeneſſe profecuted, nor with the like authoritie anouchd. And were it not that theſe Roman Emperours ſucceeding, did onely continue the ſucceſſion of our Britiſh Monarchs, many of them might be quite omitted, as neither themſelves, nor deputies, allies, or enemies once ſpoken of concerning our affaires, and the Government of this Preſent, during thoſe times ſo maimed and defective (in reſpect of any warrantable relations) that hardly a method can bee offered to the fitting of a continuall Hiſtorie. Yet as we finde it, let vs haue libertie to deliuer it, and rather to expoſe Truth in the meane aſſure that Time hath left her, then by diſguizing her in richer robes to abuſe the World, and make her ſeeme nought elle but a counterfeit, as Plutarch in the life of Pericles hath complained.

ſit. ang. lib. 1. 3. 4. 5.

Plutarch in the life of Pericles.

Domitian having end, ſeene after many Records were loſt.

*from Nerva
of & prudence.*

(1) *Domitian* therefore thus made away, *Cereus Nerva*, a prudent, honourable, and aged person was elected *Emperor* by the *Senate*, assisted by *Petrus Secundus*, Captain of the *Prætorian Army*, and *Partianus* chief *Chamberlain*, and one of the Murderers of *Domitian*. His birth was noble, and of *Italy* in the *Citie Nerva*, and of the *Province Flavia*: ruling so well as he may be esteemed too good a Prince, long to continue in so bad an age.

Geoff. Monast.

(2) What *Lieutenants* under him were in *Britain* or under his Successor *Traian*, I find not in Record: but our *English Writers* from the *Arch-Deacon of Monmouth*, bring a succession of *British Kings*, and amongst them *Marius*, who conquered *Roderick*, King of the *Picts*, accompanied with the *Seas*, whole *Trois* created neere unto *Carlell*, remained a long time after, bearing the inscription of his victory: and after him his sonne *Cadus* brought up in *Rome* all the time of his youth, retained their favours, and paid them tribute without constraint. Albeit by *Tacitus*, it is learnt that *Arminius* as the father of *Marius*, a great resistor of the *Romans*, lived in the reign of *Domitian*,

Florus Historiar.
where *Domitian* is
scolded for his
murder of *Marius*
a Consul of *Rome*,
Pep. lib. 4. c. 13.

Arminius the
father of *Marius*,
Chap. 1. lib. 13.

as hath bene touched, unless you will say, that *Marius* and *Arminius* was the same *Marius*, as a worthy *Antiquarie* affirmeth. But through these uncertainties and disagreements occasioned by the silence of better Authors, our *Historians* rest doubtful, and so must we leave them, returning to finish up briefly the Reign and Life of this good *Emperor Nerva*.

Henry Lloyd
in the History
of Brit.

Also in an old
Manuscript
is called *Epist.*
cap. 41.
Tacitus Nerva
called from
honourment the
Christians.
Dion. Cass. lib. 68.
Julius Evangelus
kill returned
from *Pactium*,
Nerva lib. 4. c. 13.
Europeus,
Dion. Cass.

(4) Who having reformed many enormities, and remitted many grievous Tributes and exactions, as that of Carriages mentioned on the reverse of the prefronted Coin, minted by authority of the Senate, in eternall memorie of his goodness, recalled from banishment the *Christians* severally dispersed, and suffered them to enjoy the freedom of their profession. At which time *Iohn* the *Evangelist* returned from *Pactum*, (wherein he had bene confined) unto *Ephesus*, a *Citie* in *Asia* the selfe. And *Nerva* reigning only one year, four months and nine daies died (of a pangsionate anger conceived against a *Senator*) in the year of *Christ* his incarnation ninetie nine, the twentieth day of *January*, & lewentie sixth of his own age.



TRAIAN.

CHAPTER XVI.



Traian Emp.

Ann. Do. 99.

Scenes Jordan.

*Traian raised the
Emire in the
highest glory.*

His Call. 10.

*Traian never
lost of the Ro-
mans all Traian
was.*

*Traian's ability
and moderation
was in his
safety.
Europa.*



Nero Nerva succeeded *Flavius Traian* in the *Roman Empire*; borne neere unto *Scull* in the Territories of *Spain*: of a noble familie, but was much more enabled in himselfe for his princely endowments, which moved *Nerva* in his life time to adopt him into so high a calling, and the whole *Senate* after his death joyfull to confirme his Election, and so often to honour him with the title of the *Most Excellent Prince*, in publicke dedications, as on the Coin above.

(2) Hee raised the *Roman Empire* unto the very highest pitch of glory, and spread the power of their Command into the largest circuit that ever before or since hath bene possibled. For the Kingdom of *Dacia* hee subdued; *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Mesopotamia* made subiect; *Affrica*, *Perfia*, and *Babylon* conquered; passed *Tigris*, and stretched the confines of the *Roman Empire* unto the remotest dominions of the *Indies*, which never before that time had heard of the *Roman Name*. And indeed, if we looke upon his policie managing of the government, he may seeme (in comparison of others) a right worthy, memorable and lovely Prince, of much affluence, and familiaritie even with his inferiours, and of such carriage towards his *Subjects*, as he himselfe would wish his *Prince* (he faid) to vie towards him, if he were a *Subject*. A great obstructor also of Justice, inasmuch that when hee travelled any *Prætor*, in giving him the *Sword*, he commanded him to vie the same even against his owne person, if he violated *Law* or *Equitie*. But yet against the good

Christians hee ved neither of both: may hee stirred up their *Third Persecution*, wherein *Ignatius* and many other worthy *Saints* of God, received the Crowne of Martyrdome, in such cruel manner, as that his other vertues are much clouded by that taxation: for mollification whereof, he was compassionately intreated by *Plinius Secundus* his Tutor, whose Epistles to that purpose are yet extant.

(3) The *sewers* in his time rose up in armes against the *Gentiles*, and in *Cyrene*, *Aegypt*, and *Cyprus*, slew a great number: against whom *Traian* sent his Captaines with forces sufficient, and in divers parts of the *Empire* put the *sewers* to death, in such infinite numbers, as that *Masurius* is accounted the greatest *Executioner* that ever had bene in the world, God suffering this their punishment to light upon them for their infidelity and obdinance against his *Christ*.

(4) Finally, after his *Conquest* in the East, returning towards *Rome* at *Sclavonia* in *Asia* the selfe himselfe was conquered by the stroke of death, by a fluxe the seventh day of *August*, after hee had reigned ninetene yeeres, six months, and sixtine daies, the yeere of our Redemption one hundred and eightene, and of his age fixtie foure: whose ashes brought to *Rome*, were inclosed within the Crowne of a goodly *Pillar*, wrought of one intire stone, containing one hundred forty foot in height.

(5) Of stature hee was bigger, of complexion swarthy, thinn of haire both head and beard, a hooked nose, brode shoulders, long hands, and a pleasant eye, whole lively image was borne in *Triumph* after his death, and that in most glorious and pompous manner, in celebration of his great renowne and fame attained in his life.

The chief persecution
of the
Christians.
Epist. Basilic.
lib. 2. cap. 30.

sewers made war
against the
Gentiles.

Traian his
laughter upon
the *sewers*
the greatest that
ever was.

Dion. Cass.
Pep. lib. 4.
cap. 13.

Traian portrait-
ure.

Remains in Traianus.

(6) How silent sower writers have been for this *Emperours* affairs in this our *Iland*, yet it is to be thought that vnto this, as well as vnto other *Provinces*, both *Properetors*, *Lieutenants*, *Presidents*, *Pretors*, and *Proconsuls* were sent, and every *Citie* to haue their municipall Magistrates. The *Pretor* that yearly proclaimed solemne Seditions, wherein himselfe sat aloft vpon a high tribunall seate, and guarded with his liectors about him in great estate, did execute his authoritie throughout his owne iurisdiction, and determined all causes brought before him, where rods and axes were prepared for the common people, that were enforced to receiue a new Ruler euery year. And surely as this yoke of bondage was grievously borne of euery *Province*, vpon whose necke, it was imposed & laid: So the *Britaines* vnderwent the weight of that subiection with such vnwillingnes, that in the time of this *Traian*, they revolted and rebelled, though presently suppressed, as it is euidēt out of *Spartianus*.

(7) The care that this good *Emperour* had for the weale of his Subiects is proofed by his prouidence in making waies passable from place to place, whereof remaine many testimonies by those his *Causies* drawne with wonderfull diligence, euen thorow the whole *Iland*, which now, though dismembred and cut in peeces by the Countie people, wherethorow they passed, yet doe many remanēt thereof

remainē, especially in pastures, or by-grounds out of the rode way, with bankes so high, that euidently they shew themselves. Of these *Causies* *Galen* writeth as followeth: The waies (saith he) *Traian* repaired, by passing with stone, or raising with bankes call'd up such peeces of them as were moist and mory: by flocking up and riding such as were rough and overgrown with bushes and briars: by making bridges ouer Rivers that could not be waded thorow: where the way seemed longer then needed, by cutting out another shorter: if any where by reason of some steepe hill, the passage were hard and uneasy, by turning it aside thorow easier places: now in case it was haunted with wilde beasts, or lie waste and desert, by drawing it thence thorow places inhabited, and withall laying lesse all vnto men and ragged grounds.

Along these *Causies* the *Emperour* caused to bee set little pillars or Columnes, with numerall Characters cut in the, to signifie how many miles was from place to place. Of these *Sulmus Apollinaris* writeth thus:

*Antiquum tibi nec terreat agger,
Cuius per spatium satis vetusq;
Nomen Casertum viuet columnis.*

*Breaks not the ancient Causies strong,
Whereon the Columnes stand along,
Nor names of Casars doe not wrong.*

Galen lib. 9. cap. 3. *Antiqu.*

Hadrian Emp.

An. Do. 119.

Polyb. lib. 4. c. 24.

Spartianus.

Hadrianus policy.



H A D R I A N.

CHAPTER XVII.

Cneus Trebel.
Lieut.Hadrian's attempt
alteration.Holdingford lib. 4.
cap. 10.
Cneus Trebellius
Lieutenant of
the Britains.Julian Severus
sent to suppress
the Commotion
of the Iewes.Hadrian himselfe
came into Brit-
tain to suppress
rebellion.

fter the decaie of *Traian*, his Nephew *Elm Hadrianus*, by the consent of the Armie, who swore to him obedience, was proclaimed *Emperour*, the *Senate* likewise confirming their choice, as beeing a man indued with gifts both of Art and Nature,

answerable to the fortunes of his *Estate*. His birth was of *Spane*, in the *Citie Italia*, neere vnto *Civil*, where *Traian* was born, his Father Noble, and his Mother in *Calce* descended of an honourable stocke.

(1) A great *Mathematician* he was, skillfull in *Arithmetick*, *Geometrie*, *Astronomie*, and *Iudicious Astrologie*; learned in the *Greeke*, and *Latine* Tongues; in which languages he wrote both Poetic and Prose: well scene in *Physicks*, and knew the Vertues of *Herbes*, *Rootes*, and *Stems*: A singular Musitian both for *Theorie* and *Practise*, and could both limme & carue with approbation of the skillfull: but above all, is the admirable report of his Memorie, who neuer forgot any thing that he either read or heard.

(2) His first businesse for the *Empire*, was rather a care to hold securely what was gotten, then by enlarging the bounds to endanger the Best and there-

fore lessening the *Compassse*, and bettering the strength, he planted his forces along the River *Euphrates*, and assigned that for the *Easterne* limits, leauing out *India*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, and *Mesopotamia*, as Countreies too remote for the *Romans* to hold to their profit. By which his doings other *Provinces* tooke occasion to reuolt, thirsting after *Libertie*, and among others the *Britaines* (as euer most impatient of *Strutode*) attempted alterations, whose *Lieutenant Cneus Trebellius* (Successour to *Julius Agrippa*) could not so gouerne his *Souldiers* which were growne out of discipline, and by long rest farre out of Order, but that they fell at variance among themselves, and disquieted the most peaceable of the *Britains* by their licentious manners.

(3) The *Northerne Inhabitants*, that were more at libertie, set themselves to withstand their wrōgs, to whom also many others joined their affections and forces, whereupon some bickering infused with losse and blood, to represse which *Julius Severus* was sent by *Hadrian*: but ere hie could settle the Commotion, was againe recalled and imploied in *Syria*, to suppress the *Iewish* rebellion.

(4) These Surres here still continuing, the *Emperour* tooke it to be of such importance, that he retired in *Person* to adresse for *Britaine*, which he performed in his third Consulship, the yeare of Christ

One hundred twentie foure, attended on by three Legions; of which, his Army for this exploit was then composed, as appeareth by his money in the entrance of his life, fixed in memorie of this undertaking: With these hee encountered the Northern Riders, recovered such holds as they had taken, and forced them into the *Wodes* and *Mountaines*, whither the *Romanes* *Hayesmen* without danger could not pursue them. But perceiving the Aire too sharpe for the *Romanes* constitution, and the Soile rough and offesse profit then the rest, hee made a Fortification or strong Wall of Earth, which (as *Lampridius* saith) did continue on the *Wey* from *Tinns*, (that is, the River *Eben* in Cumberland neere *Carlisle*) vnto the River *Tine*, or *Tine* at *Newcastle* in *Northumberland* in the *East*, and was no less then *Eightie miles* in length. This Wall (saith he) was made of stakes driuen deepe into the ground, and bound together in the manner of an hedge, and with Turfe and Earth intermured as a *Rampire* or *Bulwark* to defend the Incurions of the wilder *Britaines* and ill Neighbours that daily molested the peace of the *Romanes*. *Hadrian* his worke finished, and the *Province* reduced to the obedience of the farst Gouverneile *Rome*, at whose feet he had laid againe the name of *Britaine*, as appeareth in the first Reverse of his Coine, placed in the fronture of this Chapter) triumphantly returned to *Rome*, and for his honourable aduventure and Expedition had his name inscribed vpon his Coine with this addition: THE RESTORER OF BRITANNIE.

(6) Neither after this seemed the *Southerne Britains* greatly to contend, but patiently bore the yoke of subiection, which *Time* and *Custom* had made lesse painfull, the rather, for that they saw themselves to stand in neede of the *Romanes* helpe against the inroades of their owne *Countreymen*, whose crueltie was now as much feared, as in former times the Inuasion of *Strangers*: whereupon they conformed themselves more willingly to the *Romanes* Lawes, both in *Martiall* and *Ciuill* affaires: which were then principallie directed by *Licinius Priscus*, who had bene not long before employed by *Hadrian* in the seruice of *Ierunn*, and was at this present *Lieutenant* of *Britannie*.

(7) This *seuill* warre happened in the eighteenth yeere of the Reigne of *Hadrian*, who suddenly assailed and flew where they came, both *Romanes* and *Christians*: for reuenge whereof, besides an infinite number of them slaine and tortured, their *Citie Ierusalem* was also rased euen to the ground, and another built, but not altogether in the same place, and the name thereof changed to *ARISTIA*: the *Iewes* vterly banished thence; and (as *Aristides Pelaeus* writeth) noe lawfall for them to looke towards that *Citie* nor *Sail*, no nor; through the *Chinke* or *Crenell* of a dore: And vpon the Gate that leadeth towards *Beth-lehem*, hee caused a *Sunnet* to be engrauen, a *Beast* by the *Law* accounted most vncleane, and by them abhorrible.

(8) But as this *Emperour* was exasperated against the *Iewes*, so was hee gracious and fauourable to the *Christians*, and the rather at the request of *Quadratus*, a Disciple (as is supposed) of the *Apostles*, who wrote vnto him concerning them; and of *Aristides* a learned *Philosopher* of *Athens*, who made an *Apologie* for their defence; so that the *Persecution* then in practise was forbidden by *Hadrian* in a publicke *Edict*; who (as *Lampridius* writeth) was mandated to haue built a Temple to the seruice of *Christ*, had not some disuaded him therewith. In extremitie of sickness hee designed *Cesar*, *Lucius Aelius*, whose Coyne wee haue hereunder expressed. A mandate to this *Emperour*, if we consider at how great a rate hee bought for him the acceptance of the Commons and *Militarie* men: And how short a time the blaze of that Honour continued: for hee died so soone, that *Hadrian* himselfe had want to say,

Offendens terris hunc tantum fata, nec ulla Effugium. —

(9) When hee had reigned in great honour and loue the space of one and twentie yeeres, five moneths, and fifteene daies, hee died, the eighth or tenth of *Iulie*, of a *dropsie*, which maladie so tormented him, that willingly he refused all fastenance, and languished away through faintnesse. Hee was of personage tall, and very strong, of a good complexion, and amiable countenance, wearing the haire of his head and beard long, and died aged sixty two, the yeere of our Lord God, One hundred thirtie vnie.

Dion Cass.

Jerusalem razed to the ground.

It is said, that a cap of Iron was presented to be built in Jerusalem.

A Statue set on the Gate of Jerusalem.

Hadrian favourable to the Christians.

Lampridius in his Story.

Spartianus. Dion Cassius. Fabius.



Vnder this Emperour M. F. CL. PRISCVS LICINIVS, was the Proprator of Britannie, and employed in the Iourney of Iurie with Hadrian; as appeareth by this antique Inscription in a broken Marble.

M. F. CL. PRISCO.
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AVGVSTORVM
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIAE
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIAE LEG. AVG.

LEG. III. GALLICIAE. PRAEF. COH. III. LINGONVM. VEXILLO. MIL.
ORNATO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN EXPEDITIONE IVDAIC.

Q. CASSIVS. DOMITIVS. PALVMBVS.



ANTONINVS PIVS.

CHAPTER XVIII.



*Antonin. Pius
Emp.*

*Lollius Urbi-
cus Lieut.*

An. Do. 139.



Ext vnto whom succeeded *Antoninus*, (for his many vertues) furnamed the *Pious*: and by the Senate, Father of his Country. This man did not onely equal his *Adopter* and *Predecessors*, in wisdom and other princely qualities, but was also compared,

for his peace and policie, vnto *Numa Pompilius* the second King of *Rome*, who for his renowned gouernment, is so famously in their Histories recorded. His birth was in *Lombardy*, the son of *Aurelius Fulvius*, and Nephew to *Titus Aurelius Fulvius*, that had bene Consul, and held other Offices of dignity and State. The whole time of whose *Reigne* was so spent in peace, that small remembrances remaine of any martiall affaires: yet such as we finde in *Britannie* we will deliuer.

(2) At his first entrance into the Empire, about the yeere of Christ, One hundred thirtie nine (as appeareth by the money minted in memorie of the reduction of *Britannie*) the *Northerne Brittaines* in that part of this Ile began to stirre, and made incursions into the *Provincie*, notwithstanding the *Rampire* or Wall that *Adrian* had made. Against whom *Lollius Urbicus* Lieutenant here vnder *Antoninus*, brought his power, and with some skirmishes put them backe: taking from the *Brittaines* part of their Land, as a *Mall*, for the walke they had done to the *Gemonians*, a Province adjoining vnto the *Brittaines*, whose people had put themselves vnder the Emperours protection. Which done, he repaired the Wall with stronger Fortifications; or (which is more probable) raised vp another not farre from the same, to double the defense: for (saith *Julius Capitolinus*) *Lollius* the Legate to *Antoninus* encompassing the *Brittaines*, build another turfe Wall to divide the *Provincie*, and to impeach the incursions of the barbarous. Notwithstanding the honour of this seruice (as is testified by the ancient *Panegyricke*) was (by one *Frontinus*) attributed wholly to *Antoninus* the Emperour himselfe: who, although absent and in his Palace at Rome, yet sitting as it were at the Helme of a Ship, did command and direct the enterprise, and therefore had right to the glory thereof. This Wall also (as *M. Claudius Ptolemeus* cometh forth, hauing scene it so trauced in an ancient Chorographical Chart) was drawen from the Riuer *Tine* vnto *Carlisle*: but Time and Warre haue worn it now away.

(1) In the meane while a new insurrection was kindled among the *Brittaines*, that annoyed some of the *Romanes* Confederates. But by the discretion of the Generall, it was quenched before it came to flame: for vpon the first rumour of the Reuolt, *Lollius* marched thither with part of his Armie, commanding *Seius*

Saturius, Admirall of the *British Fleet*, to waffe vpon the North of the Island, both to defend the Coast from danger, and also vpon occasions to further the Land-seruice, if need were: by which meanes, the *Brittaines* were easily reduced to obedience, even by the presence onely of the Lieutenant, who for his good seruice done in *Brittain*, during the short time of his imploiment there, obtained the surname *Britannicus*. This may by the first figure in the face of this Chapter (being in the third Constallship of this Emperour) be coniectured to haue hapned in the yeere of Christ one hundred forty one; and by inscription of the last Coine in that ranke it is manifest that there was some other expedition against *Brittain* the yeere following.

(4) I cannot omit, though not directly pertinent to our purpose, the care that this good Emperour generally had for the distressed and persecuted *Christians* (who no doubt by his bounty enioied much tranquillitie here in *Brittain* also) in whose defense hee wrote to his Deputies in *Asia*, and published an Edict against their Accusers, the effect whereof (from *Eusebius*) is this:

"(1) The Emperour *Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus*, fiftene times Tribune, thrice Consul, vnto the Commons of *Asia* sendeth greeting. I doubt nocht that Gods themselves haue a care that wicked persons shall bee brought to light: for it much more doth appertaine vnto them, then it doth vnto you, to punish such as refuse to yeeld them worship. But this course which you take doth confirme them whom you persecute, in this their opinion of you, that you are impious men, and meere *Atheists*: whereby it cometh to passe, that they desire in the quarrell of their God rather to die, then to yeeld to the will of such as you are, and to embrace your forme of Religion. Let it not seeme vnreasonable to call to your remembrance the Earth-quakes, which lately happened, and which yet are to your great terror and griefe; because I vnderstand that in such like accidents you cast the enuy of such common misfortunes vpon their shoulders, whereby their confidence and trust in their God is much the more increased: whereas you being still ignorant of the true causes of such things, doe both neglect the worship of the other Gods, and also banish and persecute the seruice of the Immortal God, whom the *Christians* doe worship, and you persecute to the death all the embracers of that Profession. In the behalfe of these men many of our *Provinciall Prefects* haue written before vnto our Father of famous memory to whom he answered, that they should not bee molested, vnlesse they were proved to haue practised Treason against the Emperiall State: and touching the same matter some haue giuen notice

*Lollius Urbicus
a great defender
of the Christians.*

*Edict. Relat. Hist.
lib. 4. cap. 15.*

*The Edict of
Antoninus for protection
of the Christians.*

*Antoninus reliqued
in peace.*

*The Northerne
Brittaines rebel
in the beginning
of Antoninus
reigne.*

*Adrian Wall
fortified.*

Julius Capitolinus.

*Memorable in a
Panegyricke
Oracion in praise
of Maximian.*

Camden Brit.

** Prefectus,
Law officer,
Proconsul,
Procurator,
High mag. Tre.
lib. 1. cap. 15.
Seius Saturninus
Admirall of the
British Fleet.*

Julius Capitol.

Antonine perion
and recovers.

"vnto me; to whom I have answered with like moderation as my Father did before me. And by this our *Edict* doe we ordaine, that if any hereafter bee found thus buse in mocking their kinde of men without any their offence, we command that hee that is accused vpon this point, be absolved, albeit he be proued to be such a man as he is charged to bee, that is, a *Christian*; and he that is his Accuser shall suffer the same punishment, which he sought to procure vpon the other.

This *Edict* was promulgated at *Ephesus* in the General Council of all *Asia*: so favourable was this good Emperour to the true *Professors*, and (indeed) to all sorts of men, hauing that *Apathisme* of *Scipio Africanus* rise in his mouth: *That he had rather save one Subject liue, then kill a thousand Enemies.*

(6) He was of Stature tall, of a stately presence, in countenance Maiesticall, in manners milde, of a singular wit, verie learned and eloquent, a great louer of

Husbandrie, peaceable, mercifull and honourous; in the last of which vertues, he so much exceeded, that thereby he let going whollie his *owne* private estate & demaines, wherewith when his Emperour much repined, he told her, that when he undertooke the Title and State of an Emperour, he then did forgoe the interest and proprieties of a private Person: meaning that a Prince is not much to respect his private wealth, so as the publike wealth and welfare of the State may be advanced. In fine, this large *Reule* and praise is fastened on him, that neither in his youth he did any thing rashly, nor in his age any thing negligently: In which honourable course, hauing reigned twentie and two years, (some say twentie three) seven months, and twentie six daies, he died of a Canker at *Larinum* the seventh of *March* the yeare of his life seuentie sixe, and of *Christ* one hundred sixtie two.

Lollius Urbicus Lieut.



MARCVS AVRELIVS.

CHAPTER XIX.

Marcus Aurelius Emp.



Calpurnius Agric. Lieut.

An. Do. 162.



From the vertuous examples of the good Emperour Pius, proceeded a branch of no lesse towardlinesse and fruitfulness, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus, Philosophus (for by so many honourable names is he remembered) and although hee sprung not

from Pius, as from his naturall roote, yet was he adopted Same, and grafted into his Stocke and alliance by the Marriage of his daughter *Favstina*: Hee was the Sonne of *Elius Verus* who died *Frater*, and whose Pedigree is brought from *Natus Pompeius*, the second King of *Rome*; and his Mother was *Domitilla Camilla*, daughter of *Claudius Tullus*.

(2) This man chose to him for his Associate in the Empire, *Lucius Verus*, the sonne of *Lucius Ceionius Commodus*, whom Pius had adopted (but died before him) and therefore this Verus was respectiue commended vnto Aurelius; between whose natures and conditions was as much oddes, as betwixt Day and Night: The one very moderate, louing, and industrious, the other proud, carelesse and cruell: the fruits whereof, the poore *Christians* felt, whose chiefest pillars, *Papirius*, Bishop of *Smirna*, and *Justinus Martyr*, an excellent Philosopher, with infinite more, were put to most cruell deaths; and by him the fourth persecution of Gods Saints was begun: whose licentious and bloodie life, lasting in Authoritie the space of

nine yeares, was cut off by an *Apooplexie* in the presence of *Aurilius* being then in expedition towards *Germanie*, whose Coine wee haue here expressed as wee finde it minted with his face and reuerie.

(1) Aurelius the Emperour following the warres against those who there revolted, was inclosed about with his Enemies, called the *Quadi*, and suffered great mortalitie both by Pestilence, and much more by want of water, whereby himselfe and Host were almost confounded: At which time many Christian Souldiers being in his Campe, and commanded (as *Isaia* was) to call vpon their God, they fell prostrate on the ground in prayers, and obtained of him to pleturous a shower of raine, as therewith after five daies extreamest drowth and thirst, the whole Army was refreshed, and the *Quadi* contrariwise by Thunder & Lightning were quite dispersed and overthrowne.

(4) This wonder (saith *Eusebius*) is reported even by those Historians, who fauoured not *Christianitie*: and the prudent Epistle of the Emperour himselfe, (which hee wrote to the Senate for confirmation of this miracle, yet extant) doth warrant the same: whereupon he both mitigated the rage against *Christi Professors*, and (by testimony of *Apollinaris*) named that Legion the *Christianus*, for a certaiuing remembrance, The lightning Legion.

(5) In his Reigne *Calpurnius Agricola* was sent Lieutenant into *Britannie*, where the inhabitants fought some alterations of the State, fore repining at the oppressions of the *Romans*. But the *Sarmata Agricola* reuising the remembrances of their former overthrowes, so daunted their Courages, that at the presence of the General, who came amongst them to prevent all occasions, they gave ouer their intended enterprise: for which, and for many other his policies there vied, he worthily deserved great commendations, but (for the most part) the glorie of all such services

Julius Capitol.
Lucius Verus
Antonine Capten



Aurelius Antoninus Augustus
Antonine Capten

Calpurnius Agricola
Agricola

Antonine perion
of the Clitus

Favstina (illegible)

The Edict is
given for the
Quadi of the
Christianus.

Antonine Capten

Antonine Capten

Antonine Capten

Antonine Capten

Antonine Capten

Antonine Capten

Antonine Capten

Antonine Capten

Antonine Capten

services was attributed to the Emperours themselves, and the pains in attempting, and perils in obtaining did commonly breed nothing but disgrace and eny after victorie, to those by whom it was achieved. Yet besides the stories, the memorie of his being here Lacutenant, is delivered to posterity, by this Inscription, once erected in the *Polls Wall*, an Altar to the *Goddess Suria*, and now precluded by *St. Robert Cotton* of *Conington*, amongst other Monuments of like quality.



DEAE SVRI
AE SVB CALP
VRNIO AGR
ICOLA LEGAVG.
PR. PR. A. LICINIVS
CLEMENS. PRAEF. C.
oH. I. HAMMOR. †



So also *Lucius Verus*, (whom this excellent Emperour had in the yeere 162. as appeareth by his Coine of *Concord*, set in the entrance of his life, elected his College in the Empire) to supply the defect of merit in himselfe, tooke from the Conquest of *Audius Castus*, and other his Capaines in *Armenia*, *Parthia* and *Media*, the *Trophies* of their victories, with which he filled up his Title, and adorned his Monney, expressed in the beginning of this Chapter.

(5) About these times, albeit other things went not so happily with *Britaine* as might have been wished, yet one felicitie then befell her, which had both countervailing her owne calamities, and overpoize the good fortunes of all other Nations: and that was the blessed rest of the *Gosfell* of peace in this warring and unpeacable Kingdome, a great part thereof being governed at that time by King *Lucius*, furnished *Lower-Mann*. Forthat was the policie and ancient custome of the *Romans* (as *Tacitus* saith) to viceren *King* themselves for their instruments, to bring the people into bondage. And *Antoninus* Pius ending warre, permitted Kingdomes to be governed by their owne Kings, and Provinces by their owne *Cemites* (as saith *Capitoline*.) This King disliking the Paganisme and Idolatry of his people, (though, as wee have shewed, among many of them the truth of *Christis* Doctrine was both taught and embraced, even from the first planting thereof) and being incited both by the exemplary life and pity of the *Christians*, and also by the manifest miracles wrought amongst them, and encouraged moreover by the favourable Edicts of the Emperours in their behalfe, and by the good affections and forwardnesse of their Deputies here, *Trobellian* and *Pertinax*; he gave leave to their Religion by publike warrant, and was the first *Christian King* in the world, and *Britaine* the first Province that embraced the *Gosfell* by publike authority, as *Sabbellian* saith.

(7) This *Lucius* (as before wee have touched) to be better furnished with *Christian Lawes* for himselfe and Subjects, *missis legatione ad Imperatorem Romanorum*, & a *Papa Romanus Eleutherius*, (as *Armenius* saith) for in this purgation the Church was so humble, to vaile (as farr as might be) her actions in the Imperiall licence,

sent two learned Clerkes, whose names were *Elacius* and *Medaunus*, skilfull in the Scriptures, to *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*: whose Reply to his most godly Demand (because the fauourers of the *Papall Authority* either doe doubt it, or altogether deny it) I have thought good here verbatim to insert, as I my selfe have found it, in a most ancient Manuscript amongst the authentick *Records* and *Constitutions* of the Cite of *LONDON*.

The original Epistle of Eleutherius Bishop
of ROME vnto Lucius the first Christian
King of BRITAINE.



(3) *Scriptis Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britannia ad correptionem Regis & Procerum Regni Britannia. Petisti a nobis Leges Romanas, & Caesaris vobis transmitti, quibus in Regno Britannia uti voluisti. Leges Romanas & Caesaris semper reprobare possumus, Legem Dei nequaquam. Superfluum enim nuper (misericordie divina) in Regno Britannia, Legem & Eudem Christi. Habebis pones vni in Regno vestram, Paginam: ex illis (Dei gratia) per Consilium Regni vestri sume Legem, & per illam, a de patientia vestrum rege Britannia Regnum. Vicarius vero Deus est in Regno, iuxta Prophetam Regem; Dominus est terra, & plenitudo eius; orbis terrarum, & conuersi qui habitant in eis. Et rursum iuxta Prophetam Regem; Diligisti iustitiam, & a. i. p. a. te Deus Deus tuus ad secula. Et rursum, iuxta Prophetam Regem; Deus iudicium tuum, &c. Non enim dico iudicium, nisi iustitiam & Caesaris. Fili enim Regis, gentes Christianas & populi Regni sunt, qui sub vestra protectione & pace in Regno degunt & consistunt, iuxta Evangelium: Quomodo datus a domino congregatus pulvis sub alio. Gentes vero Regni Britannia & populi vestri sunt; quos diuises, debetis in vnum, ad concordiam, & pacem, & ad fidem, & legem Christi, ad sanctum Ecclesiam congregare, reuocare, fouere, sustentare, protegere, regere, & ab iniuriis & molestiis, & ab inimicis semper defendere. Pa Regis cuius Rex pater est, & cuius Principis manus condant: non voco Regem propter paruum & nimium statum, sed propter iustitiam, & iniquitatem, & insensitatem: iuxta Prophetam Regem: Vir sanguinum & dolosi non dimidiabant dies suos, &c. Per consilium, intellegimus gulam: per gulam, luxuriam: per luxuriam, nimiam torpida & peruersa, & mala: iuxta Salomonem Regem: In malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit cor eorum subdito peccati. Rex dicitur a regendo, non a regno: Rex eris dum bene regis: quod nisi feceris, nomen Regis non in te consistat, & nomen Regis perdes, quod dicitur: Dei voluisti Omnipotens Deus, Regnum Britannia sic regere, ut possitis cum eo regnare in aeternum, cuius Vicarius es in Regno praedito. Cum cum Patre, &c.*

The same in English:

Pope Eleutherius thus wrote to Lucius King of Britannia, for the reformation of the King and the Nobles of the Kingdome of Brittain: Thou desiredst us to send unto you the Roman and Imperiall Lawes, which you would use in your Kingdome of Brittain. The Roman Lawes and the Emperours were way at all times iustice, but the Law of God by no means. By the Divine Clemencie you have of late received in your Kingdome of Brittain the Law and Faith of Christ: You have written us in your Kingdome

These Letters are in the hands of the right worthy Antiquary, Sir R. d. Jones Knight.

This Revised is now in the hands of the right worthy Antiquary, Sir R. d. Jones Knight.

Leges Dei possumus.

*GABRIEL, proprius vocis in Deo Deus tuus a in laetitia per iustitiam carum.

Fieri propter paruum nimium statum.

Nomin.
Lucius and Lower-Mann
don both
Significat
Anglican.
Tactum in vita
Agricola.

Optatorem.

Monument, Roman
in Maryport,
Lancashire.

I acies the first
Christian King.

Annals, lib. 5.

Nomin.

Kingdome both the Old and New Testament: out of them (as Gods name) by the Counsell of your State, take you a Law, and thereunto by Gods permission, govern your Kingdome of Britannie: For you are Gods Vicar in your Kingdome, as the kings Prophet saith, The earth is the Lords and the plenty thereof, the whole world and they that dwell therein. And againe in the same Prophetical King, Thou shalt loosed righteousness and hated iniquity, wherefore, God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oyle of gladness above thy fellows. And againe: Lord give thy judgements vnto the king, and thy iustice vnto the Kings iudges. He saith not, The iudgement or iustice of the Emperor. And the Kings iudges are the Christian Nations, and People of the kingdome, such as line and abide together in your Kingdome, under your Protection and peace, according to that in the Gospel: As the Hen gathereth her Chickens vnder her wings. The Nations of the Kingdome of Britannie are your People, who being now secured, you ought to gather them vnto Unity, Concord and Peace, and reassemble them to the Faith and Law of Christ, and to the holy Church, to foster them, cherish them, protect, and rule them, and alwayes to defend them from all inuasions, maleuolence, and hostile attempts. For, Voe be to the Kingdome, whose King is a child, and whose Prince riseth early to banquetting: Neither doe I call a King a child, for the tenderness of his Age, but for the folly and wickedness and madnesse of his disposition: As that reuall Prophet saith: Wicked and blood-chaffy attaine not to halfe their Age. And by how much I meane gluttony, by gluttony, luxury, by luxury all dissoluteness, peruersity, and lewdnesse: according to that of King Solomon: Wickednesse shall not enter into the wicked soule, nor shall it dwell in a Body enthrald to Sinne. A King hath his name from Ruling, and not from his Kingdome: and so long shall you be called a King, while you rule with iustice: if you doe not the name of a King will not continue with you, but you shall lose that reuall title, which God forbid. Almighty God grant you sit to rule your Kingdome of Britannie, that with him, whose Vicar you are in your said Kingdome, you may reigne eternally. To whom with the Father, &c.

(9.) The date of this Epistle (as by some other Copies it appeareth) being the yeare of the second Consulship of Commodus and Vespasianus, may give great light and satisfaction to such as are curious to know the truth, and to reconcile the differences of our Historians, touching the time: That Consulship being about the yeare of Christ one hundred and eighty: which was at the beginning (if not a little before) of Commodus his reigne; and therefore whereas some refer it to the one hundred sixty ninth year after Christ's Passion, it is apparant to be the only error of transcribers, who so write in stead of one hundred threescore nine after his birth; which was, one hundred, the very time of Commodus being Consul the second time: and on this yeere agreed, both forraign and domestick writers of this matter. And albeit the very treasure of this Epistle, careth with it the true Character of Antiquity, yet because our worthy writers, mentioning this Epistle, are charged of flat forgery (by such who challenge to be Masters in all ancient knowledge) we will adde somewhat, to waite off those false aspersions, both from the Record, and from the mentions thereof.

Their first exception is, that the Latin Copy would doubtlesse have been produced by them, if it had not bene counterfeited. Whereto what need we answer, sith now we haue produced it, and can produce as many, as there are Copies of King William the Conquerors Lawes, wherein it is expressly repeated? The next is, that the Epistle is an imitation of it differ each from other. A reason more childish than the former, sith euery man hath a severall conceit of that he translateth, and sometimes the very Originals, (by transcribers ignorance or omission) cause variety of translation, as may appeare in the verse letters of this Copy prefixed. The last, but most duncy and ignorant exception is, that

the places of Scriptures mentioned in the letter, are so feintly and feignly applied, as is vnworthy to be fasthered on the learned Calpurnius. Let vs therefore in a word, bring the mainy of this Grand confesse to the touchstone: For Eleutherius proneth first, that Kings are Gods Vicars in their kingdome, because the whole Earth is properly Gods; and therefore Kings haue it not as their owne, but as his Lieutenants: Next, that as David typically, and Christ implicitly, was by God anointed King, for the execution of Righteousnesse and Justice, so euery godly King ought to make: that the only end of his high honor, that being by God aduanced, he might likewise aduance Righteousnesse, Justice, and the seruice of God, whose vassall he is: and that therefore Gods judgements and Lawes, are to be preferred by them, before all humane Lawes: with which they should rule and cherish their godly subjects in their children; and protect them and gather them under one faith as Christ (their master) doth, who therefore comprehend himselfe, to God gathering her Chickens vnder her wings.

The defects of which Princely duties, Eleutherius most largely expresseth afterward, in so proper applications, as if the learned fathers on these places be duly examined, they will be found to hit to exceed the apprehensions of this godly Bishop. But if Robert Combauch, would haue call his eye on the moderne Popes, and their Cardinals applications of Scriptures, what would he then say? God made a greater light and a lesse: therefore the Pope is as much greater then the Emperor, as the Sonne is bigger then the Moone. Christ said to Peter, Kill and cut: therefore the Pope may excommunicate and depose Kings (yea and kill them too for a need.) Peter said, Behold two swords; therefore the Pope hath both Temporal and Spiritual Iurisdiction ouer the world. So God said to Jeremy, he should plant and transplant: therefore the Pope may dispose and transpire all Kingdomes at his pleasure. Christ to Peter, thou art Cephas, and Cephas is a head; therefore the Pope is head of the Church. Dominus sunt Cardines Terra. The earth is the Lords: therefore the Cardinals are the Lords of the Earth. On such pillars and applications of Scriptures, is the whole Papall preuention founded, and yet these late Scribes can so innocently caule it the godly applications of ancient Eleutherius. But to our purpose.

(10.) This Epistle with two other Preachers, Paganus and Damianus, sent vnto King Lucius, did not a little encourage him in his godly purpose, in so much that reuening Baptisme, the Temples of the Heathenish Flamines and Arch-Flamines euen thirtie one in number, were conuerted into so many Christian Temples: See, whereof London, York, and Carlew, now Saint Davids, were made the Metropolitans of the Province.

(11.) A table remaining in the Parish Church of Saint Peter in Cornhill London, recordeth that the foundation thereof was by this King Lucius, and that Church to haue been the Cathedral to thine Archbishopps See. There be that scribe the foundation of Saint Peters Church at Westminster vnto hunc velleth the places are mistaken. Others affirme that this King Lucius likewise built a Church within Dour-stable, to the seruice of Christ, endowing it with the 700000 customers of that House. Differences there are about the time of his Reigne, but none at all for his conuersion and establishing of the Christian Faith. As for those who would haue this Lucius after his Baptisme to haue into Galles and other forraign parts, where subduing many Pagans, he became the Apostole to the Barbarians, and that his sister Emerita threene yeeres after was martyred in the City Augusla: I find thereof no warrant in any sufficient writer; but in this all others agree, that he reigned twelue yeeres, and lieth buried in Gloucester.

(12.) This good Emperor possessed the Sente of Marcellus, ninetene yeeres and eleuen daies; where in he alwayes approoued himselfe in wit excellent, in life vertuous, verie learned and eloquent, full of Clemency, Justice, and Temperance, nothing inferior to

Paganus.

Cephas is a stone but all knowe their names.

Combauch.

Lucius his reformation of sinners upon the Bishops lawes. Records of Rome. Nymphs Churches. Chertsey an Irish dovid Monast. Epistol. Chap. 14. S. Peters Church in Cornhill builded by Lucius.

Pall. King Westminster of Lamb. Church.

Table.

Emerita a Martyr in the City Augusla.

Transl. by
Dun. Colson.

most of the worthiest Emperours before him, nor matchable in qualities by many of the Monarchs that followed him: He died the seventeenth day of April the yeare of our Saviour one hundred eighty one, and

of his owne age ffinie nine: leaving to the world a milke for the present, and to posterities a perpetuall memorie of his vertues, and happy had he been, liath *Capitolinus*, had he not left behind him a Sonne.

Valerianus lib. 2.

LIVIVS AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODOVS ANTONINVS.

CHAPTER XX.



Ann. Dom.
181.
Entropius.



HE prudent life, and love concerned of so good a Father, gaue hopefull signes and iustfall entrance vnto the Reigne of yong *Commodus*, his soone degenerating Sonne; who had nothing from him but Nature, and that also much suspected: The knowne

Adulteries of *Fanfina*, his Mother strongly confirming the opinion of *Salustius*.

(2) At nineteen yeeres of age, he was inuested Emperour, his raigne not long, but life as loose and impious as the world in fottish pride equalizing *Caligula*, for intemperance another *Vitellius*, and in cruelties a second *Domitian*. Three hundred Concubines continually he kept, and vpon one of them, named *Martia*, so doted, that he wore her painted *Pallare* vpon the outside of his Garment; and infusing his money *Herculi Commodiano* or *Romano*, which was stamped about the yeere 193. Sometimes *Hercules*-like would shew him selfe robed in a Lions skinn, bearing a Club in his hand in stead of a Scepter. Other whiles wanronly clad in the habit of an *Amazon* woman; alwaies costly, but seldom cinnall.

(3) The Month *August*, he named *Commodus*, September, *Herculeus*, and December, *Amazonus*, according to his owne or his Concubines names. Commendable in nothing but for his skill in darsing, and for some small breathing of the persecuted *Christians*, which came not of humilitie, but (as *Epiphanius* writeth) by the mediation of *Martia* his beloued Concubine, who was found very fauourable to their doctrine: But the outrageous wickednesse of his life made him so hateful to all as that his death was often plotted; and once by some of the Noblest, with whom *Lucilla* his owne Sister conspired; for which fact he put her, with the rest of the conspirators, to death. The Empire and all things els he wielded at the discretion of others, attending only his voluptuous pleasures, howlocuer the State or Provinces fared vnder him.

(4) In *Britainy* the Northern Borderers brake thorow the Wall, and finding the Frontiers but weakly guarded entred the Province, where suddenly they surprized the Roman Generall, and killing many of the Souldiers, ranged the Countrey, wassing (without resistance) all where they went. *Commodus* at Rome, be-

ring these stirres in *Britaine* rouzed vp his spiries, and sent on *Vlpus Marcellus* to stay their fury, who with great difficulty forced them back beyond the Wall: and seeing the carelesse seruice of the Souldiers, requied againe the ancient discipline of *Warre*, that by long ease had been left off by the Romans. The repressing of this incursion, as it seemeth by some reuolt of the province, was about the yeere of Christ one hundred eighty six, as appeareth by the monies of this Emperour set in the entrance of his life, at which time in memory of some worthy expedition and victory against the *Britains* he stamped them.

(5) This Lieutenant *Marcellus* is reported to be of a marvellous great temperance and strange diet; for all the time of his abode here hee would eat no Bread, but such as was baked in Rome, neither sleepe he more then would maintaine nature, whereby both his private businesses and proiects for publike seruices were commonly dispatched by night. Seuerer he was in the execution of his place, not led by fauour of the person, nor laid from inflicte by corrupted Bribes; esteeming Money only for necessity, and riches no further then made for publike good: But those his vertues though now with vs they get him honour, yet then did purchase him Enuie with the Emperour, who loath (saith *Lampridius*) for his Subiects mischiefe and his owne shame: For *Commodus* hearing *Marcellus* daily commended, construed his Praise to be his owne Reproach; and donking left he should grow too high, thought good to crop him off betimes, and so sent him Letters of discharge.

(6) The Armiethen feeling the raines loose that ere-whiles had bene borne with a stiffer hand, fell straight to a disordered mutinie, and therein proceeded with such boldnesse as they openly refused any longer to acknowledge *Commodus* for their Soueraigne: At which time *Perennis* was a chiefe Agent and so ruled all in Rome for the Emperour, as that he entertained a hope to be himselfe (in time) an absolute and sole-ruling Emperour, and having now fit occasion offered to spread his power farther, he tooke vpon him to redresse these disorders (which *Commodus* wallowed in his lasciuious idleness) and displacing some wortheie Captaines at his owne pleasure, sent other persons of meane respect or parts, to command those Legions in *Britaine*, that formerly had been led by Noble Senators and men of Consular dignity, whereby greater mischiefe began to accrew and euill diffusions daily to burst forth, the Armiethen scorning the

Vlpus Marcellus
his force. Licut.
naot into Brit-
tain.

Ulpus Marcellus
his force. Licut.
naot into Brit-
tain.

Lamprid.

Perennis (the
greatest subdi-
cane vnder
Commodus.

Commodus his
gallies.

Epiphanius.

Commodus also
of the Month.

Epiphanius.

Epiphanius.

Perennis (the
greatest subdi-
cane vnder
Commodus.

vpharist Commanders, and the Captains insulting over the *Souldiers*, (of all sides) the *Aides* so disquieted, that had the *Britains* followed the advantage, the whole Province at that time had been in hazard to be lost: upon which distractions no lesse then fifteen hundred Souldiers at once went out of the Land to Rome to complain their wrongs unto Commodus: where charging *Perennis* to be the stirrer of these troubles, with an intent thereby to raise himselfe or his sonne to the Emperiall Maiesty (a thing thus cannot be touched without found in a Soueraignes ear) they were so farre heard and beleued that *Perennis* was to them deliuered to be put to death, which accordingly they accomplished with all extremity.

Perennis de-
scribed as the
British Souldiers
to be put to death.

Lamprid.
Helvius Pertinax
first Lieutenant
into Brittain.

(7) Then was sent for Lieutenant into Brittain *Helvius Pertinax*, a man of low birth, but high Fortunes, being risen from the state of a common Souldier, to the dignity of a Cnnsull, and had been Commander before that time over many Provinces. Him had *Perennis* discharged from Brittain, and with disgrace sent and confined into *Liguria* where hee was borne, whose credit *Commodus* again with such favours repaired, that he gave him the Surname *Britannicus*, which glorious title also himselfe had taken about the yeere 184. At his first entrance and usage, he assayed by rough hand to suppress the rebellions of the Army, and adventured his person so farre in some tumults that he was stricken downe and left for dead: but afterwards proceeding with better advice he composed those troubles with most severe punishments of the principall offenders: whereby notwithstanding he presently grew odious to all, and thereupon so far feared his own safety, that he made suit to the Emperour to be discharged of his Lieutenantship.

Out of a colone
of the Emperours
inflicting him this
in the 8. yeere of
his Tribuneship
and 4 of his
Consulship.

Helvius Pertinax
made suit to be
discharged of
his office.

After magna,
and 10. 5. capy.
Clodius Albinus
sent Lieutenant
into Brittain.

(8) Vnto him succeeded *Clodius Albinus* in the Government of Brittain, a man of great birth, forward enough, and fortunate for which the Emperour *Com-*

modus either vpon favour or feare, did honour him with the title of *Cesar*, though *Albinus* seemed vnwilling to accept of the same, and afterwards discovered his disposition more openly in approuing the Ancient and free state of the *Romans*. For vpon a false report of the death of *Commodus*, he made an Oration to the *Legions* in Brittain in fauour of the Senate, whose kind of Government he much commended and perfected before the role of the Emperours: Of which his affection when *Commodus* understood, he sent *Julius Severus* in all hast, to take charge of the *Armie*: and *Albinus* retired himselfe from all publike affaires, vntill the death of *Commodus*, which not long after followed, and was wrought vpon this occasion: He hauing assigned many to die, and to charge had introlled their names in a scroll, it chanced *Martia* his Concubine to light on the same, wherein the law her selfe allotted for one: And revealing this his purpose to others, that stood in the same list, and in the like danger; they together thought best to secure their owne liues by his death: and with poison, stabs and strangling made him away, when he had liued one and thirty yeeres, foure moneths, and viciously reigned thirteen yeeres eight moneths and fifteen daies, the yeere of Christs nativity one hundred ninety and three: the night before the Kalends of *January*.

Clodius Albinus
was a strong
Seuerus than
Emperour.

Julius Severus
Lieut.

Commodus paid
him a counter
for his Concu-
bine.

Emper.
Lamprid.
Mactian.

Commodus his
partisan is.

Lamprid.
Mactian.

(9) Of stature he was indifferently tall, of a fine constitution of Body, very faire of complexion, with cleere eyes and golden locks, neither in person nor in Princely parts resembling his Father: How iustall the death of this Tyrant was both to *People* and *Senae*, their execrations pronounced against him, and their assemblies in the *Temples* to give thanks for such deliverance, do manifest, as is at large reported by *Lampridius*, who wrote his life, and titled by al *Hists* in *human* *Genius*, The enemy of *Mankind*: The very name of the diuell.



PVBLIVS HELVIVS PERTINAX.

CHAPTER. XXI.



PON the person of this *Helvius Pertinax* (of whom we are now to speake) *Fortune* (as it seemeth) meant to make the full experience of her power, and from a very slender foundation to raise the building of her owne *Pride*:

His birth was but poore, and parents as meane, whose Father from a sterile condition got to be free, and traded in *Mercury* wares for his living: himselfe educated according to his birth rose by degrees to mount the Chaire of all worldly glory, and to be the *Monarch* of the whole world.

(2) At first a *Schoole-master*, and taught the *Grammar*: next a *Civil-Lawyer*, and pleaded causes in *Courts*: and lastly, a *Martial-man*, and served in *Campe*: where *Fortune* attended him with such fauourable success, that within five daies, out of the rank of a common Souldier he was preferred to be Captaine of a *Cohort*, in the *Syrian* wares against the *Parthians*, which ended, he was imploied into *Brittain*, *Attilia*, and *Germany*, and also had charge in chiefe of a *Fleet* vpon the *Humbold Seas*: he served likewise in *Dacia*, with such honourable proofe of his valour, as that wife Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* held him in highest esteeme, and afterward made him *Senator* of *Rome*. Then was hee assigned *Gouernour* of all *Syria* and *Asia*, the greatest place of Credit and reputation that might be; and from thence sent againe in-

An. Do. 194.

Dion. Cass. lib.
77.

Lamprid.

Perennis is
great, who
was made
Commodus.

into Britain, chosen out as the principal man, of note for to stay the Commotions there raised against Commodus, where in the Field he was left for dead : but thence also returning after hee had governed foure severall *Cæsular Praesides*, was created *Præconsul* of *Africa*, and immediately after *Præfekt* of *Rome*. Neither yet made he his stand there, (though the greatest of any subordinate degree) till hee had mounted the *Throne of Majesty*, and had obtained the command over *All* : which fell to his lot by the death of Commodus ; and by the means of *Martin*, *Ælius Laetius*, and other Conspirers of his cnd.

(3) For the Murder being done in the dead of the night, *Laetius* in great haste repaired to *Pertinax* his lodging ; at whose sight the Old man is bed, expecting nothing but Death, as supposing him sent from Commodus to no other end. But *Laetius* salutes him by the unexpected name of *Emperour*, carrying him with acclamations vnto the *Army*, and in the morning to the *Senate*, where, of them all with great joy, he was confirmed *Augustus*.

(4) His first business was to bridle the Licentiousness of the *Fraterian Cohorts* ; & injuries done by them vnto the *Roman Citizens*, which gained him such hatred, that it was cause of his death : For these men growne disordered and lawlesse in the reign of Commodus, held themselves wronged, to be now locked vnder the constraint of *Laetius* civil Government : and there only envied the peace & prosperity of *Pertinax*, whereas all the *Praesides* abroad at the very hearing of his Election, and fame of his *Imperiall* virtues, laid aside their weapons, and desired to embrace peace with a *Prince* so nobly qualified.

(5) The first that conspired against his life, was one *Falco* ; whom notwithstanding he freely forgave, yet punished certaine *Souldiers* thereto necessary : whereupon the rest assembling themselves in tumultuous and furious manner, with their drawn swords invaded his *Palace*. Here seeing their purposes sought no escapes, but defending the *Palace*, met them in the bare Court : At whose presence and Maiefty they were much amazed, and a while made a stand : vnto whom with great gravity, and without shew of any feare, he thus spake vnto them.

(6) *Souldiers* and *Companions*, if you come to kill me, (as I thinke you doe) you shall therein performe an act neither valorous, nor otherwise very commendable for you, no, nor any way grievous vnto my selfe, for every mans life hath his limit, and to mine, by *Natures* course, the last period cannot be farre. Or thinke you that I feare death, who now am so ripened for it, and have already gotten the very height of all renowne vnto my Name? Surely

“ you are deceived : but at this I grieve, that my life
“ and short time of Government, which I had devoted
“ to the good of all, should seem so disgustfull vnto
“ to any, as to deserve a violent and halsted death, especially
“ by you, who are by office, the Guardians of
“ my Person : you (I say) whose charge and Oath is,
“ to secure your *Soveraigne* from perill, and now seek
“ to sheath your Swords in his breast, shall either
“ leave a Testimony of my bad life deferring it, or
“ brand your places with such stains of Treason, as
“ Time shall never wear away. And what I pray is
“ mine offence? for maintaining your *Laws*? why it
“ was the charge your selfes imposed vpon me. Are
“ *Laws* too strait? surely, not to the vertuous, who
“ are even a *Law* vnto themselves : are they need-
“ lesse? why then were they made? and being made,
“ why should they not be executed? If the death of
“ Commodus grieve you, was I the cause? If he were
“ made away by *Trajan*, your selves are conscious of
“ my innocency. And thus I assure you, in the word
“ of a *Prince*, that his death shall deprive you of no-
“ thing, which you require, if you require nothing
“ but that which is honest and iust. My life, whilst I
“ was a *Subiect*, was spent with you in *Warre*, now (be-
“ lieving your *Soveraigne*) is consumed with cares for
“ your Peace : which if you free me of, by taking it a-
“ way, my troubles shall thereby end, but your con-
“ science shall begin to grove vnder the guilt of blood
“ and perdition bee touched with *too late Repen-
“ tance*.

(7) His words were spoken with such a moving gravity, and unmoved resolution, that the foremost in the attempt gave back, and were ashamed of their audacious enterprise, but the rest furiously driving forward, one *Trajan* with a *Leucon* hurled into the *Breast*, whereupon *Pertinax* covering his Head with his robe, quietly yielded his body to the traitorous strokes of them all, and so died that poore, old, and innocent *Emperour*. The yeeres of his life, saith *Iulius Capitolinus*, were sixty, seven moneths, and twenty five daies: But *Dio*, *Spartianus*, and *Herodian* accounteth them to extend to sixty eight : *Eusebius* to above seventy : The like disagreement there is for the short time of his Government : for *Eusebius* saith that he reigned not fully six Moneths : *Entreprius* saith but three : *Iulius Capitolinus* and *Aurelius Victor*, eighty five daies : *Dio*, *Herodian*, and *Spartianus*, two Moneths and twenty eight daies : how long so ever, thus he lived, and thus bedied, the first Calends of *April*.

(8) He was of an honorable and Maiestical presence, strong of body, large and full breasted, long bearded, eagle-headed, smooth of Speech, and indifferently eloquent.

Pertinax killed by his Souldiers.

Pertinax his reign.

246 A.D. cap. 246 A.D.

DIDIVS IVLIANVS.

CHAPTER XXII.



An. Do. 194.



HE state of mao continually attended with vncertaine chance, apparently doth shew, the weak condition that nature enuioeth, and with what unforeseen the seat of maicly is posselt, as is scene by the precedent *Emperour*, who sitting at peace in his Pa-

lace at *Rome*, renowned, beloved, and guarded with the strengths of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *Aegypt* and *Greece*, was notwithstanding surpris'd and slaine at noone day, by a Band of *Souldiers*, not much exceeding the number of three hundred, and all escaping unpunished, the deed was so suddaine and mens minds so distracted, that it could not be fully beleueed, though witnessed by sight.

(2) The *Senators* mistrusting each others, abandoned the *Citie*, and the *Citizens* in secret secured them-

themselves, all in an uprore, but none for revenge of the treason: The murderers in as great feare as any, fortified their *Campe*, and with weapons in hand stood vpon their guard: But seeing all in a masse, and nothing against them attempted, as further boldnesse (the like before never heard of) ensued: for by a Common Crier they made *Proclamation* for the sale of the Empire, to any man that would give them most: which offer was readily accepted by *Didius Iulianus* (a man of much more wealth then honesty of life, and a Lawyer, saith *Eusebius*) who with larger promises then euer were performed, obtained the Emperiall Diadem.

Didius Iulianus Proclamation for the sale of the Empire.
Didius Iulianus bought the Empire of the Roman soldiers.

Didius Iulianus his imprisonment in Seize before he was Emperor.

Syria Chastish in a Generall Germany chastish states.

(11) His birth was in *Milue*, the sonne of *Petrinus* in *Didius Severus*, his mother *Clara Emilia*, and himselfe brought vp in seruice vnder *Domitia Lucilla* the mother of *Marcus Aurelius* by whose fauour, he was first made *Questor*, next *Edile*, & then *Prætor* in *Rome*. In *Germany* as a Capitaine hee serued vnder *Aurelius*, then was he appointed Gouernour of *Dalmatia*, *Æthiopia*, and of the *Lower Germany*, and was Consul with *Pertinax*, and afterwards *Proconsul* in *Africa*. There were his risings and meanes to that *Maistie*, which noe long he kept: for hated in *Rome* and not approoued abroad, *Syria* chose for Emperor their owne General, *Pescennius Niger*, *Germanie*, *Septimius Severus*. By whole consents *Clodius Albinus* leader of the Brittain Army was first elected *Cæsar*, and then his fellow in the Empire, whereby the *Angles*, the fairest of Birds

became monstrous, and in one *Day* bore three *Heads*.

(4) For *Albinus* at that time having gotten againe the gouernment of *Brittain*, where erecting his owne *Statues* and stamping his picture in his *Coinets*, gaue great insipition that he intended to be a Competitor, and with his Army a foot meant to haue gain'd the Emperiall seat it selfe, by advantage of *Septimius* forces, abience in supporting of *Pescennius* which to dider inforced *Seuerus* vntill better opportunity, to declare *Albinus* his companion, for he much more feared him then either of the former: Because *Didius* in *Rome*, and *Pescennius* in *Antioch* consumed their times in banquetting, and vnmartiall disputes, while *Albinus* managed his office most soldierlike, and was highly esteemed and honored of them.

(5) *Seuerus* halting towards *Rome*, was met in *Italy* by Ambassadors from *Didius*, with faire offers of peace, and possession of halfe the Empire: but refusing composition and making still forward, the Senate that solately declared him a traitor, now proclaimed him an Emperor. And the *Souldiers* vnstified of the coovenanted promises, and in hope to purchase fauour with *Seuerus*, slew their Chapman *Didius* in his Palace the Calends of *Ides*, being but five daies after he had done himselfe as much for *Pertinax*, when he had reigned, as *Eusebius* saith, seven months: *Septimius* first but two, and *Didius* sixt fix daies: the yeere of his age fifty seven, and of our *Souldiers* appearing in our fields, one hundred ninety and foure.

Albinus Calens, master of Brittain, a Competitor for the Empire.

Seuerus march was for the Empire. A chastish composition. He is proclaimed Emperor.

Albinus slain. His souldiers continuance. *Septimius* first. *Didius*.



SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS

CHAPTER. XXIII.



Sepr. Seuerus.

Clodius Albinus.

An. Do. 194.



Seuerus hauing by this bloody accident of the giddie multitude gained with more facility then he expected, the fatal seat of gouernment, it was his next in place to suppress *Pescennius* by force, and *Albinus* by fallhood: whose Actions & liues since they hapned with this Emperor, and ended with his sword, I will record together, beginning with *Caius Pescennius* first, since first he fell vnder the fortune of this man.

This wilde man in the yeere of *Christ* one hundred ninety foure, was elected Emperor by Acclamation of the *Syrian* Armie, of which (though begun but by a handfull in respect of all the other Emperiall forces) he had good hope, since to the honor of that *Gode*, he dedicated the first marke of his Soueraintie, the minting of his monny.



A person he was of seemly stature, lonely feature and faire skinned, except his Neck, which differing so farre from the rest gaue him the surname of *Niger*; his complexion was ruddy, his Body fat, his voice fo piercing, that it would be heard a mile off: and his haire for more ornament long heere were interlarded curled vpon his shoulders. A commendable souldier and well bearing himselfe in the military offices hee vnderwent. In his *Lieutenancy* abroad he was seuerer, and at home he so well acted his part when hee was Consul, as in his Clemency and Iustice hee seemed emulous of *Pertinax*. Thus all his life he enioied the goodnesse of his merit and fortune, and had not his ambition begun, where his yeeres were ending, had so parted: For no sooner had hee put on the Robe Emperiall, but *Seuerus* defeated his Armie at *Criacum*, put him to *Antioch*, and tooke him at *Euphrates*, sending to *Bisantium* his head a Trophie of the Conquest, and to his wife, children, and followers (vnto whom at first this *Victor* granted banishment) in the end denied life.

(1) Now as soone as *Seuerus* made his approach neer *Rome*, he gaue command that the *Prætorian Cohorts* should attend him disarmed, which done, he vehemently checkt them for their prodigious treachery against *Pertinax*, and pronouncing sentence, depriued them both of name, honor, and armes of *Souldiers*, and banished them from *Rome*, and the circle therof for one hundred miles distance: which act of his

wonne him such reputation, that in *Rome* the whole Story of *Perennis* his ruine, and *Seuerus* his aspiring to his Throne, was at large portrayed in an excellent peece of worke, of solide molten brasse, as *Heraclian* telleth, though he ascribeth the occasion of it, to a dreame of *Seuerus*.

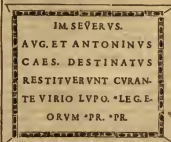
(2) Thole twochiefs *Didius* and *Niger*, who gaue some hindrance to *Seuerus* his beginning, being thus defeated of their high hopes; the third, which was *Albinus*, seemed now a more dangerous cloud, which would altogether over-cast his brightnesse & glory, if it were not dispersed or blown back in time: and therefore to make faire weather with him, hee creuted him *Cesar* and his *Sweetest* in the Empire, but afterwards his good fortunes that swelling in the East, and himselfe still courted by *Ambassadors* from all parts, with their tender of subsistence, he began to grow proud, and to disdain any Copartner in State: and thereupon first secretly sought the destruction of his *Cesar*, which failing, he then proclaimed him Traitor and Enemy to *Rome*.

(3) *Gladius Albinus* brought into these vnexpected dangers, prepared his strengths, and with the choice of all *Britaine* entered *France*, and neere vnto *Lions* tooke the field against the Emperour; but with no better successe, then *Perseus* had done in *Asia* the lesse, in the same place (as *Heraclian*, *Entropius* and *Spartianus* affirme) where *Darius* was first overthrowne by *Alexander*. The *Armes* joining, a bloody *Battle* was fought, which through the great prowesse of the *Britains* went at first so sore against *Seuerus*, that being beaten off his Horse, despairing of *Victorie*, and almost of *Life*, cast off his Imperiall *Robe*, and flying, ignobly hid himselfe. *Latius* one of *Seuerus* his Captaines, kept aloofe all this while, of purpose as was thought, to bring the Emperour to ruine; and now upon report that hee was slaine, came on most furiously with his forces, in hope of winning both the day, and the Empire to himselfe: whereupon the Emperour drawne againe into the field, the day was his by the means, but not the meaning, of *Latius*: whom on attender of his Treason he afterward put to the sword. That day a great part of the flower of *Britaine* was slaine, together with their valiant Leader *Albinus*, a Captaine of exemplary Severity and Martiall discipline, a great admirer of *Hannibal* and *Marius*; for the *Scipio's* he thought them rather fortunate then valiant, and in the time of his seruice in this *Island*, there was no coile which hee commanded his souldiers, but himselfe would beare therein a part, even in carrying of hardens on his Backe; and yet so farre from vaunting of his valour, that when an Historian would haue recorded his noble Acts, he willed him to write of theirs who were already dead, whom hee woud not to flatter, holding it a foppery to write of those, of whose fauour or wrath the Indiers stood in hope or feare: Being such a one, no marvaile if *Seuerus* so feared him, as he did, which he shewed even after hee was slaine, by putting incredible numbers of great Personages both in the City and Prouinces to death, with this one Pretence, for all, that they wished well to *Albinus*.

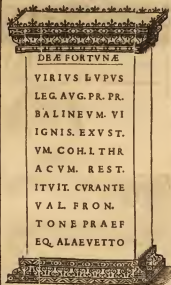
After this overthrow *Seuerus* forthwith sent *Heraclianus* thither, to keepe the rest of the *Britains* in quiet, and to be *Lieutenants* in *Albinus* his roome, as *Spartianus* writ: Of whose affaires therein little remembrance is left, onely it seemeth by a Coine of *Seuerus* minted in his second Consallship, which fell in the yeere of our Saviour one hundred ninety eight, and about the period of this his last Competitor, that the *Britains* gaue not at first their seruice and seruitude to this man, vntill he had made the purchase of it by his sword; the brand of which he hath left to posteritie in figuring the Goddesse *Victory* seated vpon spoiles, and writing in a shield, *Victoria Britan*.

Vnto this Lieutenant *Virtus Lupus* succeeded President of *Britaine*, as *Vipsian* the Lawyer termes him, and was about the yeere of Christ one hundred ninety seven, as appeareth by this Inscription erected at

Olma amongst the *Brigantes*, in memory of the reedifying of that place by this Emperour and his eldest Sonne, the first designed *Cesar*, by which the time is discovered, and in this stone inferred.



(4) This man strengthened the Prouince especially in the North, with many strong Castles, repairing many places ruined either by fire or fury of the bordering fowls: Of which *Laetia*, where the first Cohort of the *Trajanians* lay, was one, as appeareth by this Altar there erected to the Goddesse *Fortune*, and since removed to *Conington* the house of Sir Robert Cotton in *Huntingdonshire*.



He warded against the *Maeles* and North *Britains* with such bad successe, that he was forced to redeeme his peace with money, and was so much weakened by losse of his men, that he sent to *Rome* for present supply, with relation of his great danger, and the Enemies strength: which newes touched *Seuerus* to the quick; and notwithstanding his yeeres (sixty at the least) and gotte wherewith hee was continually grieved, yet would hee vndergoe that journey in person himselfe, as well to fauour his owne vaine glorious humours, as to traine his Sonne *Basianus* from his licentious life, wherein hee wallowed idly in *Rome*, who together with his brother *Geta*, accompanied their Father into *Britaine*.

(5) The *Britains* then hearing of the Emperours approach, sent him their Embassage for intreaty of peace

Albinus made Seuerus in the hope.

His death produced.

Proclaim'd Traitor. He marcht warre against Seuerus.

Albinus vanquished by Seuerus.

Spartianus.

Virtus Lupus was President of Britaine.

Heir to the Throne.

Legion.

Pro Prouince.

Baron's under Seuerus in his marches.

Seuerus why brought into Britain.

Mother Papien was a famous Lawyer.

peace, whereby the *Iland* might have been settled and secured without blood, but the old man (saith *Sabelicus*) had so vniuatable a desire to beare the glorious Surname of *Britannicus*, that he preferred warre, and accepted not their proffered subiection.

(6) *Scuerus* thus entred, *Geta* was appointed to remaine in the South of the *Prouince*, and also gouerne those parts that stood in quiet, assisted by *Amelius Papinianus* the famous Lawyer, whole *Tribunall* seat was held in *York* himselfe and *Rufinus* marching farther into the North against the *Maata* and *Caledonians* their neighbours, both which bare themselves boldly vpon the aduantage of their Countries, their waters brackish, and vnsuifome drinke for their Enemies, the aire sharpe and contagious to their constitutions, and the soile it selfe so pelted with Loughs, Bogs, Meares, and Mountaines, that the *Romans* were forced to make way by continuall Labour, in cutting downe Woods, in building of Bridges, and in drying of Meares, so that by diffemperature of diet, continuall labour, contagionnesse of Aire, and afflictions by sicknesse, fifty thousand of them perished, and that without Battail, saith *Dio*: many Souldiers also, whole spirits were spent, and through feeblenesse could not keepe ranke in their March, were for meere pitty flaine by their fellows, lest they should fall into the hands of their Enemies.

(7) These miseries, notwithstanding old *Scuerus* endured and fought many Battailles, but (as *Sabelicus* confesseth) *warre* with more difficulties to the *Romans* then to the *Britaines*, and yet in some small skirmishes he went away *Victor*, and continued his courtes with such resolution, that lastly the *Caledonians* thought good to intreate their peace, which vpon these conditions was granted: first, that they should forthwith lay aside all hostile Armes, without any further resistance: next, that they should deliuer into the *Romans* Possession, those Countries that were next abutting on their *Prouince*: and lastly, that thenceforth they should liue in quiet, attempting nothing against the publicke Peace.

(8) The State thus settled, *Scuerus* bethought himselfe of some further means to secure the *Prouince*, by building many In-land strengths anew, and repairing those with Stone and Cement which formerly were but of Turfe and earth, as appeareth by this Inscription found in the Ruines of one of his workes nere vnto the River *Wax*, in the County of *Richmond* erected.

IMP CÆS L SEPTIMIO
PIO PERTINACI AVG. --
IMP CÆSARI M AVRELIO
APIO FELICI AVGVSTO --

BRACCHIO CAEMEN --
TICIVM VINERVIO --
RVM SVB CVRALA SE-
NECINON AMPLISSI-
MIO PER IL VISPIVS --
----- PRAELEGIO -----

A wall from Sea
to Sea.

Hadrian,
Septimius,
P. A. P. de 24.
Aug. 10. 1.
B. A. 1. 1. 1.

And neglecting the uttermost and vast Northerne parts of this *Iland*, drew a Wall or Fortification, which might serue as a Rampire and diuision betwixt the In-land and more ciuill people, stretching it selfe thorow the whole *Iland*, euen from Sea to Sea; that is, from the Bay of *Iton* (otherwise *Salisbury*) in *Seotland*, to the doore of *Tyne* or *Tinmouth*, containing in length One hundred thirty and two Miles, as *Severus Aurelius V. H. E. Eutropius*, and others account them, and by some more. This Wall he built of Turfe and Timber brought in from *Bainwicks* and *Turris*, nere vnto (if not vpon) the foundation of *Adrianus* Wall, the tract whereof thorow the Countries of *Weymerland* and *Northumberland*, is more pleasing to bee seen, then calie in word to be expelled. For which his *Acts* thus heere are recorded about the yeere of grace two hundred and eleuen, he assumed to himselfe his much desired Surname *Britannicus Maximus*, causing in his owne and his sonnes *Coines* that inscription to bee stamped.

(9) And according to posterities glory of his first achievement heere, vpon the reuerse of those his monies, wheron he sometimes formed a Trophy erected vpon spoiles with two Captiues, vnderfetting the word *VICT. BRIT.* sometimes a winged victorie: graving a Shield, hung on that tree which is the meede of Conquerours, *VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE*: and sometimes in such a forme and phraisis expressed in the entrance of this his life. And now retired to *Turris*, he left his eldest Sonne to finish this worke of warre by him begun, as being rather allured then altogether ended.

(10) *Rufinus* thus set in the one part of the *Iland*, as *Geta* was in the other, sought rather to gaine the affections of his Army, by a loose libertie to doe what they list, then to manage the trust reposed on him, by the restraint of Martiall Discipline, and exactiō of Military duties: hoping by such his plausiblenesse and indulgence, to purchase to himselfe their best concurrence for the obtaining of the *Empire*, which hee so thirsted after, as that hee often tampered with them to raise him, by the fall of his father.

(11) The *Caledonians* vnderstanding the dilatorinesse of his Campe, and the want of a better Captaine, suddenly assailed the *Romans*, putting many to the sword, and taking great booties, (which they distributed amongst their neighbours) without any regard of the obligation of their former *Covenants*: whereat the triffling man was so much disquieted, and so farre enraged to reuenge, that hee gaue an expresse charge to make a generall Massacre, without exception of any; vnto in his speech to his Souldiers, these verses borrowed out of *Homer*:

Nemo manus fugiat vestras, caedemq; cruentam:
Nem fatus, grandis Mater quonq; gestat in alae,
Horrendum effugiat cadem.

Let none escape your bloody rage; with terror let all die:
Spare not the mother, nor the child that in her womb doth lie.

(12) This (which seemeth to have bene the worke of *Seuerus* second yeere in *Britannia*, Anno two hundred and twelue for so it is expressed vpon the monies of himselfe and sonnes) may (and with a fit and calie inference from the same authoritie) seeme to haue bene heere the fortune and effect of two encounters and Conquests that same yeere: for whether we obserue the two severall comes of victorie then minted, on one of which is the Statue of that armed and winged Goddess, at whose feet are two Captiues prostrate bound; or the other bearing on it a double figure of that Lady, graving the sculpture of the former, *VICT. BRIT.* vpon a Shield, it can conclude no lesse in probability.

(13) *Seuerus* remaining in *Turris*, where the sixth Legion called *Pactrix* kept, (which place afterwards grew to be one of the chiefest for account among the *Britaines*, as commonly the *Statius* of the *Romans* Colonies were the freed-plots of all our Cities, and principally *Tewkesbury* grew feeble and sicke, being weakened with age, and wearied with trauell, his maladic more

Seuerus
much
Britannicus
Maximus.

Britannia
History.

Caledonian
rebell.

A generall
Massacre
by Seuerus.

The freed-plots
of our Cities
and Townes.

Seuerus his
speech to his
Counsell and
Captaine.

increasing by the disturbances of the *Emire*, and the daily dissolution of *Basilius* his Sonne, inſomuch that deſpairing of life, hee called his *Counſell and Captaine* before him, and vnderlaid with pillowes, he thus addreſſed his ſpeech.

(14) Egheteene yeeres almoſt haue I wielded the affaires of the *Empire*, and borne on my ſhoulders the burden of her encombred eſtate, both at home and abroad; at my firſt entrance, troubled euery where, now at length quiet, euen here in *Britaine*, the moſt vniquiet and moleſtious Province of all: The proſperity which trauels I muſt now leave for others to enjoy, and with eaſe in peace to keepe that which I with care and warre haue gotten. If therefore amity and mutuall concord, be embraced (the only ſhewes of a *Commonwealth*) the glory of the *Empire* ſhall yet ſhine more bright, ſuch by concord we ſee that ſmall things grow to greatneſſe, whereas contrariwiſe, diſcord is the ruine of all. I die and muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to my Succelſſors and Sonnes by *Nature*, though the *Elder* vnuſually: I meane *Basilius* new made *Antoninus* and your *Emperour*, who often ere this hath fought to gaine that title by his ſword and my death; but knoweth not the dangers that attend a *Duſdem*, neither remembreth that high places are continually garded with Enuie and Feares. But ſo blind is Ambition, as it ſeeth not that a Soueraignes greatneſſe is ſuch vnto others, but leaſt in himſelfe, and that the things poſſeſſed are not the very things they ſeemed: It is not theſe *Titles* therefore can make man happy, the line of his life being drawne forth with ſo many vncertainties, and the bright of his power laid vpon ſo weake foundations. My ſelfe at this inſtant may ſerue for example, of whom this may be ſaid, *I was all things, yet nothing, ſeeing I muſt pay my debt to Nature*, and leaue my exploits in *East and Weſt* to be requited (either at your diſpoſall) for matters of moment, and good of the *Empire*, or blotted to the reproch of my gouernement, with the ſhadowing pencile of Obluſion. That therefore my care for the welfare of this *Seate* may ſuruiue my ſelfe, and bring forth the happie fruits thereof when I am withered, this ſhall be my laſt and onely requeſt, that you will euer aſſiſt my ſonnes both with your counſell and aide, whereby they may rule according to *Lawe*, and you obey according to *Right*, that lo in you both, the good of the *Empire* be aboue all things reſpected. With which words hee ended both his

Seuerus

ſpeech and his life.

(15) This *Emperour* by Hiſtorians is ranked with the beſt, both for his warres, wherein hee was verie fortunate, and for his wiſedome in gouerning the *Empire*; and yet hee taxed very ſharply both by *Sabellian* for ſundry vices, and by *Eufebius* for ſtirring vp the fiſt *Perſecution* of the *Chriſtians* in the tenth yeere of his Reigne. In which *troubles* the learned writer of among many others, ſuſſied Martyrdome: howbeit, towards his end, hee became more milde to them, as ſaith *Saint Ierome*: as alſo that hee was a diligent reader of the excellent works of *Tertullian*, whom vſually hee termed his Maſter.

(16) This *Emperour* was by birth an *African*, to which Country his affection & graces were ſo much, that the illuſtrious Cite of thoſe parts, recorded vpon their coyns his many fauours by this Inſcription; *SVLVGENTIA AVG. IN CARTH.* and inſhrined him amongſt the Gods of that Nation. Hee was the ſonne of *Geta*, his mother *Pia Fulvia*: himſelfe rough, cruell, couetous, and ambitious, and his nature, reſhining too much of the *Punick* craft and ſimulation: otherwiſe a moſt expert Solidour, and a worthy Prince, more battles hee fought, and more victories obtained, then any other that euer had ruled before him the *Romane Empire*. In a word, of vertues and vices ſo equally compoſed, that laſtly this *Emperour* had neuer bene borne, or being *Emperour*, that hee had neuer died.

(17) Of ſtature hee was tall, and of a comely perſonage, his countenance ſeuere and repreſenting Maieſty, his beard white and long, and the haire of his head hee wore vſually curled. Hee was very leaſured in the *Mathematicks*, a good Philoſopher, an eloquent Orator, and of a deep ſounding voice. Hee reigned egheteene yeeres (ſaith *Eufebius*) by *Dion Caſſius*, *Herodian*, and *Eutropius*, ſeuenteen yeeres, eight months, and odder daies. Hee died in *Turke*, the fourth day of April, in the yeere of *Chriſt* two hundred and twelue, not ſo much of ſickneſſe, as of diſcontent and greefe, or (if our *Eniſhy* writers may be credited) of a deadly wound giuen by *Fulgur*, Captaine of the *Polls*, who as the *Monke of Cheſter* ſaith, was brother to *Martin*, the firſt wife of *Seuerus* and mother of *Laffianus*. His ſecond wife was *Julia Domna* the mother of *Geta*, (though ſome thinke that ſhe was mother to both) a woman of a ſurpaſſing beauty, and an earneſt inſtigatour of the two Bretherens reconciliation, had thee not beene blemiſhed with other vices, as after we ſhall here.

Seuerus

Seuerus his deſcription.

Seuerus

Seuerus

Seuerus





{ M. AVRE. BAS. CARA. ANTO. BRIT. }
{ P. SEPT. ANTONI. GETA BRIT. } Brethren.

CHAPTER XXIII.



Basilius
Caracalla.

Septimus
Geta.

An. Do. 212.



Basilius Caracalla, and his Brother Septimus Geta, together were declared Emperours by old Severus in his life time, and both of them by their father surname Antoninus, a name very gracious in the esteem of the Romans, the elder so fluted about the

yeere of Salvation two hundred and five, and the younger four yeeres after, (as it appeareth by the mintage of their monies,) were approued and applauded by people and Senate, and of all men saluted and acknowledged for Emperours. Basilius the Elder, stilling himselfe Brutannicus Maximus, as it should seem, was admitted his Fathers fellow Emperour at York at his residing there, so quiet the Northern Britains; wherein also hee gave him the name Antoninus, for so importeth that famous Law, bearing kinthle the names of Severus and Antoninus, enacted by them at York, touching the interest and right that masters haue to the goods and possessions of their seruants. His mother, the first wife of Severus, was Marcia a Brioth Lady (say our British Historians, though Sabellius doth indge her to be an African) and himselfe better beloued of the Britains for her sake, then for his owne.

Geta was the sonne of the Emperesse Julia, a second wife, a woman of passing beauty and surpassing lust, who being perswaded (by some Oracle or dream) that her husbands successour should be an Antoninus, lest her Sonne should lose his hope of the Empire, he importuned Severus to bestow the name of Antoninus also on Geta; who with it gave him likewise the title of Caesar, about the yeere two hundred and two.

And to vnite the affections of his two sons, aswell as to eternise their memories, he minted their features vpon one Medall, inscribing the one side ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. PON. TR. P. IIII. the other, P. SEPT. GETA. CAES. PONT. hauing the yeere before matched the together vpon the reuerse of his owne money, and incirculing their heads with this word, AETERNITAS IMPERI. as if the separation of their affections were the dissolution of his and the worlds Empire.

(2) Vpon Severus his death, Antoninus Caracalla, halting for Rome, profered good conditions of peace to the Britains, who long tired with warres accepted thereof, and hostages were given for constituting the same. Whereupon the Emperesse Julia accompanied with both the Caesars, departed hence, carrying with them the funerall ashes of the deceased Emperour in a golde Urne to Rome, where they solemnly consecrated him a God: the ceremony wherof (because it concerneth so great an Emperour and Monarch of this kingdome) is not vnworthy the inserting.

In the Porch of his Palace was a bedstead all of Iuorie, dressed with richest bedding and furniture of gold, wherein was laid his image portrayed to the life, but yet in manner of a sicke man. On the left side sat all the Senators and Princes in blacke mourning weeds; on the right, all the great Ladies, cladde in white (which then was the mourning colour of that Sexe.) The Physicians diligently coming to visite him, and feeling his pulse, as if he were alieue, doe signifie that his disease did still increase vpon him. This they all did seuen daies together: at last, as if then he were dead, all the prime of the Nobility carrie him in his Iuorie Bed to the Forum, where all the Patrician youth, & Noble Virgins, accompanied him with most

Basilius
Sabellius.

Forum was the
chief place of
publicke wor-
ship and glad-
ness.

Coel. 1. 3. Th. de vi
indulgentiarum
127. 9.

Griff. Monmouth.
Sabbat.

Some say it was
Severus his
dream. Sabell.
127.

dolefull Hymnes and ruefull ditties. Thence againe he was removed to *Mars his field*, where was erected a four-square frame of Timber, of a huge height and compasse, the stories still mounting to the toppe with sundry ascents, and richly branched with strange varieties of gold and purple ornaments, and images of great Art and price: On the second of which alcous, was placed the *Emperours* said Bed and Scaire, with infinite store of sweetest odours, brought thither from all parts of the Cities: which done, the young Nobles beautily mounted on Horsebacke, did round about in a kinde of dance or measure, and another sort likewise (who represented great Princes) in their Coaches, wherupon his successe in the Empire, first sitting fire to the frame, forthwith all the people did the like on all sides: and when the whole began to be on flame, an Eagle secretly enclosed within, was let fly out of the toppe, which soaring a great height, and out of sight, the people followed it with shouts and prayers, supposing that therewith the *Emperours* soule was carried vnto heauen. And thus *Seuerus*, which was before a man of Gods making, was now become a God of mans making: and the more to preserve the memory of his fathers glory, *Caracalla* erected a magnificent Edifice, which he intitled *Seuerus his Porch*, wherein with most exquisite Art, and admired workmanship, were portrayed all his Fathers warres and triumphs, achieued here in *Britaine* or else where.

Seditions.

(3) But presently after, these two vngodly founes of this new supposed *God*, so much emulated each others glory, that the deadly sparkes of enuy, blowne a long time with the bellows of their amitious desires, brake out into the flames of murder and blood, being brethren by one Father, but not by the same mother (as it is said) & in this only like, that they were both like naughty, though both in conerane kinds of *Pride*. And albeit the *Emperresse Julia* had fought by all means to make peace betwixt them, both formerly here in *Britaine*, and now, after their returne to *Rome*: yet the desire of a sole *Souerainty*, had bene a long time so rooted in *Julians* his heart (for which he had twice attempted his Fathers life, and so much halted his death, that hee slew his *Physician*, because they had dispatched him no sooner) could not indure an equal (much lesse a confronter) in authority, and therefore in the Court and in the armes of the *Emperresse*, he slew her sonne *Geta*, in a time least suspected, when he had sate with him in state and disdaine, the terme of one yeare and twenty two daies.

Geta slain in his mothers arms.

Heredit.

(4) And to cloake this fratricide with shew of constraints, first to the *Souldiers*, and then in the *Senate*, he accuseth his Brother to haue sought his death, and that in defence of his owne life, he was forced to slay the other, and flying to the *Prætorian* Cohorts for the safetie of his life, as though further conspiracies had bene intended against him in the City, & at his returne commanded *Papinianus* the famous *Civilian*, to excuse the murder in his *Placat* at the Barre: which when he refused, hee caused him to be slain, as also all those, that had bene acquainted with *Geta*, whereby so many of the Nobilitie perished, that he was thereby accounted another *Nero* in *Rome*: and by his favourites the name of *Geta* was raced out of all monuments & imperiall inscriptions, as we haue seene some of the defaced vpon some Alear stones found here in *Brit.*

Die Spartacus.

Papinianus slain for refusing to defend a traitor.

(5) Of nature he was subtle, and could well dissemble with them whom hee feared, and make shew of loue where hee deadly hated; alwaies fitting himselfe to the humours of flatteries: Among the Germans, counterfeiting their gaze and garments; In Greece, be like *Alexander*, bearing his necke somewhat awry; In *Troy*, would resemble *Achilles*, by waies to *Ca-*

milus-like, as the *Romans* (his followers) were therewith inflamed. In a word, *Caracalla* (saith *Dio*) neuer thought of doing good, because (as himselfe confessed) he neuer knew any goodnes.

(6) And to fill vp the measure of all iniquitie, his oneregardlesse of humanity or shame, he married *Julia* his mother in law, late wife to his owne Father (a sinne (saith *S. Paul*) not to be named among the Gentils) and by *Scit. Aur. Entrep.* and *Spar* reported vpon this occasion. It fortuned that *Julia* in presence of *Caracalla*, either by chance, or of purpose rather, let fall the vail which the worse, discountenuring her naked breasts and beauty, which was there; wherat the *Emperour* calling her lasciuious etc and bewraying his affection, presently said, *Were it not lawfull, I should not be unwilling*: to whom she replied (without respect of modesty) that all things were lawfull to him that made lawes for others, but *was* himselfe to none: forgetting at once both the murder committed vpon *Geta* her sonne, and the scandals that accompanied so foule a sinne, the pleasure wherof they did not long enioy, both their deaths (by *God* vengeance) soon after ensuing.

Dio.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

Scit. Aur. Entrep. Sparian. Sabinus.

Julia her wicked speech.

(7) For *Caracalla* remaining in *Mesopotamia*, and carrying (as it seemeth) a gaily confcience, and supposition of his life, sent to *Materus*, whom hee had left Governour of *Rome*, to assemble all the *Astrologers* & *Mathematicians* (vnto which learned impolites he alwaies gave especial credit) and of them to enquire how long he should liue, and by what death he should die. *Materus* hauing so done, wrote for answer, that *Marcus* his Prefect of the *Prætorium* (then with him in his expeditiō) went about to murder him. Which is thought rather in enuy of *Materus* to haue bene fained, then by any *Astrological* directions so giuen forth. This leuer and others coming to *Caracalla* his hand, at such time as hee was busied about his disport, he deliuered them to *Marcianus* to, read, and giue him the report at his returne. In perusal wherof finding himselfe to be accused of Treason, and fearing lest by the sequell hee might bee brought into greater danger, he incensed one *Martial* a Centurion (whose brother the *Emperour* had lately slaine) to murder him; which was soone performed, and occasion in the fields offered: for *Caracalla* stepping aside from his traine to ease nature, *Martial*, as though he had bene called, ran halhly in without hindrance or suspect, and with his dagger stabbed him to death; but being too late perceiued, was yet so halhly pursued, that he was hewed to peeces before his tongue could reueale the principall Traitor. *Julia* his incestuous wife hearing of his death, with poison slew her kinsie at *Antioch*, leaving her flame to pursue her life.

Antonius Gellius de Successor.

Sabinus.

Antonius Caracalla told.

(8) *Antonius Caracalla*, saith *Eusebius*, reigned *Emperour* seven yeeres and sixe moneths, but *Herodian*, *Spartianus*, and *Dio* allow him fixe yeeres and two moneths: he died the eight of Aprill, and yeere of Christ two hundred eighteene. The testimonies of these many writers notwithstanding, together with the place and circumstances of his death, and the person by whom it was committed, the *British* Historians do contradict, reporting him to bee slain in *Britaine* in *Batavia* against the *Picts*, by one *Caracurus* a man of a lowe and obscure birth. But by this it may seeme some wounds received by him in those *British* warres, gave occasion to that error. He left a sonne not by his incestuous mother, nor by *Glauilla* his wife, who hee exiled into *Sicily*, but by a mistress, whose name was *Iulia Seianura* his cōlen German, and indeed no better then a common strumpet: which corrupt rootes brought forth as bitter fruits, euen *Hellogabalus*, of whom hereafter we shall haue occasion to write.

Antonius Caracalla his religion. Scit. Sabinus. Eusebius.

Old Man. esp. 139.

Eusebius calls her Seianura, and her mother Julia Seianura, that she was his wife, not his wife's daughter.

OPILIVS MACRINVS.

CHAPTER XXV.



Opilius Macrinus.

Diadamenus.

An. Do. 218.



N prosecuting our intended course, for setting downe the *Acts* and *Lines* of sundry Emperours, becafter succeeding, I know I shall hardly satisfie my Readers, being no way able to give content to my selfe, in that, on the one side, finding very few re-

membrances concerning the state of this our *Island*, till the reign of *Diuscleian*, the Historie of that *Intervall* may seeme impertinent to our purpose; and yet on the other side, considering how vaine it is, that the Succession of all our *British Monarchs* should be interrupted (that Royall Title being likewise annexed to those other Emperours) I suppose it will bee expected, that somewhat also be said of them, though managing their affaires in places farre remote. It seemeth that the continuall stirring for the *Imperiall Diademe*, and their neerer hazards at home, made them contented to give *Brittain* some peaceable breathing, and so deprive vs of the *Romane Records* of those times: which want if I should supply out of our home-bred *British Writers*, I might be thought, not so much to reparaire the ruines of our *Monuments*, as to heape more rubbish vpon them. And therefore (necessitie so enforcing) I must craue patience, if I proceed to the rest of our Countries *Monarchs*, though I cannot to the residue of our Countries *Exploits* and *Affaires* in those daies.

An. Do. 218.

(2) *Opilius Macrinus* from obscure and base parentage, by fauours of the Emperour, without any notable desert in himselfe, first aspired to the Office of a *Prefect*, and at last by the election of the *Souldiers*, to the *Dignitie Imperiall*. So farre from suspitious of *Caracalla*'s death, by the outward appearance of a seeming sorrow, that hee was held of all most free from the Treason, and the second person worthy of their voice. For first, the Title was conferred vpon aged *Audentius*, a man of good fort, much experience, and an excellent *Captaine*; whose wisdom could not bee drawne to aduocate his life vnder the weight of so vnicaine and dangerous a Crowne, but exulting himselfe by the priuilege of his age, as farre vsuit to wield

Audentius refused the Crowne.

the troubles (much lesse to increase the glorie) of the Empire, refused their offers, but with returne of as many thanks as they had giuen him hands or voices. Whereupon they againe consulted and determined for *Macrinus*, which as willingly receined, as *Audentius* refused; vnto whom they swore fealtie, but not long after failed in performance.

(1) He made for his *Cesar*, *Diadamenus* his sonne, changing his name (a vsuall custome at their election) into *Antoninus*, because that name was gracious among the *Romans*. The Senate at home confirmed all that the *Armie* had done abroad; vnto whom it seemed their right, as it were by prescription, to haue the election of the Emperours.

Diadamenus appeared for Cesar. Called Antoninus.

(4) His first expedition was against *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, that hadst against the *Romans*, for wrongs receiued by *Caracalla* deceased: but after three great and dangerous *Battles*, came to an accomment, and a peace betwixt them concluded. After this, as free from further troubles, he returned to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and there spent his time in Banquets, and other sensuall pleasures, being drenched so farre therein, that the *Armie* began to dislike his Government, and to fauour young *Rafianus* the sonne of *Caracalla*, then present at *Emesa* a Citie in *Phoenicia*, with *Mesa* his Grandmother by his Mothers side, who there had built a Temple consecrated to the *Sonne*, and therein ordained him a *Priest*; for which cause he was called *Heliogabalus*, that is to say in the *Phenician Language*, The *Priest of the Sonne*.

Antoninus sonne of Caracalla.

Antoninus called Heliogabalus that is, a Priest of the Sonne.

(1) To this Temple in their vaine deuotions resorted many of the *Romane Souldiers*; and seeing the beautie of the youth, allured *Mesa* to bring him to their Campe: where knowne to be the sonne of *Caracalla*, the *Souldiers* proclaimed him Emperour, and maintained his right against *Macrinus* who after this revolt, met young *Heliogabalus* in the Countie betwixt *Phoenicia* and *Syria*, where was fought a bloody *Battle*, and *Macrinus* forsaken of all, and driuen to flee; who with his sonne halting thorow *Alex* and *Bithonia*, came lastly to *Chalcedon*, where he fell sicke, and was there, together with *Diadamenus*, put to death the seventh day of *June*, the yeere of *Christis Incarnation* two hundred and nineteene, when hee had reigned one yeere, one moneth, & twenty eight daies.

Reuolus.

Julius Capitol.

Macrinus and Diadamenus put to death. Macrinus sonne.



ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Antoninus
Helioabalus
Emp.



An. Do. 219.



Owing Bassianus, surnamed *Helioabalus*, the Sonne of *Caracalla* before mentioned, thus elected, and prospering at his entrance, gaue hopes to his railers, of many princely parts, and signes of thole things that in sequence by better prooffe appeared to be onlie signes indeed: for nature had plentifully adorned him with the complements of her gifts, had his mind bene answerably furnished with vertue. But as the one was ouer-prodigall and laith in his outward forme, so was the other as sparing and defectiue in bestowing of her inward gifts: insomuch that both in mind and garment, he seemed to bee that which in truth he was not. This *Emperour*, as appeareth by the reuerse of his money, took it no meane addition of honour to his *Imperiall Dignitie*, to be stiled, *The Priest of the Sonne*; which in the *Assyrian Tongue* is called *El*, from whom he tooke the surname *Elagabal*.

(2) As soon as hee had seited the *Empire* surne vpon himselfe by the death of *Maximus*, he began to discouer his owne dispositions, and in wantonnesse, apparill, lightnesse, and diet, to exceed any that had gone before him in *Rome*; and so farre distanced from the manners of men, that modestie will not suffer vs to record his greatest vices.

(3) His apparrell was rich, and most extreme costlie, and yet would he neuer weare one garment twice: his *Shoes* embellished with *Pearles* and *Luxurys*; his *Seats* throwed with *Muske* and *Amber*; his *Bed* covered with *Gold* and *Purple*, and beset with most costly *Iewels*; his *Way* strewed with the *Powder* of *Gold* and *Silver*; his *Feeds* (cuen of basell vñ) all *Gold*; his *Lumps* burning with no other *Oile* then the *Balmes* of *India* and *Arabia*; his *Fish-Ponds* filled with no other water then of *distilled Rofes*; his *Shops* (in his *Newmachies* or *Shy-fights*) floored in a *River of Wine*; his *Bathes* most stately built, and againe after they were once vñd, prettily plucked downe; his *Plate* of finest *Gold*, but neuer struck downe to his *Table*; his *Rings* and *Iewels* most rich, yet neuer worne twice; his *Cowenches* many and changeable, but not one laine with twice; his *Diet* so profuse, that at every supper in his *Court*, was usually spent a *Thousand Pound Sterling*: in entering the chiefe Citizens to a *Feast*, hee strewed all the *Roames* with *Saffron*, as it were with *Bushes*, saying, *That such a stile were worthy of such costly Letter*. Neere the *Sea*, with him no *Fish* was eaten: in the *Land*, no *Fleete*: whole *Meales* made of the *Tongues* of singing *Birds* and *Peacocks*, or of the *Breines* of most costly creatures, alwaies laying, *That meat was not sauourie, whose flauer was not costly*. And indeed so costly it was, that the reuenues of *Germany*, *France*, *Britaine*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Gracia*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and all

the *Islands*, were not sufficient to defray the charges.

(4) In his *Progresses*, six hundred *Chariots* followed him, laden with *Sirumpets*, *Eyes*, and *Raudes*, for whom he built a *Stewes* in his *Court*, wherein himselfe in the attire of an *Idolat*, made to them solemnne and set *Orations*, terming them therein his *Fellow-Souldiers*, and *Companions* in *Armes*, with *Institutions* for them how to practise with most varietie their fishy *Luxuries*. In regard of which kinde of actions, one doth make thus doubt, whether were greater his boundlesse *Prodigalitie*, his *spendious Lecherie*, or his *foppish Foolerie*: the last of which his *Imperiall Portraies*, he gaue prooffe of, when he gathered in the *City* ten thousand weight of *Spiders*, professing that thereby he vnderstood how great a *City Rome* was: at another time, ten thousand *Mice*, and a thousand *Wizels*, which hee brought forth in a publike shew to the people, for some wise *State-purposes*, like the former.

(5) In *Rome* hee built a *Temple* consecrated to the *Sonne*, (like to that in *Phoenicia*, whereof himselfe was *Priest*) commanding the *Christians* therein to worship: as also a *Chatter-house* for women to meet and determine of their *Attires*; and brought into the *Senate house* his mother *Sensuaria*, allowing her a *Voise* among the *Senators*. In modestie I forbore to write the particulars of his vnmanly libidinous sithnesse, adding only that which a iudicious *Author* speaks of him: *Kings* (saith he) as they haue greater power to sinne then other men, so haue they lesse safety in sinning then any man; for being let above others in the eye of the *World*, they are as *Markes* that are aimed at, and lie open to the *State of Reuenge*. And so was the state of this *Superlative Manner*, whose owne *Conscience* still stung him, even in the midst of his sweetest sinnes, and therefore euer expecting some violent end, hee prepared *alters* *Halters* richly wrought to hang himselfe, if need were; and *Golden Knives* to stab himselfe, or cut his throat; and built a goodly *Tower* of exceeding height, adorned with *Gemmes* and *Gold* of inualluable cost, that thence he might call himselfe headlong, hauing these words oft in his mouth, *That haueuer hee died, his death should be precious in the eyes of all men*. But he failed of his hope, though not of his desire; for against him the *Pratorian Souldiers* suddenly arose, a wrong offered them, more then a vnto others, but out of a *Justice* in *God*, who repaeth sinne with sinne, and suffreth not such outrageous wicked ones to escape vengued.

(6) These breaking into his *Palace*, found him not in estate answerable to his calling, but hidde (for feare) in a homely place fiteable with his dirty conditions: from whence with *Artemitions* thorow the *Streets of Rome*, more like a *Dog* then a *Man*, they dragged him with his mother, saying, *The Dogs and her helpe must eue yetter*: and after their furie spent, threw their bodies into the *Common Souke* of the *City*, and thence into *Tyber*, sinking them downe with great

Anton Lampid.
Heraclum.

Helioabalus ex-
cesses in vñ-
derstande all as
then before him

A. Poly.
Lactantius.

great stones, left the carcases call vp with the waies, should either find buriall, or infect the aire. The Senate approving all that was done, decreed that his name should be obliterated out of all monuments in Rome, and neuer any Antoninus (a name before very glorious) should rule againe their Empire: so odious was the remembrance of this Image of Ignominy.

(7) He was aged but foureteene yeeres when hee became Emperor, by Herodians computation, he reigned fixe yeeres, and died at twenty: By Aurelius Victor he died at fouenteene, & reigned not fully three yeeres: Eusebius saith, that he reigned fully foure: Orosius would haue him to liue eighteen yeeres, & to dy the 3 day of March, Anno two hundred twenty three.

He is called by the
Romans, Sept. 10.



ALEXANDER SEVERVS.

CHAPTER XXVII.



Alexander
Seuerus Emp.

An. Do. 223.



Efore the death of Helio- gabalus, his Cousin German Alexander, by the working of his mother *Atamma*, was made his Caesar, whose vertues daily increasing, with his age, gave hopes to the better sort of some happier times by his meanes: but so farre exceeded Helio gabalus (who had nothing more then vertue), and so dimmed his fame, that he often assayed to take away his life by treachery: But suruiving him, whom no man wished to liue, he was with publick hieffings, and vnspcakable joy elected Emperor, & his name they changed from *Alexianus* to *Alexander*, and his surname giuen of old *Seuerus*.

Emperours said, he was borne on the day that Alexander the great died, and had therefore his name.

Subletus, Lampadius.

Herodian.

Subletus.

* Lampadius the small relation of this Emperours life, but Strabo on Epiphanius (scilicet) hath, he was borne all about his Palace, and sometimes commanded by voice of a publick Crier. Lampadius, Subletus.

(2) He was the Sonne of one *Parus*, a Syrian borne, and of *Atamma*, sister to *Summama*, though there are who say that both the sisters attending on their Aunt Julia the Emperress, were gotten with child by young *Caracalla*, and so he father of *Alexianus*: howeuer, he was brought vp in learning from his childhood, hauing a naturall propension to all humane vertues, and diuine pieties: He was very skilfull in the *Mathematicks*, *Geometrie*, *Astricks*, *Cosmick*, and *Painting*, & composed some *Bookes* also of *Poetrie*, so great a lover of the liberal Arts, that he allowed the professors thereof annuall stipends for their further encouragement: and that which most is, hee much favoured the *Christians*, from whom he tooke to himselfe examples of life, and vrged their Precepts vnto others, and this one especially. **NOT TO DO TO OTHERS WHAT WEE WOULD NOT HAVE DONE TO VS.** Their *Christ* he honoured (though as a *Heathen* man) and would haue had him consecrated among the *Roman Gods*: vnto whom he also was minded to haue built a Temple, had not his *Idol-Priests* hindered the same, but a place of their holy assemblies he allowed them by his *Imperiall warrant*: for when certaine *Pantonnors* or *Pillwallers* laid claime to the place whereunto the *Christians* resorted to pray, he thus decided it, *That it was much fitter that God therein should be worshipped, then heely gods should be pampred to forget there.* (A good document of a *Heathen* for some *Christians*, who turne

places consecrate to Gods diuine seruice into Sheep-Coats, orto the like prophane vices) This good inclination of *Alexander* the sonne, was vndoubtedly stirred vp by the insligations of *Mamma* his mother, who, as *Eusebius* witnesseth, had sent for *Origen* (the Christian Doctour) from *Alexandria* to *Antioch*: by whom the was so wel instructed, that *Seuerus* giues her the honourable Title of a *most holy Woman*.

Alexander was reuerenced on Christianity by his mother *Mamma* which hee is called by the Christians.

Subletus.

(3) Himselfe, though young, ruled the Empire with great *Wisdomme* and *Iustice*: admitting onely such for his Counsellors, as were men vncorrupt, sage and learned, skilfull in the Ciuill Law, and experienced in Antiquities of elder times, and preferring none to any office or charge by fauour, but onely by the commendation of each mans worth and fitness for the place: In regard whereof, he called *Turcius* (one of his Courtiers who tooke money of diuers, with promise to procure the Emperours fauour in their suits) to be put to death by smother, the Crier proclaiming, *That hee had sold fauours, and therefore with fauours he should die.* And likewise to cut off, in Lawyers their continuall selling of *Iustices* (the bane of all Common wealths) for a fee, hee granted a publick & sereward to such as should plead *gratis*. By which courtes, his ciuill affaires were nobly managed, and his warres likewise proued as prosperous: for hee triumphed with great glory ouer the *Parthians*: The *Germanes* also, who in furious manner had passed the *Riuer Danubius*, and the *Rhine*, in many skirmishes he put backe, and forced them to their former obedience.

Bountifull and liberal he was both to the people & Soldiers, as by the reuerse of his Coines before prefixed is seene, wherein is expressed the fourth *Donationis* and *Constitutionis*, bestowed by the bounty of this Emperour vpon the *Souldiers* and common people, of which *Lampridius* maketh mention in his life.

(4) But as *Emper* ever attends persons of Estate, and a desire of change, breeds a dislike of the present, so the *Roman Legions* growne farr out of order by the prodigious Government of the last Emperour, protested now vnanimall to their dread Soueraigne: in wile warres drawing him into *Germanie*, and thence hither into *Britaine*, hee found some of his Souldiers here so tumultuous, that he thought fit to vse exemplary severity towards them, whereupon they, being

Subletus and others.

Severus and his
mother murder-
ed.

secretly backt, (as is suppos'd) by *Maximinus* (a potent man in the Armie, raised only by the *Emperours* favour) they traitorously assailed him, and together with his mother *Mamma*; murdered him in a village then called *Sicila*, though others say he was slain in *Germany*, in the Citie *Mogunze*, and some in *France*,

no other cause moving them, but only his vertue, the eighth day of March, when he had reigned (by *Lamprianus*) thirteene yeeres and nine daies, aged by *Herodian*, and *Talies Capitulinus*, twenty nine yeeres, three moneths and seven daies, the yeere of our Sauiour, two hundred thirtie sixe.

Severus the time
of his reigns.



CAIVS. IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. EMP.

CHAPTER XXVIII.



CAIVS. IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. CAES.



Maximinus
Emp.

Maximus
Caesar.



Maximinus, a man barbarous by birth, and disposition, (himself a *Thracian*, his father named *Nicea*, borne in *Gallia*, very obscure, his mother *Abula* of little better race) spent his youth in keep of Cattel, the poverty of his parents admitting no better maintenance: yet afterwards his fortunes brought him vnto great advancement, and that by working vpon the outward object of his person, being for shape and strength (if the reporter deserve credit) rather to be thought a vast *Giant*, then described for a goodly man: For *Talies Capitulinus* affirms his height to be eight foot: and an halfe by Geometrical measure, and his Body answerable in euer proportion, inasmuch, as he did weare as a Ring on his thumb, the Bracelet which his wife vs'd to weare on her arme, a stature thought incredible; and yet *Iosephus*, an Author of great credit, doth confidently record, that one *Eleazar* a Jewe accompanied *Darius* the Kings sonne of *Perseus* vnto *Rome*, (sent by *Pitellus* to *Tiberius* for an hostage) whose height, as he saith, was fully seven cubits, a measure far exceeding this.

(1) This *Maximinus* increasing strength with growth, left his trade of Cattle-keeping, and resorted to the *Romane* Campe the in *Syria*, where for his admirable height, he was admitted by *Septimus Severus* into the rancke of a common Souldier, and shortly after, preferred to bee one of his Guard. *Epitaphus* made him a *Cornet*, and *Helius Abulus* gave him the leading of certaine foote: but the last Emperour *Alexander*, advanced him to be a *Captaine* of the fourth Legion, whose death notwithstanding hee discontinue practised (of such force is the desire of Souerainety, which makes men forget all bonds of gratitude and loiall trust) and was thereupon by the Souldiers elected Emperour, with fealty sworn vnto him.

(3) The ignoble *Vipers* thus borne from the droughill, vpon the wings of *Fortune*, vnto the seat of Maicste, thought the increase of his pride was an increase of State; and knowing hee had nothing for which he might deserve to be loved, he studied in the whole managing of his citize, how by all means hee might be feared. Hee therefore displaced *Senators*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and whom not with murders, banishments, and confiscations of their goods: all such especially he did cut off, whom hee supposed to haue knowledge of his base beginnings. The *Christians* likewise vnder him were martyred, (whereof *Origens* wrote a Booke, not now extant) and he is by *Writers* accounted the sixth Persecutor of Gods Saines: so that, whereas his flatterers at first called him *Mile*, *Antaw*, and *Heracles*, for his strength; now they all teamed him, *Buifer*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*, for his savage cruelty.

(4) But his life being odious to *God* and *Man*, was often attempted to be taken away; first, by *Maximus*, a man of Consular dignitie; then by *Quintinus* (whom *Capitolinus* calleth *Titus*) set on by the old Souldiers of *Septimus Severus*, that had bene disgraced by *Maximinus*; and lastly by the Army in *Africa*, who elected *Gordianus* (their *Proconsul*, a very worthy and learned man of fourescore yeeres old) Emperour, and his sonne (of the same name and Princely qualities) his *Caesar*: the Senate likewise confirming all that they had done. He tooke to himselfe the surname *Africanus* either in respect of his Proconsulship which hee exercised in that Province, or else as descended from *Scipio* his family who bore that surname: His sonne *Gordianus* likewise was stiled *Augustus*, as appeareth by his Coines, whereon hee writeth himselfe *A V G*. and vpon the Reuerse, *Liberalis A V G*. two Emperours sitting.

Maximinus then in *Hungary*, and hearing thereof, rather like a mad man rag'd at his misfortunes, then either by courage or wile forecast endeouored to redeme them.

Maximinus of a
roughly dispose-
tion.

Epitaphus, high
in a cap. 17.
This man per-
secuted the
Christians.
His death ac-
companied.

Heracles.

Gordianus elected
Emperour,
and his sonne
elected his
Caesar.

An. Do. 236.

Just. Cyphilus,
Maximinus of a
huge stature.

Capitolinus calls
it *Deserubition*,
being a head
piece of gold, &c.
with which Iustus,
an ornament in
use amongst the
Romane Ladies.

Epitaphus, Aug. 1.
18. cap. 6.

Maximinus his
means of rising
to persecution.

Herodian and
Alexander Victor
say this was
done, *Alexander*
yet in error.



An. Do. 238.

(6) In the meane while, aged *Gordianus* with the Enigmes and glory of an Emperour, entred *Carthage*, with blessings and acclamations of ioy: wherat his old enemy *Capellanus*, Governour of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* (Provinces in *Africa*) much enuied, and gathering forces in *Maximianus* his name, made head against him, and shortly gave him Battle, wherein *Gordianus* the younger was slaine before the walles of the Citie. The father seeing his *Casars* disaistre, and himselfe an Emperour onely nominall, and his new risen Sonne to have passed the circle of his height, and now to approach to the setting and fall, wished againe his private estate; and in despair, griefe, and disdain of his enemies successe, with the *Gravie* which he wore, strangled himselfe to death, when hee had bene titled Emperour only twenty six daies: wherat *Maximianus* was not a little ioyfull, and the *Senate* no lesse perplexed, seeing themselves deprived of their hopes, and now laid open to the *Triants* will, who like a Lion came raging on, the earning newe age in all their bloods.

Gordianus the younger slaine.

Gordianus the father strangled.

(6) The State thus standing, all the Peeres and Princes thereof assembled themselves together at *Rome*: and in the Temple of *Iupiter*, after long debating of their present dangers, concluded, that *Maximus Papienus* and *Clodius Balbinus* together should bee Emperours; men of great account and fauour with the people. These taking Oath and Imperiall Robes, leuied forces to maintaine their cause: and *Balbinus* taking charge of the Citie, *Papienus* marched to meet *Maximianus*, who in great pride had passed the *Alpes*, entred *Italie*, and now laid siege against *Aquileia*, in which this was very memorable, that *The Citizens* wined out off the haire of their heads, to make bow-strings for resistance of so hateful a *Triant*: where after long assault preuailling little, his discounteuted Souldiers fell to mutinie: and entering his Pavillion, at noone day without resistance slew both him and his sonne, bearing the same name whom hee had created his *Casars*, and whose monies, as he minted them, we have inserted at the entrance of his Empire. Their heads for a Trophy they sent before them to *Rome*, where with such accaptations they were receiued, as that the *Senate* acknowledged themselves to be rid of a Monster.

Maximianus and his sonne slaine.

(7) Hee was, as is said, exceedingly tall, his body great, and ioints proportionable, faire of face, full eyes, and of such strength as is vncredible: and according to his limmes, so was his diet; for hee daily deuoured forty pound weight of flesh, and thiereto dranke six Gallons of wine. Hee died aged sixty yeeres and odder, when hee had reigned three yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred thirty and eight.

Maximianus his sonne perished in due. See Chap. 29. in the last page.



{ P V P I E N V S M A X I M V S }
{ C L O D I V S B A L B I N V S } Emperours.

CHAPTER XXIX.



Papienus Emper.

Clodius Balbinus Emp.

An. Do. 238.



Papienus *Maximus* and *Clodius* *Balbinus* thus elected together for Emperours, the one in action, and the other resident, a great sedition chanced betwixt the *Senate* and *Souldiers*, which grew to a bloodie issue among the *Citizens*, and *Rome* it selfe was set on fire in sundrie places; the Emperours presence and au-

thoritie little preuailling: which strucke such feare into their hearts, that they accounted these times most vnfortunate, and themselves present estate to be most desperate. But the death of *Maximianus* (and his head happily brought them at the instant) gave present life to their dying hearts. And *Papienus* comming to *Aquileia* as much quieted the *Armie*, sent backe the *Legionaries* to their places of charge, and with great pompe and praise returned to his Fellow-Emperour.

(2) The parentage of *Balbinus* is reported to bee both

Maximus *Casars*.

Maximianus his sonne perished.

Papienus *Maximus* and his sonne elected his *Casars*.

Clodius.

Gordianus the father and Emperour, and his sonne elected his *Casars*.

both noble and ancient, made Citizens of *Rome* by great *Pompey*, and himselfe borne at *Cales* in *Spain*. *Papianus* Ancestors were much later, yet had hee borne many Offices of Magistracie, and euer discharged them with wisdom and valour: both of them highly accounted of in *Rome*.

(3) Peace thus established beyond all expectation, with shoutes and applauses the *Emperours* enter the *Senate-house*, where (according to the custome and their desires) they were killed, *The Fathers of the Senat*, with thanks as to the onely preservers of their liues and estates: and some extolling the *Senate* highly for their provident foresight, in electing such sapient and worthy *Emperours*, contrarie to the rash and indiscreet practice of such as chose their Governours to fit their owne fancies, rather then the charge to which they aduance them; and whose bad liues brought commonly their vintime, but deferred death. The *Pretorian* Souldiers tooke themselves to bee taxed with those aspersions, and the rather, because the *German* Strangers were brought in to be of the *Guard*, as if themselves were not to bee trusted: so turning their spleene against the present *Emperours*, sought to set up a new, which shortly after they found opportunitie to effect.

(4) For these *Emperours*, though aged and wife, were not so linked together in affection, as they were neere joined in authoritie: and therefore the wind of emulation had the easier passage betwixt the chinkes of their owne conceits; the one prizing his wisdom and government to be more iudicious; the

other, his birth and Nobilitie to be more honorable: and each of them having his owne *Guard*, stood vpon his owne *Guard*, though one *Palace* contained them both: and both their endeavours euer well consofing for the businesse of the Empire.

(5) At this time the Provinces of *Parthia* and *Germanie* grew vniquiet, and by eail discords, endangered their subiections: to repress which, the *Emperours* agreed to goe in person, the one into the *East*, the other into *Germanie*. Now whilst these great preparations were in making, the *Capitoline Games* were celebrated in *Rome*, wherunto all (almost) resorted, but especially the new-come *Guards* of the *Emperours*. The *Pretorians* finding the aduantageous time, which they had long waited for, suddenly in armour assailed the *Court*; which *Papianus* perceiving, sent in all haste for *Balbinus*, and both their *Guards* for defense. But his Fellow-*Emperour*, vpon a vaine suspicion detracted time him selfe, and hindered the forwardnesse of the *Guards*, so that these *Traitors* had easie access into both the *Emperours* Chambers, where in their rage they dispoiled them of their *Imperiall Robes*, and haled thie poore aged and innocent *Emperours*, like two *Theeues* throw the middelt of the *Kie*: Lastly, they slew them, and left their bodies to despittefull ignominie.

(6) These *Emperours* reigned together one yeere, and somewhat more, and died the yeere of *Christ* two hundred thirty nine: in which yeere happened so great an Eclipse of the *San*, that the noon-day thereby became as darke as the mid-night.

In Capitol.

The Emperours
every one another.M. Antoninus
Gordianus
Emp.

An. Do. 239.



M. ANTONINVS GORDIANVS.

CHAPTER XXX.

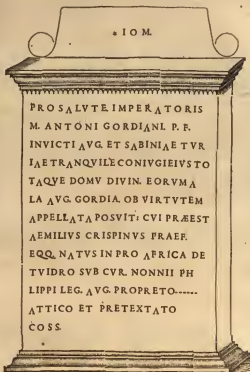


Gordianus (for *Antoninus* he might not be recalled, a law formerly acted inhibiting the same) was the sonne of a daughter to old *Gordianus* (that had made away himselfe in *Carthage*, as is declared) at the age of eleuen yeeres was created *Cesar* by the *Senate*, with *Papianus* and *Balbinus*; and at their deaths by the *Pretorian* Souldiers, elected *Emperour*, not yet fully fourteen yeeres of age. Greatly was he strengthened by the Alliance and Counsell of one *Mithridates*, his Prefect and Instructor, whom for his great learning he so honored and loved, that he tooke his daughter for his wife; and by whose onely direction, he profitously administered his State affaires.

(2) Touching the affaires of our Provinces pro-

ceedings, or what *Lieutenants* were imploied in *Britaine* since *Virius Lupus* there placed by *Suetonius* (since whose death our *Storie* hath spent twenty seven yeeres) we finde not recorded. Yet now in the reign of young *Gordianus*, some glimmering light for her Governour appeareth by an *Altar-Stone* found in *Cumberland* at a place then called * *Castra Exploratorum*, with an inscription for the happy health of the *Emperour Gordian* the third, his wife *Furia Sabina Tranquilla*, and their whole Familie: which vntime *Altar* was erected by the Troupe of *Horfemen* surnamed *Auguste Gordians*, when *Aemilius Christianus* a native of *Africa* governed the same vnder *Numerius Philippus* Lieutenant Generall of *Britaine*, in the yeere of *Christ*, two hundred forty three, as appeareth by the *Consuls* therein specified: whose forme and inscription wee haue followed by the *Stone* it selfe, now remaining at *Conington* among many others, in the custodie of Sir *Robert Calton* Knight.

* On Cuckoo.



In his first yeere, the *Parthians* vnder the Leading of *Sapor* their King, had passed into the confines of the *Romane* Prouinces, as late as *Antioch* in *Syria*, which *Cirie* they had taken, with spoile of the Countries adjoining: against whom, the yong *Emperour* in warlike maner addrested himselfe, and in person prepared to vndergoe the warres.

(1) In *Ionus* the Temple of *Ianus* that long had stood shut, he caused to be opened, a sure token that warres were in hand: and departing the City, passed the *straits* of *Hellepont*, and rooke his way thorow *Asya*, to lay the *Gathes* that were come downe to inhabit *Thracia*. Thence marching to *Antioch*, recovered the *Cune*, forcing *Sapor* to forsake the *Prouince*, and to content himselfe with his owne demaines.

(4) But long this *Summe* went not without a Cloud, nor his fawourable fortunes without a checke, for *Mistheus*, his *Nephew*, paying *Natures* debt before it was due (being poisoned by *Philip*, as *Eutropius* affirmeth) was wanting in counsell, & misst for trust: to supply which, *Philip* (an *Arabian*, and of ignoble parentage) was made his Prefect; wife (I must needs say) had hee beene moderate; and valiant in Armes, had hee bene true. But the glory of a *Diademe* beheld with the full light of ambition, so dimmed the eye of his dutifull affection, and blinded the senses of his aspiring mind, that he, who from nothing was risen to be something, thought that also nothing worth, whilst it was shadowed with the name of a subiect. First therefore he sought to winne credit with the Souldiers, to whom he was facible; to regard the poore, to whom hee was liberall, and in all things to outstrippe his Soueraigne, to whom he was treacherous. Yong *Gordianus* vnable to endure his Prefectors deliquies, or his owne dilgraces, and perceiving the marke wherewith hee aimed, complained his wrongs in open as-

sembly, and to the Souldiers after this tenor.

"(1) I got not this state from my Parents by birth, nor yet by any deserts (I must confesse) in my selfe, being the least of many that did deserue it better: but it was you, my fellow Souldiers (vpon what sure I know not) that haue made me what I am. If then I haue defrauded your hopes, by carrying my selfe vnder your expectations, I wish to bee set in the place where I first was; or rather (if I so deserue) my life, and state, may at one instant be ended by your vncerring hands: For Noble minde cannot brooke to be curbed with the bite of base indignities, nor suffer their vassals to bee Corrupts of their Maieitie. It is a ialous object (I must needs confesse) and many times calls great suspicion where is small occasion, but I, for my part, haue alwaies thought of that humour, that men causlessly ialous, doe most iustly deserue what they vniustly feare; and both your selues will bee my witnesses, how faire I am from the touch of that itaine, and also the daile occurrences of my *Casus*, (if so low I may terme him) doth make more then manifest. I am but yong, yet elder by sixe yeares then I was, my body tender, yet exposted to the chaunce of warre; my counsell raw, yet bettered by your wisdomes; and my conquests in my selfe nothing, but yet in your valours both glorious & famous. What then are mine errors, that I may amend them? or your discontentes that I may redresse? for by the powers of heauen I protest, it is your loues which I most esteeme, and the good of the Empire, for which I onely wish to liue; the first is in your power to bestow at your pleasure, but the other in me (if it be possible) shall liue euen after death.

(6) These complaints notwithstanding, *Philip* so politickly nay, rather traitorously brought his owne

Gordianus his speech to the Souldiers.

Eutropius. Gordianus opposeth the Temple of Ianus.

Heuter. Mistris. Gordianus poisoned by Philip.

Philip his treason.

projects to passe, as that the yong innocent *Emperour* was displaced, and abandoned of all: in which distresse he first sued to be made his *Caesar*, and that denied, to be his *Prætorian Prefect*: but neither would bee had, yet at length the charge of an ordinary *Capitane*, was with some difficulty granted him. But *Philip* bethinking himselfe of the greatness of *Gordianus* his blood, his loue and esteeme both in *Rome* and the *Provinces*, and his owne vertues equalising any, hee commanded him to be slaine in the twenty two yeere of his age, and the sixt of his raigne. The Senate hearing thereof, elected *M. Marcus*, and after him again, *L. Aurel. Severus, Ostilianus*. But *Philip* through the giddie multitude, prevailed against both. This *Emperour* though yong, so well demeaned himselfe, that the Senate by authoritie added to his titles *T V T O R R E I P V E L I C A E*, and *P A R E N S P R I N C I P V M P O P V L I R O M A N I*, and after his death even by his owne murderers, his Monument of faire Stone was raised in the confines of *Persia*, and vpon his sepulchre this inscription set

Gordianus Salus.

DIVO GORDIANO VICTORI PERSARVM VICTORI GOTTHORVM VICTORI SARMATARVM DEPVLSORI ROMANARVM SEDITIONVM VICTORI GERMANORVM SED NON VICTORI PHILIPPORVM.

To the Sacred *Gordianus* vanquisher of the *Persians*, *Goths*, and *Sarmates*, extinguisher of the *Romane* *Civil discords*, and subduer of the *Germans*, but not of the *Philippians*.

Gordianus his VICTORIE.

(7) He was of condition most noble and lonely, of behaviour gentle, very studious and given much to learning; having in his *Librarie* no lesse then three-score and two thousand *Bookes*, as is reported. The truth is, that wicked people were not worthy long to enioy so vertuous, so clement, so pcerles an *Emperour*. He died in the moneth of *March*, in the yeere of our Redeemer two hundred forty five.



M. IVLIVS PHILIPPVS EMP.

CHAPTER XXXI.



M. IVLIVS PHILIPPVS CAES.



Julius Philip. Emp.

Julius Philip. Cæf.

An. Do. 245.



Hat man is there, who considering those forfeited murders, of so many, and so mightie Monarchs, would not, by the spectacle of others calamities, be induced to preferre the securitie of a moderate estate, before the desire of *Soveraignty*; whose glorious content is onely in appearance, but the cares and hazards are both real and perpetual. But of so attractive vertue is the *Lead-stone of Maiesty*, through the imagined felicity thereof, that most mens desires are drawne to that one point of the *Compass*, and if a little faire winde of fortune shall blow on them; they will launch forth with their full sailes into that *Mer* *incognitum*, a *Sea of unknown calamities*. And amongst others, such were the blinde desires, and such the unhappy event of this *Julius Philippus* the *Arabick Barbarous*. Of parentage obscure and ignoble, as *Vulgar* and others affirme, who pluckt off the imperiall

robes of his *Liege-Lord*, to insuit himselfe.
(2) Being now accepted as *Emperour* by the *Souldiers* in *Parthia*, he wrote to the Senate of the death of *Gordianus*, as though it naturally had happened, and with faire pretensions of his good purposes, but more through the feare of his *Parthian* *Souldiers*, obtained their consents; whereupon flourishing vp a most dishonourable peace in those parts, and declaring his *Joane Philip* for his *Caesar*, (whose Coines with his, we have set in the beginning of this Chap.) hee made all speede towards *Rome*: where, the yeere ensuing, his shewes and games were exceedingly magnificent, for the Celebration of the Birth-day (as we may terme it) of *Rome*, that being, the thousand yeere from her foundation.
(3) It pleased God at length to touch this *Emperours* heart, both with such a lenie of his owne forpast sinnes, and also with the light of heavenly truth, that he hath the honour of being the first *Emperour* baptised into the faith of *Christ*, together with his sonne *Philip*, and his wife *Severus*: though the publicke

An. Do. 245. Vltim. Europæ.

Aureus Philus.

Schismatic. Origen. Eusebius.

like authorizing of the same *Profession* was refused for the blessed times of our British Constance. The means of his conuersion from *Idolatry*, were *Fabianus* and *Origen*, who by letters exhorted him therunto : and for the same *Profession* were both homicide and foune murdered by *Decius* his Captaine, though others report, that *Decius* did rather hate *Christianisme* for their sakes, then them for their *Profession* sake. And howeuer *Pompeius Latinus* accuseth him to bee a dissimling Prince, yet *Eusebius* declareth the effects of his *Profession* furth otherwise : for *Philip* (saith hee) seeking to communicate with the *Saints*, could not bee admitted, till such time as he had made open confession of his Faith : at which time he inuied himselfe with those, who for their finnes were brought to examination, and was placed in the ronne of the Penitents, because that to many things he had bene faulty : which willingly he obeyed, and declared by his works his sincere and religious penite towards God. Which may the rather appeare by *Sabellius* and *Bergomensis*, who shew, that the hatred of *Decius* against *Philip* and his foune was conceiued, for that they had committed the custodie of their Treasures vnto *Fabianus* the Christian Bishop of Rome, who baptized them, as some write ; though others say, *Fabius* the Martyr did it.

(4) The Gothes againe descending from *Scythia*, infested *Misra* and *Thracia* with a mighty Arme, seeking their habitation in those Countries : as formerly they had done : against whose irruptions, the Emperour sent one *Marinus* a most valiant Captaine, who no sooner came into those parts, but drew the *Souldiers* into a Rebellion, and proclaimed himselfe Empe-

rouer, taking (as he said) his example from *Philip*, that had in like sort raised his title by his *Sauaignties* fall. But the *Souldiers* that had newly erected him, as suddenly againe threw him downe, and in their mutable affections slew him.

(5) Into whose Charge was sent *Decius*, a man of great experience, who alio no sooner was in the Arme, but they forced the Imperiall *Estagies* vpon him, and (as some report) against his will : hee therefore sent secretly to *Philip*, declaring this attempt of the *Souldiers*, and how hee meant to make escape from them with persisting in his dutifull allegiance. But the Emperour fearing this to be but policie in *Decius*, left by delay he might giue him more strength, omitted no time to vphold his owne, and with a mightie Arme undertooke these affaires himselfe, not trusting any more to the disposall of his Captaines. And immediately departing Rome, with a stern resolution, and ouer-hard hand, held the reime of that begun Expedition, whereby he presently lost the loue of the Arme, and *Decius* was accounted the more worthy of rule, whom in *Verona* they forthwith proclaimed Emperour, and cut off *Philip* head thorow the teeth, before they had departed *Italia*. At newes whereof, the *Prætorians* slew *Philip* his *Calar* and sonne, a man of so obseruable composednesse, as that he had bene neuer seene to laugh in all his life. And thus the two *Philips* ended their reignes.

(6) *Julius Philippus* (saith *Eusebius*) reigned seven yeeres : but *Entreprius* and *Fictor* giue him only five ; whose death happened in the yeete of Christ Iesus, two hundred and fiftie.

Marinus Calar.

Decius entreated to be Emperour.

Philippus and his Calar slain.
Entreprius.
Capitol.

Philip. Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 30.

Pomp. Latinus.

Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 33.

Sabellius. Euseb. Hist. lib. 6.

Pompeius. lib. 4. cap. 21.
Gothes infest Misra and Thracia.



GN. MESSIVS. QVINCTVS. TRAIAN, DECIVS.

CHAPTER XXXII.



Tra. Decius Emp.

Decius Hist. lib. 6. cap. 30.

An. Do. 250.



Decius elected Emperour by the *Perfian Legions*, proclaimed in *Verona* by the *Romane Souldiers*, and in Rome confirmed by the *Power of the Senate*, was of them all with wonted flatteries titled *Augustus*.

(2) His Birth was noble, of the *Cny Cabuli* in

the *Lower Pannonia*, now knowne by the name of *Hungarie*: himselfe well experienced, wise, and valiant, and wielded the Empire as a worthy Prince, had he not blemished his reign with a Reigne of Tyranny, and persecuted Gods *Saints* with such a Heathensh rage, that he is rightly noted by learned *Writers*, to be the fourteenth Horne of the *Persecuting-Imperiall-Beast*, whose insaigre cruelties towards the innocent Christians, is most lamentable to be heard, but more to their smart that suffered and felt it.

Decius a great scourge of the Christians.

Apocal. 19.
Paul. Apostol.

(3) The

Decius his persecution.

An. Do. 252.
P. 10.

8. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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(3) The *Grid-iron* he made the *Altar*, whereupon blessed *Laurence* offered his body in sacrifice; the *Stewes* the *Temple*, wherein *Theodora* the virginized *Virgin* worshipped her *Christ*; the comfortable *Deserts*, the refuge of aged *Cheremon*, Bishop of *Nilus*; and the *Cave*, the *Sanctuary* of the *seven Sleepers*, fabulous by *Nicophorus* for *seven Sleepers*; and so barbarous was he that way, that he put to *Martyrdom* many children, as *Vincetium*, citing *Hugo*, affirmeth. *Falsum* and *Cornelius*, both reverend *Bishops* of *Rome*, hee slew; *Alexander*, *Bishop* of *Ierusalem*, imprisoned to death; and *Great Origen*, after he had scourged him at an *Iron-stake*, his feet hee lockt in the *Stocks* foure paces asunder, where he continued certaine daies, inventing such tortures and strange temptations against the guiltlesse *Christians*, as are most admirable to heare. But long hee ragd not, ere *God* in his iustice tooke revenge, and brake him to peeces as a *Potters* *Peckell*.

(4) For the *Goths* that had invaded *Asyia* and *Thracia*, continuing their *Inruptions* into the bordering *Provinces*, drew him into an *Expedition* for thole

parts, where being betrayed by *Trebonianus Gallus* his owne *Captaine*, hee saw his two sonnes, *Decius* and *Hastulianus*, (whom he had admitted in fellowship of Empire with him, and whose monies wee haue with his expresse) slaine before his face; and himselfe to incombe his body, as a last refuge, in a deepe whirl-poolle; wherein it was so swallowed vp, as it could neuer be after scene; hauing no other honour of *Buriall*, nor place of remembrance where his bones should rest. And according to his *Death*, so was his *Descent*: for neither hath he *Father*, *Mother*, nor *Wife* mentioned (for ought I know) by any *Writer*, (for of *Salustia Barba Orbiana*, it is doubtfull whether to him or his sonne *Hastulian* the were wedded) nor his *Acts* so exactly requir'd, as were those of the preceding *Emperours*, his lianes to deffrueing it, and *God* in his reuenge so punishing it.

(5) *Aurelius Victor* and *Euagrius* say, that hee reigned two yeeres and odder months: but *Euagrius* affirmeth his reigne, not fully two yeeres: most hold him to haue died at the age of fifty, and in the yeere of *Christ*, two hundred fifty two.

Pompeius Latus
Jordani.

Decius and his
Ceteri
Goths.

Decius his reigne
8. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



{ C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS, }
{ CAIVS VIBIVS VOLVSIVS, } Emperours.

CHAPTER XXXIII.



Tr. Gallus
Emp.

Vibius Volusius
Emp.

An. Do. 252.



His overthrow of the *Romans*, and death of *Decius*, in outward semblance was so greuously taken by *Trebonianus Gallus*, that no man was so forward for revenge as hee, and therefore the last in suspicion of *Treason*. The *Armie* hee strengthened, and daily encouraged, pretending great service against thole barbarous *Scythians*, but all to gaine credit and liking of the *Souldiers*, whereby hee soone achieved his desire, and with their applauses was proclaimed *Emperour*.

(2) By *Birth*, he was descended of an honourable Familie in *Rome*: but true honour cannot harbour where dwelleth treachery and falshood, as it was with him, when appointed by *Decius* to bee *Gouernour* of

Asyia, and to keepe the passages from the invading *Goths*, the desire of *Rule* so corrupted his mind, that he plotted with them against the *Armie*, and betrayed the trust and life of his *Soueraigne*.

(3) Neither is he stained with the blot of *Treason* only, but also with a careless and cruell government; for with the *Goths* hee made a dishonourable peace, whereby the *Romans* (who were *Lords* of the *World*) became *Tributarie* by a yearly pay to thole vnciuill *Scythians*, who neuerthelesse in short time brake their *Truce* with him, sacking and spoiling the *Provinces* of *Thracia*, *Asyia*, *Thesalia*, and *Macedonia*: the *Persians* then also by their example enaring *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, made spoile euen thorow *Armenia*.

(4) *Gallus* little regarding their troubles abroad, consumed his time idly in *Rome*, rather as a *Romane* to his owne voluptuous desires, then a *Conquering* *Monarch*; taking for his companion and fellow-*Emperour*, his sonne *Volsianus*, as appeareth by inscription

Pompeius Latus
Jordani.

Gallus elected
Emperour.
His personage.

Gallus perfectus with the Christians.
Enid. Scels. Chap. 13. p. 2.
Naturalist Petrus, since thrown all the world.
Paul. Oregan.

Amilian. Maurus his victor.

tion of Come placed before; a very child, whose yeeres did quit him of any Capitall Crime. But himselfe not perceiving the innocent *Christians*, stumbled (as *Engelhus* saith) at the same stone, and banished them whose *Prayers* preserved his prosperous estate: at which time followed so vniuersall a *Peſtilence*, that no *Province* in the world was free from the same: and his wicked Life and most vnfortunate Raigne halstened now vnto their period.

(5) For the *Goths* continuing their furies beganne, his General *Amilian. Maurus* overthrew them

with a wonderfull slaughter; whereby hee grew so famous, and *Gallus* so contemptible, that the *Souldiers* (ouer affecting change) proclaimed him *Emperour*, the newes whereof soone roused *Gallus* from the Bed of his lasciuious pleasures, and with his sonne entered the quarrell against *Amilianus*, whose fortune was to slay them both in fight, the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation, two hundred fifty three, after hee had reigned not fully two yeeres, and liued (as *Victor* testifieth) forty and seuen: whereupon the *Armes* joining their forces together, conferred the *Imperiall* Title and *Ensignes* vpon the *Conquerour*.

Gallus and his sonne flaine.
Europ.
Enid. Scels. Chap. 13. p. 2.



C. IULIVS AEMILIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Amilianus Maurus Emp.



An. Do. 253.



Emilianus succeeding *Gallus* by the only election of the *African* *Armes*, was by birth an *African* in the *Province* *Mauritania*, of *Parentage* base and obscure; who being risen by the *Warres* from meane places of service, and no better then a *Common*

Amilian. Maurus his descent.

Souldier, aspired to the charge and credit of a *Captaine* *Generall*.

(2) His *Election* at first was contradicted by the *Italian* *Bands*, in fauour of *Valerianus* their owne *Leader*, whom they sought to raise *Emperour*, the *Senate* also inclining thereto, the fame of the man among them was so renowned. The most voices therefore heard on his side. Some haue rather accounted *Emilianus* an *Vsurper*, then ranked him in the catalogue of lawfull *Emperours*.

Europian.

(3) But seeing *Europian* doth allow him the place, we are not to dispute his title or claime: only his short

time of gouernment admitteth no matters of large discourse, being cut off in the budde, before the graft had time to spring. For his *Armes* disliking what themselves had done, and hearing of the worths and election of *Valerianus*, laid down their weapons born in his defense, and tumultuously murdered him in the heat of their bloods, after hee had reigned in name, without action, the space almost of foure months.

Amilian. Maurus his end, and continuance of his reign.

(4) So vnconstant is the state of *worldly* felicity, and may bee compared to a malleable *skappe*, which without *Taskle* is left to the merie of the raging *Sea*, that is one while caried with the faire winde of hope towards the *hauen* of wished desires, but straightwaies overwhelmed with the waues of despair: and most especially him that is borne vpon the opinions of the giddy multitude, now carried aloft vpon the flouds of their fawning flatteries, and anon left in the sands of their retiring ebbs, with a sudden shipwracke of all their fore-gone fortunes. And these adventures too soone *Amilianus* felt, who the same yeere that hee thus put forth to *Sea*, lost all his adventure, and therewith his life, *Anno* 253.



P. LICINIVS VALERIANVS.

CHAPTER XX XV.

Anno Dom.
254.

Herodotus in Clio.



Foer the saying of the wife *Atthemian Selas* (spoken to *Crispus* the rich king of *Lydia*) was true, That no man can be happy before the day of his death: then most truly may it be verified of this *Valerianus* the next succeeding *Emperour*: whose yeeres were multiplied with increase of honour, vntill they came to fceuty and seuen, but then were clouded with such ignominious miseries, as the like had neuer hapned to any *Romaine Emperour* before him, and (I may well say) to no other Monarch in the world before liuing: Such is the Ordinance of our great God, sometimes from the *Dunghill* to raise men of low degree, and to place them with *Princes* in the *Chaire of Maiestie*; then againe to bring down the *Mighty* from their *Seate of Glory*, & to leaue them chained with the poorest *Captiues*, & basest *Vassals*. For such was the *State* of that *Great & Proud King of Babel*, who from the height of *Maiesty* fell into the cōditions of an vnreasonable Beast. And so was it with *Valerianus*, though not vterly abandoned fro the *Societie of men*, as *Babels King* was: yet was he caried *Captiue* vnto a Nation whose *Society* was scarce humane, and where his viage was more then barbarous.

(2) This man was both nobly descended, and of so great eſtreme among the *Romans*, that beeing but a priuate, and then also absent, they chose him for their *Censur*, an Office of high dignitie, conferred euer vpon the Best, as *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the *History* of his Life, hath declared. *Eusebius* reporteth his beginning to haue bene gracious and milde towards the *Christians*: about any of his Ancestors whatsoever; yea even those who were themselves openly accounted *Christians*: in somuch, that his Clemencie was their *Protection*, and his Court the *Sanctuarie* of their safeties. But *Satan* (whose hatred sleepeth not) stirred vp an *Egyptian Sorcerer* against them, who fo enchanted the *Emperors* heart, that with great crueltie he began the *Eighth Persecution*, & so raged, that some haue appropriated the sayings of the *Apocalyps* in the thirteenth chapter vnto him, as to whom power was giuen for twa and fower monethes ouer the *Saints of God*, and a mouth to utter great blasphemies: Of which opinion is the ancient *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. Many indeed were the *Martyrs* that he caused with horrible tortures to die, and more had done, if the iust reuenging hand of God had not cut him off.

(3) For *Sapor* the fange King of *Perſia*, making great spoile in *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, drew *Valerian* from *Rome* into *Mesopotamia*, to withstand his rage, where striking Battell with him was leſſe (either by *Treſſon* or Chance) without sufficient Guard to secure his Person, and was there taken *Prisoner* by the

Perſians, hauing then reigned seuen yeeres (whereof two were spent in spilling of the blood of *Saints*) and thence forward, the rest of his life was enthralled to a most miserable and mercilesse seritude: For the *Tyrannizing Perſian* putt vp with this fortunate gale, to an excessive swelling of pride; whenſoeuer he was disposed to take *Horſe*, made *Valerianus* his *Foot-stole*, causing this *Greatest Monarch of the World* to whom all *Nations* did homage, to bow downe his necke and backe for himſelfe thereon to tread, and mount into his *Saddle*: In which vnſufferable ſlaucerie his old body indured without releaſe, to the end of his most wretched life, which by some *Authors* account was full seuen yeeres more; the very time of the *Babylonian Kings* abasement.

(4) But herein the misery of *Valerianus* is much greater then *Nabuchadnezzars* was, in that God both restored him to his former glory, and induced him with heavenly grace to couſelle his ſinner; whereas *Valerianus* perished in the desperate calamitie whereinto he was fallen; as *Eusebius* sheweth in these words: And then *Valerian*, ſerſamuch as thou haſt exerceiſed the ſame crueltie in murdering the ſubiects of God, therefore haſt proued vnto vs the righteous Iudgement of God: in that thy ſelfe waſt bound on Chaires, and caried eu offer a Captiue Slave with thy Glorious Purple and thy Imperiall Attire, & as long as commanded by *Sapor* King of the *Perſians*, to be ſlaine, & powdered with ſalt, haſt ſet vp vnto all men a perpetuall Monument of thine own wretched deſſe.

(5) How vnſpeakable the cruelties were which this wretched *Emperour* endured by that Tyrant, may hence appeare, in that not only those which were *Alies* to the *Romaine Empire*, but also the *Barbarous Kings*, and friends of *Sapor* were moued with commiseration, and diſſaile, as *Trebell. Pollio* prometh by their own letters sent for his releaſe, the copies whereof hee there produceth. Other *Princes* also of the *East*, as of the *Babrians*, *Arabians*, *Siberians*, and *Sythians*, inhabiting *Mount Taurus*, had ſuch ſenſe of their ignominious viages, that they disdaind to receiue the letters from *Sapor* of his *Victories* ſucceſſe, and ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, proffering their aſſiſtance for the redemption of their *Emperour*; yet all auailed not, and *Sapor* held ſtill his *Prisoner*, abſorbing nothing either of his owne pride, or his *Captiues* miſerie, but in the end (ſo helthie a ſend is reuenge) commanded his *Byro* to be pulled out, and ſo for age and griefe he died, as *Eusebius* ſaith: being, as *Agathas* (a writer of credit) reporteth, ſlaied aboue by direction of this vnhumane King. Thus did God puniſh one Tyrant by another, and thus himſelfe felt thoſe torments vnpietied, which hee had without piete inflicted on others. The race of whose *Reigne* is accounted to bee ſeuen yeeres before his *Captiuitie*, wherein hee liued almoſt ſo long as *Gallienus* his ſonne ſit *Emperour*, and died in the yeere two hundred ſixty one.

Trebell. Pollio.

Pamph. Lxxix.

Aurel. in Viſit.

Eusebius in form. ad Constantium Tenthian.

Valerianus had his Byro pulled out.

Ficard abou.

P. LICINIVS GALIENVS.

CHAPTER XXXVI.



Alerian now Captive in *Perſia* (while *Odenatus* grasping the advantage, tooke upon him the Empire of the East) & the now guide-lesse *Armie* of *Rome*, occupied onely in spoile and mainie, their leaders in faction, and the whole State astonished in affrighted

terror and amazement) *Babſa* (a gallant gentleman) first of the *Romans* moved with the instant miserie of the *Common-wealth*, resolved by electing anew an *Emperour*, to prevent the apparant ruine of his owne Countrey: yet neuer in this his worthe resolution, once dreamed of *Gallienus*, (though before chosen *Augustus* in the full fortune of his father) but the affection of the *Armie* forcibly settled the Garland upon *Macrian* and his two sonnes, as the most worthe; who with his eldest not long after subdued by *Aurélius* usurping *Syria* (against *Gallienus* then received *Soveraigne* by the *Roman Senate*) and his youngest betrayed to murder by plot of *Odenatus*, left the distracted Empire to those three, of which the last disdaining much the indignitie offered to the State of *Rome*, by that base captivitie of *Alerian*, whose calamity nothing touched the sense of his vnaturall sonne, entered a warre against the *Perſians*, and tooke from them their Cities *Nisibis* and *Carræ*. But such was the moderation of this man, that although hee had power of an independent Soveraignie, yet he held still a good correspondence and intelligence in all his actions of Government, with *Gallienus*, to whom hee first (as monument of *Victorie* and *Reuenge*) such of the *Perſian Nobles* as became his Prisoners: and thus *Odenatus* did conquer, and *Gallienus* triumph. But such was the baseness of the other, that when he could not by any Princely vertue in himselfe, eclipse the true merit of *Odenatus*, hee endeavored to deface by treacherie what he could not suppress by valour. But in this failing, hee made him then (through feare) copartner of his Empire, killing him *Augustus*, and stamping his face and the *Perſian Triumph* upon the publicke Coin of the State, by approbation of the *Senate*, leaving him alone to delude those *Frontiers* of the Empire, whilest himselfe, neither regarding his old fathers miseries, (most miserable that hee had so vnaturall a sonne) the dishonour of the *Roman State*, nor the reuolt of the *Provinces*, whereof newes was daily brought him, spent his vnprincely thoughts vpon fruitlesse devices, as in reseruing sundry *Fruits* and *Flowers*, that they might grow Greene and flourish all seasons of the yeere; and (which was worse) vpon women and wanton dalliance.

Yet had hee a Ladie of excellent beauty and allurements, *Coruſia Saluina Pipara*, to his wife, the daughter of the King of the *Mercmanns*, whose feature wee finde often minted vpon her Monies. His sonne by her *Sologimus* hee adopted *Cæſar*, of whom there is no more remembered in *Storie*, then that hee was borne noble, trained vp princely, and perished through the errors of his father, and not his owne. And to his brother *Licinivs Valerianus* (to whom the father had giuen the title of *Cæſar*) hee added the honour of *Augustus*. And therefore we haue not held it improper, to adioine to his their monies in the front of his life.

(2) The calamities of this *Emperours* time were so many, as almost exceed credit: and *Signes* shewed both in the *Heauens* and the *Earth*, manifested his wrath, that fate vpon the Throne of *Laffer*, from whose presence issued *Thunderings*, *Lightnings*, and *Voices*. For (by Writers of best credit) the *Sunne* was clouded as vnder sackcloth, and not seen for many daies together. *Earth-quakes* great, and fearfully reſounding, ouerthrew Cities and other edifices, shaking the ground so terribly, that wall *Caues*, and hideous gaping bowels of the earth were thereby laid open, and whereout (no lesse strangely) flowed great streames of salt waters. The *Earth* roared, and seemed to thunder, when there was no voice heard in the air. The *Sea* ouer-swelled her banks, and brake into many *Continents*, drowning *Countries*, *Cities*, and *People*: and (besides all these) so violent a *Pestilence* raged, that in *Rome* no lesse then 5. thousand persons died in a day.

(3) These miseries somewhat moued this *Heathenish Emperour* to remorse: and thinking thereby to pacifie the wrath of the *Diuine Powers*, hee slated the *Persecutions* of the *Christians*, lending out his Edicts in fauour of them. For not only the *Heauens*, *Earth*, and *Sea* declared the anger of their God, out of whose mouth went a two-edged sword, but the *Provinces* also seemed to be removed out of their places. The *Souldiers* of all parts electing their owne *Generalls*, advanced no lesse then *Therty* at once, who assumed the title of *Emperours*, but are recorded to *Posterities* by the name of *Usurping Tyrants*. And as they were all deadly opposite each to other, so were they jointly almost all bent against *Gallienus*; whereby the *Roman Empire* was more oppressed with her owne forces, then euer it had been by forraigne *Powers*. And since fixe of them assumed the *Purple Robe* in this *Wheresome* Angle of the Empire, it will not be impertinent to the course of *Story*, with a light touch to remember them, and to expresse their *Miseries*, as we haue done the rest of those that held the reines of government in these parts of the *Roman World*.

An. Do. 261.

Rome in distress, hence for election of an *Emperour*.

Macrianus with his sonnes elected, subdued and Gaine.

1. *Aurélius* in *Syria*.
2. *Gallienus* in *Rome*.
3. *Odenatus* in the East.
Odenatus ouer-come the *Perſians*.

Gallienus sedeth *Odenatus* his death.

Apoc. 4. 1.
Trib. 6. *Pellis*.
Sonne light in the *Heauens*.

Green and high.
by *Earth-quakes*.

Gallienus stated the persecutions of the *Christians*.
Apoc. 1. 16.

Thirty *Emperours* in once.



M. Calfius Labienus Posthumus after the death of *Salustianus* (who was committed to his education by *Gallienus*) assumed the Empire, by aide and encouragement of those of *Gallus*, over whom he had born the office of lieutenancy by fauour of *Valerian* the Emperour. And these againe, as all Populars greedie of Innovation from him and *Iunius Calfius Posthumus* his sonne, tooke both honour and life, after ten yeares gouernment. This opportunity either made by *L. Albinus*, of sildy taken, mounted him vp with ease into that Emperiall throne, in which he late not with like fortune of continuance, though of conclusion. To this man succeeded together, *M. Aurelius Valerianus*, and *Lucius* his son; both in a Tumult neere *Calan* by their souldiours marched. And had not the inordinate lust of the elder, blemished his other vertues, he had to al the most excellent Emperors bin nothing inferior, in the best of their other verraces.

(7) The restless humor now of the giddy Commons, next felch it selfe vpon *Aurelius Maximus*, a soveraigne furible in his meane condition to their base affections (for he was no better then a Blacksmith) yet to him a man of their own meanes & making, they were no lesse vnconstant and cruel, then to the reits: after three daies, setting an end of his gouernment, with a sword of his own forging. And therefore *Probus Tacitus*, the father and sonne, though ascending the throne of Maicstie, with the great applause of that people, and filling it vp with much meric and happy successe of their own, when they considered the insufferable infolenacies and desperate practices of that prophane ranke, chose rather to adorne *Aurilian* Triumph, in a voluntarie captiuitie, then to liue and rule

at the deuotion of a lawlesse multitude. And these times seemed no lesse fatally bent to bloud, disorder, and tyranny in other parts as well as these: For the *Pannonians* raised *Ingenius*: The *Mysians*, *A. Regilianus*: The *Egyptians*, *Amilianus*: In *Africa* *Celsus* was proclaimed: In *Silyricum*, *Aureolus*: and in the *East*, *Odaenathus* (a man the more famous for *Zenobia*, his glorious and magnanimous Wife, whose valour was so feared of *Gallienus*, that to make him his, hee admitted him his Fellow-Emperour, with the *Sile of Angustus* as we haue remembered before.) The *Germanis* innade *Italy*: The *Goths* waite *Greece*, *Pontus* and *Asia*: The *Samaritians* seize *Anfricht* and *Hungary*: The *Persians* robbe *Syria*: The *Saxons* breake into *Gallia*: The *Franks* into *Spain*: In a word, all are in vproares, the second seale opened, and the Red-horse prepared for Battale, whose Rider had received a great and sharpe Sword, with Commission giuen him to take Peace from the Earth: and these times of troubles are so famous in Scorie, and the reuolutions of *Acts* so agreeable to the words of the *Prophesies*, that they may seeme iustly a most exact accomplishment of that sacred vision.

(8) Finally, when *Gallienus* had reigned from his first Associating with his Father the terme of fiftene yeeres, *Martian*, *Heracianus*, and *Ceremonius*, three of his principall Captaines, (compounding together that one of them should bee Emperour) plotted his death, whiles hee besieged the *Citie Milan*, where they traiterously murdered him, the yeere of our Lord two hundred sixty nine, after that hee had suffered the Empire to be rent in peeces, and vsurped by many *Ferraine* and barbarous Nations.

Pomp. Latius.

** Pueri Grief.
* Calidus.
* Iunonides.
* Iulianus.*

Apoc. 6.4.

*Gallienus times
prophecied of by
the Evangelist
S. Iohn.*

*Gallienus death and con-
sequence of his
reigne.*



M. AVRELIVS FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.



Fl. Claudius Emp.

An. Do. 269.



OMES glory thus declining, and the Imperiall Foundations thus undermined, the aspiring tops of all that *beautifull frame* began to shake, and to forebode the signes of her approaching fall. And had not the *Fates* even at that instant raised a stay to vnderprop the *Waller*, those mounted *Tempes* which so long had beased the *Sky*, had bene laid level with the *Ground*, and made the ruins of All-consuming Time.

(2) For whereas by the strange confusions vnder the late Emperour, the *Eagles* body was burdened with the weight of those *thirty heads* at once; of which number though many of them by their owne mutual reasoning were consumed before the death of *Galenus*, yet the mightiest *Aurelius* Gouverneur of *Dalmatia*, *Tetrus*, and *Vitellius*, who held *Britaine* and *Gallia*; and *Zenobia* (the *Heretic Queen* and wife of *Odenat*) all the *Ealy*, to omit the *Murderers of Galienus*; that durst not make their claime, (their deed so ill digested) all these were still remaining and strong, at such times *Flavius Claudius* by the *Souldiers* was elected before the *Waller of Milan*, and confirmed with much joy by the *Senate* in *Rome*.

(3) This *Flavius* was descended of noble *Parentage*, out of *Dalmatia*, by some; or as others say, of *Dardania*, and sprung from the *Trasian* *Blond*. But *Aurelius Vilius* will haue him the sonne of *Gordianus* the Emperour before spoken of. Howsoever, a most worthy man he was, an excellent Capitaine, of singular cominence, a iust Iudge, a lover of strangers, severe to the wicked, but most benigne to the vertuous: so that we may well say, *he Rome was a new world*; or at least, *to the World was a new Rome*.

(4) His first Expedition was against *Aurelius*, that held *Milum*, whom he there flew, and joined his *Souldiers* to his owne strength. But preferring the generall good before his particular quiet, he addressed his waies for the *East*, against the *Goths*, who (as *Iordanes* their *Story-writer* reporteth) had infected those parts of the Empire (for intestine yeeres continuance) with continuall irruptions, and had now lately entered friendship with many other like barbarous *Nations*, invading *Thracia*, and the Countries before them, even vnto *Macedonia*: and thence taking their way thorow *Hungarie*, came downe the *Riuer Danubius*, with two thousand *Sail* of *Ships*, fraught with *Monition* and *Mee*. To meet these, *Claudius* prepared: but before his *Encounter*, he wrote thus to the *Senate*:

(5) "Reverend Fathers and Reverend Lords, vnto thisland yefor certaine, that three hundred and twenty thousand men of *Warre* are entered our *Confinnes*, whose weight doeth seeme to burden the Earth it

"life, and whose warre-like preparations make these parts of the Empire to tremble and quake; with whom I am now to strike Battle: wherein if I Conquell be mine, the joy will be yours. But if I fall, yet I pray remember that I fight after *Galenus* hath resigned, and rent the strength of the *Romans* in these remote *Provinces*, and after the *Rebellions* of *Labianus*, *Pesthianus*, *Eugenius*, *Regilianus*, *Celsus*, and others, who haue so weakened the sinewes of our *Armes*, and broken the *Swords* and *Leaves* of our defense, that I may well say, wee want, if not strength, yet weapons wherewithall to fight. And to our shame be it spoken, *Zenobia* a *Woman* commands all our *Crafts-men*, and bends them against our vnarmed breith. How small focer therefore our performance shall becom this seruice, repaite it (I pray) for great, and with our proceeding may fort to the weale of the Empire,

(6) Which done, with no daunted spirit he entered Battle, and with more then wonted courage fought so valiantly, that he flew and tooke *Prisoners*, no the number of three hundred thousand fighting men, with two thousand *Shippes* laden with *Monition*, so that whole houses were filled to their toppes with *Targets*, *Shields*, *Swords*, and *Lances*, and other abiments for Warre, wherof he wrote againe to *Rome*: and following the *Enemie* with successe of *Victorie*, in *Thracia* neere *Byzantium*, in *Macedonia* neere *Thessalonica*, drove the *Goths* out of those parts which they had so long infected, and restored the wonted bounds of the Empire. Thence marching into *Germanie*, neere the *Lake* called *Garda*, gaue that revolted *Nation* a great overthrow, where (as *Estropius* and *Vilius* doe report) hee vanquished two thousand of those strong *Germans*, and there established againe their subiection to the *Romans* power. And now minding to goe forward against *Vitellius* and the pusillant *Zenobia*, *Flavius* did first cut off his purpose, and therefore alter his life: a thing very strange and rare in that age, as by the course of their reignes wee haue hitherto seene, not that so great a *Monarch* should die, (they being all of the same earthly mould that mortall men are) but that in those daies a *Roman Emperour* should die in his bed, as other men doe, of a natural death.

(7) Hee was of personage tall, his bodie well composed and strong, bright and cleere eyes, his face great and full; and of life most temperate and chaste. Hee reigned one yeere, tenne moneths, and fifteene daies, and died the fourth of *February*, in the yeere of *Christ*, two hundred fiftie one. His *Statue* of *Gold* was set vp in the *Capitol*, and his *Target* of the same metall hung vp in the *Senate-house*, himselfe (in honour of his admired worth) placed among the *Romane Emperours* that were deified for *Gods*: such an estimation and lone did his vertuous life procure vnto him euen after his death.

Goths and
quell.

Flavius Claudius
died of natural
death.

His personage
and qualities.

M. AVRELIUS. QVINTILIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A. Quintilius
Emper.

An. Do. 371.

Europe.



Quintilius, the Brother of *Claudius*, and *Vice-Roy* in his absence for the Guard of *Italy*, was by the *Arms* whereof hee had command, proclaimed *Emperor* immediately vpon the *News* of *Claudius* his death: The *Senate* as idly confirming his *Election*,

as they were sorrowfull for their losse of his most worthy Brother. Brethren indeed they were by nature, and in conditions not much vnlike: so that what seemed to bee past in the one, was in the other supplied and still remaining: For this *M. Aurelius Quintilius*, was both wife for *Civil Government*, and experienced for *Warres*, wanting no complements of an absolute Prince.

(2) But long his glasse stood not without a turne, nor his Fortunes fanning without a frowne. For the

victorious *Souldiers* which in his expeditions had followed *Claudius*, and thought themselves worthy of the first voyce in *Electiō*, proclaimed *Aurelianus* for *Emperor*, a most valiant *Captain*; and of whose prowess there had been so sufficient experience, as that *Quintilius* knew hee could not stand against him.

And therefore mistrusting the strength of his *Title*, and affections of his *Souldiers*, reputed it ignominious for a noble minde, to die with lesse honour then he attained vnto, and enioied by his life: and therefore resolving to die an *Emperor*, chose rather by a voluntary cutting of his own veins, to powre out his life with his blood, then to hazard the chance of vncertaine warres, or to returne to his private estate.

And thus no longer reigning then seuen teen daies, (which short time could minister little matter of larger discourse) hee died with his brother the same moneth of *February* the twentieth day, and yeere of *Christ* his incarnation, two hundred seauentic one.

Quintilius cut
his own veins,
and so died to
death.He reigned but
seuenteen daies.L. DOMITIVS AVRELIVS VALER.
AVRELIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

L. Aurelianus
Emper.

An. Do. 272.



Short was the *Reigne* of the last *Emperor Quintilius*, that *Aurelianus* who followed him may be said to be the *Successor* of *Claudius*, and not of him: being elected by his *Legions* in the *East*, as soone as the other had bene in *Italy* (though confirmed before him of the *Senate* in *Rome*) continued still his riuall for *Majestic*, and attained the top of that high see

Gole, whereof *Quintilius* failed, before his foot had well mounted the first step.

(2) This *Valerius Aurelianus* was of parentage neither honourable nor rich, and yet his fortunes carried him to the height of both. Some recount his birth was of *Dacia*; others of *Myria*; both so doubtful that *Flavius Vopiscus*, (the copious *Writer* of his *Life*) leaves it vndecided, and to the censure of his Readers. His risings were by the *Warres*; wherunto from his child-hood hee had a naturall inclination; and for continuall carrying of his weapons, was commonlie called *Aurelianus* the *Sword-bearer*.

Aurelianus his
dilect.

Fl. Vop.

(1) His

(3) His service was sufficiently known to the Generals of divers Provinces, who had forty sundry times employed him in the charge of a *Centurion* and under *Claudius in Persia* he was the *Cornet* of the *Harle*. In the warres of *Sarmatia* he is reported to have slain forty Enemies with his owne hands in one day; and at other severall times, to the number of nine hundred men, as both *Pyrrhus* and *Theodosius* have affirmed. And generally so famous were his deeds, both before he was *Cesar*, and after, as that he is by some compared with *Julius* and *Alexander*.

(4) Upon the ratifying of his election by the Senate at *Rome*, hee halted not thither to be saluted and enthralled *Emperour*, but forthwith marched against the *Sarmatians* and *Sarmates*, who force infested the Empire with warres; and having foore subdued them, and quieted those parts, in great haste hee came into *Italy* against the *Germans*, who with *Fire* and *Sword* had gone as farre as *Milan*; and them likewise with great valour hee forced thence. Then entering *Rome* with great pompe, caused the *Wall* to be repaired and enlarged, which was not lawfull but onely for *Vitellius* *Emperour*. But long hee staid not, ere he returned into *Syria*, against the stout *Queen Zenobia*, whole brave resolutions, and warlike power for fight, her Letter in answer unto him (when being forcibly tired, hee professed her wealth, life and liberty to yeeld) doth manifestly declare: the tenour thereof being as followeth.

(1) "Zenobia, the most mighty *Eastern Queen*, to *Aurelianus*, *Roman Angulus*, sendeth greeting.
 "Neuer *Captaine* to this day, in vying *Power* in stead of *Spurs*, or filed *Words* for *weapons points*, hath more sufficiently discharged the parts of Warre, then thou to me in Writ hast done: wherein I well perceive thy drift, and blame thee not, that least me not a Woman: which Sex you men make subjects only by your smoothing tongues. But know, *Angulus*, thou dealest not with a *Roman Dame*, nor with her who upon bafe conditions will subscribe her honour; but with *Zenobia*, the *Palmyrene* *Queen*, in whose womanly breast the manly heart of great *Othman* doth still live and lie. These concurring teardrops doe ill befeme a Campe, and worse him who would be ruled a *Mar*. But yet thy *Golden Shewre* hath rained beside our Lappe, nor wee a *Pen* to mee thee for thy sport, but with our *Launce* in hand to trie our lawfull right, and with our *Swords* to answer thy demands in blood. I am a Woman; so was *Tomyris*; thou knowest the rest: in *Armes* against *Angulus*, so was *Cleopatra*, who rather chose to sting her selfe to death, then live a *Slave* (though a Prince) under great *Othman*. Art thou his better? thou art decreed: or I her worse? nothing left: who from her person doe derive my *Pedegree*, and from her courage will maintaine my cause. I am a *Queen*, and rainge be belowd, was *Rome* *Empress*, obeyed and honoured; and the wife of *Othman*, whom all you *Romans* greatly feared. Are my powers weak? The *Perfians* (whose strength you well have tried) will supplie. Are my *Souldiers* few? The *Sarmatians* have more that will assist: and the *Armenians* are wholly at my command. If then *Theodosius* and *Robbers* in *Syria* were sufficient to overthrow thine *Armes*, what hope is left thee to escape our hands, when all the force our strengths shall be thus conjoined in one? Therefore the same offers that

"to me thou hast sent, the same to thee I heere re-
 "turne, and will performe, if thou in time embrace
 "this truce.

(6) This haughtie answer of that undaunted *Queen*, put more fire to the furie of *Aurelianus*, who tooke the Letter in such scorn, that hee threatened death to the *Writer*, (whom hee supposed to be *Longinus* the *Philosopher*, who was alwaies with her, and her *Instructer*) which afterwards hee did accomplish: for delivring her severall *Asis* before they could meeete together, and belieging *Palmyra* her strong Citie, hee brought the same to such distresse, that in the end hee tooke her *Captive*; and glad of such a prey, carried her himselfe to *Rome*, where following his *Chariot* of *Triumph*, arrived in *Tribunes* and richett *Robes* of price, hee was lead his *Prisoner* in *Chaires* of *Gold*: upon wholl presence the Spectatores with admirations so much gazed, that somewhat hee dimmed the *Majestie* of *Aurelianus*: for hee is said to be exceedingly fair, though not very white, but somewhat browne: her eyes blacke and bright, her teeth shining like pearles, her bodie tall, and of most stately proportion, her countenance modest, milde, and pleasing, her voice sweet, her conversation honest, her minde chaste, and body continent, wise, temperate, and learned in the *Greeke*, *Latine*, and *Egyptian* tongues. Yea the achievement of this Conquest was held so notable, that hee repeated himselfe the *Rehearser* of the *Eall*, as it appeareth by the reuerie of his money here prefixed in the entrance of his raigne.

(7) These Acts of *Aurelianus* made him so famous abroad, and feared at home, that *Tetricus* which had held out against *Galvus*, came in vnder his protection, holding it more safe to be a *Slave* in quiet, then a *Commander* against an Opposite of so invincible a minde: by whom thereupon hee was made *Governour* of *Campania*, and of other Provinces in *Italy*.

(8) Hitherto this *Emperours* successes were very prosperous (we may well suppose) for his indulgence to the *Christians*, whose assemblies hee permitted, and whole *Assemblies* hee so favoured, that at their request hee banished *Paulus Samosatensis* the *Heretic* out of their *Council*, and published an *Edict* in the behalfe of their *Synode*. But afterward *Satan* minding to sift the *Wheat*, that the *Chaffe* might be his, stirred up this *Emperour* to raise the *Ninth Persecution*, and to send forth his *Edict* for the destruction of *Gods Saints*; which whilst hee was in petting, and about to set his hand and seale, a Thunderbolt from *Heaven* strooke into his presence, and so neere unto his person, that all accounted him to be therewith slaine, God warning him by this his *Adviser* to be wife: lest hee perished in his own wayes; as shortly after hee did, being slaine by his *Servants*, through the Treason of *Masellus* his *Secretary*, the nine and twentieth day of *February* following, neere unto the *Chise* *Beautifull*, when hee had fate *1* *superior* four yeeres, eleven months, and seven daies, the yeere of our happinesse, two hundred twenty six.

(9) Hee was of stature tall, of body well shaped, a pleasing countenance, and of a seemely presence, a great feeder, and very severe, whereby hee was as much feared as beloved, and therefore reported to be a good *Physician*, but that hee ministered too hater *Phisians*; and was Canniball after his death among the holy *Emperours*: in the second yeere of whose raigne, the Great *Confusion* of *Italy* in *Britaine* was borne.

Historians compare him with Caesar and Alexander.

Aurelianus enlarged the walls of Rome.

Chap. 40. Zenobia faith the bonds tied him, and put him to flight this.

*The great Ciele Palmyra (which is called) was built by King Sargon, whence their Nations took the name. It was destroyed by the Persians King Darius in the middle becomen and the Roman Empire.

Ovid Metam. 1.

*Tomyris was valiant Sythian Queen, who slew King Cyrus, and all his host, and filling a vessel with blood, did call on Cyrus dead, saying, Thou hast shown that thou, now drink thy fill, To this dead Zenobia alive.

Zenobia was quitted.

Zenobia her beauty.

Flav. Joseph.

English and High Latin copy. Paul Orosius. Aurelius was with a laurel wreath, a picture of the Christians. Aurelianus lived with a Thunderbolt from Heaven. P. 1. 1. 10.

Aurelianus slain.

Armenian.

16. Century of body and mind.

Decline.



M. CLAVDIVS TACITVS.

CHAPTER XL.



Claudius Tacitus Emp.

An. Do. 276.

Aurelianus being dead no man thought to be Emperor.

Seneca and Sordanius being courtiers who should choose the Emperor.

Emilia Lepida, sister of Claudius.

Claudius Tacitus elected Emperor.



He former seditions ended by Aurelianus, and the state of the Empire remaining now in quiet, no man appeared to sue, much less tumultuouse to strive for that Royal Diadem; but all the great Commanders (as though they made courtesie in giving way each vnto others) stood at the foot of Matellus; no man attempting higher to mount. The soldiers sent to the Senate to designe the man whom they best liked; the Senate requested the soldiers to elect him whom they held worthiest; in which respectiue compliments, and most kinde correspondence of all parts, eight moneths passed with a peaceable Interregnum, as writers report.

(2) It seemeth, the fresh sense and fearefull experiences of the former heady proceedings, made men more wise, then to seeke their owne deaths, and especially the Generals to be better aduised, then to ruine desperately vpon their owne destructions. A change incredible, that Thirre ere whiles would needs be listed Emperours, among the tumultuous Soldiers (though they were fure to buy the vñ of that name with their dearest blood) and now one now in peace could bee found, either hally to seeke it, or verie willing to accept it.

(3) At last both Senate and Soldiers, having in their eye M. Claudius Tacitus, a man very Noble and of Consular degree, of great age, singular learning, & long experience in Magistracie; him by a ioint and conspiring suffrage, they all elected to their Empire: but he having before hand some inkling of this their purpose, got him out of the way, liuing very secretly two moneths at his Rurall Mannor, flying (saith Pappian) that high dignity which he fore-saw would proue his overthrow. And when they did by Embassages of men sollicite him to accept of their Election; sending him the Ensignes and Stile of Augustus: hee againe returned them, though with harty thanks, yet absolute denall, alledging by reason of his age and infirmities, that hee was currey way vnable to discharge their great expectation.

(4) But after much inter-courte, and many intrigates passed, at length (the necessity of the State so requiring) he accepted their offer, though not with

much contentment to himself, who knew the weight of so great titles would proue heavy & alwayes dangerous for him to beare, but with vnspokeable ioy, was receiued by the whole Senate, which promoted all blessed hopes to the state vnder so worthy, so wise, so vertuous, learned, and so iust an Emperour.

(5) For as before his aduancement, he was of Exemplary composednes and vertuous disposition, so in this high Estate, his life was temperate, and without a pride, & so desirous to be a Preceder of moderation, & singularity vnto others, as that he would not permit his Emperre to weare any Jewels of high price, nor to vie other customeable superfluities, or excess in his owne house. For learning and learned men, whom he euer embraced in his priuate Estate, hee now by all means endeavored to honour and aduance, and publickly professed that what Imperiall vertues hee had, hee was so ascribe them to his study of good letters: For which cause, hee was wont to call Cornelius Tacitus (that worthiest Historian of the Romans State) his Father, and commanded his workes to be carefully preferred in eury Library throughout the Empire; and ten times eury yeare to be transcribed on publique cost. All which notwithstanding, many of that worthy Authors Bookes haue since miscaried.

(6) But his vertues were too great for the world long to enioy: and sith his Reigne was but short, it is bootlesse to lengthen it with long discourses: For his Peace continued without any memory of Warres; and his short time (wherein hee did nothing without consent of the Senate) was spent rather reforming other mens vices, and abuses of the Lawes and State, then in displaying his owne vertues; which doubtlesse (if their faire stream had not bene vntimely stoppt) would haue proued incomparable to any his fore-goes, and vnmachable by any his followers. What death hee died is left vncertaine; Estrapius thinketh him slaine, by his rebellious soldiers in Asia, vpon his voyage against the Persians: but Priſter reporteth that hee died a naturall death, and that of a burning-feuer, in the cite of Tharsus: And Flautus Papiſtus, (who wrote his life) saith his death came vpon a furcharge of griefe, by reason of factions; whereby (the infirmities of his age thereto helping) his vnderstanding was crazed, and his heart broken, whereof hee died, when he had reigned six moneths, and twenty daies, the yeare of Christ Iesus, one hundred fentie six.

Claudius Tacitus his reuerce.

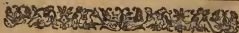
Claudius Tacitus his care in preserving the works of Cornelius Tacitus.

Emilia Lepida.

Emilia Lepida.

Priſter.

Claudius Tacitus his Reuerce.



M. ANNIVS FLORIANVS.

CHAPTER XL1.

M. An. Flori-
anus Emp.

An. Do. 277.

Florianus made
himself Em-
peror.

And although in all other princely parts hee was not much unlike his brother, yet having so great an Oppolite as *Probus* was, on whom the *Eastern Armie* had conferred the same Title, the blossomes of his conceited hope withered even in the budde, and

Of sooner was the death of *Tacitus* disguised, but his brother *Florianus* (much unlike him in that point) rooke vpon him the Name and *Authoritie Imperiall*, without expecting any clection either of *Senate* or *Souldiers*, and therefore not likely long to stand sure.

perished before they had any time of growth.

(2) For no sooner came to his eares the newes of *Probus* his election, but he found that heady and precipitate attempts were pleasing in their *Beginnings*, but full of difficulties in their *Proceedings*, and most dishonourous in their *Success*: and therefore despairing both of *Men* and *Meanes* to raise the *Building*, whose foundation he had so hastily (but too weakly) laid, he cauled his owne vaines to be cut, as *Quintinus* before him in like case had done, whereby he boldly bled to death, after hee had enioyed a *Titular Soueraigntie* only eightie daies, such *Enterprizes*: but *Papissian* laith, not altogether two months, and thinks him killed by the *Souldiers*, in the *Citie Tharsus* likewise, in the yeere of *Christ* two hundred seventy and seven.

Florianus his
death.

Chap. 38.

Europ. lib. 4.
Papian.
Florianus his
success.

M. AVREL. VALER. PROBUS.

CHAPTER XLII.

Val. Probus
Emp.

An. Do. 277.



HE *Eastern Armie* most potent and famous at the death of *Tacitus*, from thence was expected the new Emperours election, which accordinglie they did, but with much more wisdom and deliberation circumspection, then the *Souldiers* of those times were accustomed to doe. For every Capitaine of the *Armie* singled out his owne Companies, and in severall *Assemblies* exhorted, that all affections laid aside, they would applie their mindes to thinke of the worthiest man, on whom they might conferre their voi-

ces and fauours. At which time, the opinion of *Probus* his worth had so generally possessed the hearts of all men, that the shout and crie of all was vniforme, Let vs haue *Probus* for our Emperour. This being signified to *Rome*, the *Senate* with applause and thanks approoued and confirmed his Election, with additions to his Title, *Augustus*, *The Father of his Country*, and the highest *hishop*. For in those times, even amongst *Heathens*, the sacred Title of a *Bishop* was accounted an additament of honour euen to an Emperour.

(2) He was borne in *Hungarie* in the *Citie Sirmia*, of honourable Parentage, especially by his mothers side. His fathers name was *Maximus*, a man famous in *Military Service*, who died *Tribune* in the warres in *Egypt*: and himselfe very young, but very valorous,

Probus at first the
father of his
Country, and
the highest
Bishop.

His descent.

by the Emperour *Valerianus* (who so loved him for his virtues, that he wiled to say of him, *that of all men he best deserved the name Probus*, that is *virtuous*) was made a *Tribune alio*. In which Office, with great praise he served under *Galienus*, *Aurelianus*, & *Claudianus* the Emperours; under whom besides other exploits he fought severall single-combats to the great honour of himselfe and Country, and received as marks of victories, many Cinicall Crownes, Collars, Bracelets, Launces, Banners, and other Ensignes of Martiall deuotion and Priviledge. Preferred to be *General* in *Africa*, he subdued the *Marmarides*: In Egypt the *Palmerines*, under *Aurelianus* the *Sarmates* and *Germans*; under *Claudianus* the *Gethes*; and in all places so famous for his Acts, that hee was compared with *Hannibal* and *Cæsar*.

(3) His first service after hee became Emperour was in *Gallia*, against the *Germans*, that had made themselves *Lordes* thereof, where in one *Battel*, continuing two daies, he slew *seuer hundred thousand* of them, and recovered *seuerall Cities* from the *Enemy*, as himselfe signified by his own Letters to the *Senate*. After this warring in *Scythia*, he quieted the *Provinces* of *Atacensis*, *Rafina*, and *Polonia*: And curing *Thracia*, did no lesse in *Greece*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Palmyra*, and *Iudea*; whence passing into *Perfia*, hee had honourable compositions of *Narfeus* their mighty King. Whereupon issued for vniuersall Peace, that there were no warres heard of in all the *Provinces* of the *Empire*; inasmuch that it was a common *Prouerbe*, *The very most darst not gaine for feare of Probus*. But long this lasted not, ere hee was disturbed: for the *Egyptians* erected one *Saturinus*, a *Captaine* both wile and valiant, for Emperour, and that to fore against his will, as he was like to be slaine by them for gaine-lying their desires; and by a speech delivered to his Erectors, he made known to them his aduersaries from so dangerous an ambition; to this effect.

"(4) *Fellownes and Friends*, by my whole endeavour I haue alwaies fought to prevent that, which now I see I cannot shunne, I mean the *Thyrus* of *Ataxifus*; which howsoever to others, it may seeme full of glory and securitie, yet to my self, I fore-see it will prove, both base and dangerous. Base, for that I am no more the master of mine owne affections; which hitherto in my private estate were bestowed freely, & where I thought best, but must henceforth be carried at other mens dispose, and cast vpon those that deserve them least. That little time that I was wont to take, in retyring my selfe to my selfe, must now be straitned to serue others; and my thoughts wholly spent to prevent those weapons, which are borne (in them) for my defence, but are (in truth) the keyes of mine Impediments. I cannot go without a *Guard*: I cannot sleepe, without a watch; I cannot eate without a *Talfer*; these are but bonds, to get to a free condition, and neuer needs in a private fortune. That it is dangerous, it is no lesse apparent: for besides the *flour-powder* & *weighty sword*, hanging onely by a *twisted-thred* ouer our heads, *Probus* is not a *Galienus* to compound for the *Diadem*, but to touch his *septer*, is to awake a sleeping Lion: What should moue you then, to stir vp his wrath, to seek my death, and your owne destruction? For assure your selues when I die, I shal not die alone: So all our fame purchased in so many yeeres imployments, shal be lost by this one daies worke: and my Conquests in *Africa*, of the *Mores*, and in *Spain*, branded lastly with the eternall feares and infamie of Rebellion.

(5) These speeches (as *Flavius Vopiscus* the Writer thereof receiued them from the report of his *Grand-father*, who was there present and heard them) could nothing at all diuert the resolution of the *Souldiers*, but that they persisted and maintained their Election against *Probus*: who vpon notice thereof halting toward them with a mighty power, offered them pardon, as one vnwilling to shed *Ciuill-blood*, or to lose so worthy a man in *Saturinus* was: but vpon refusal of

his proffered Clemencie, hee gaue him a most sharpe battell, wherein most of the *Recoulers* were overthrowne, and *Saturinus* in the assault of a *Cassie* belied, was slaine, to the great griefe of *Probus*, who sought to haue liued his life.

(6) But with his death ended not all *Ciuill Broiles*: for *Bonifacius* & *Præxas* two monsters of that age (though of different kinde of vices) opposing themselves against him, and assuming the *Titic* and *Robes Imperiall*, vsurped the *Præsidies* of *Britaine*, *Spain* and some part of *Gallia*, knowing that in these places *Probus* was not much beloued. *Bonifacius* was borne in *Britaine*, but brought vp in *Spain*, without note of faction, but onely in his cups, for bee was esteemed the greatest drinker of all men liuing: inasmuch as *Aurel.* said of him, he was born, *not to sinerit, sed ut inebrietur* *not to drinke beeth, but to drinke in liquor*: & yet (as it seemeth) hee was in good account vnder the said *Aurelianus*, hauing a charge of *Ships* vpon the *Germane Sea*, which either by *treacherie* or *negligence* were burned by the *Enemy*, in the month of *Rhine*, and (as *Probus* tooke it) not without the priuite of *Bonifacius*: who therefore not daring to stand to the trial, made all his powers against the Emperour, but was in *Battel* overcome, and despairing euer againe to make head, put his owne in a halter, whereupon it was said, that a *Battel* was hanged, and not a Man.

(7) *Præxas* was a *Lygarian* borne, as vnfaust a vassall to *Venus*, as the other to *Bacchus*; and therewithall so impoultic impudent, that as hee had a heart to commit any filthinesse, so a forehead to boast of it openly, as apparer by his owne Letters, wherein hee vauntheth, how many scores of faire *Virgins* hee depprined of that faire name in one fortnight; but this *Grond-General* of *Venus* Camp was suddenly forsaken by his *Souldiers*, and came to his deferred end.

(8) Some Irish there were at that present in *Britany*, by the incitements of their *Gouernour*, vvhose name though *Histories* doe not specifie, yet he may seeme to bee that *Cl. Carr. Lalanus*, whole ancient *Cathes* are found in this *Iland*, and not else-where: and his meanes to the place, was *Villorinus* a Moore, in great fauour with *Probus*: who taking himselfe not cleare from suspition, got leave of his Emperour to repaire vnto *Britaine*, where giuing it out that he was come thither for sake of his Life, was courteously receiued by the *Generall*. While secretly in the Night, hee murdered, and then speedily returned to *Rome*; hauing by this *Expedition*, both appeased the tumults in the *Province*, and approued his fidelitie to *Probus*. About this time (as is recorded) certaine *Pandels* and *Barbarians* that had invaded *Gallia*, were sent into *Britaine* by the Emperour to inhabit, who though they had troubled the *Romanes* peace in *Gallia*, yet did them good seruice in *Britaine* to stay their subiection; and the *Britaines* themselves for some good seruices were now satisfied by these Emperours, to plant *Vines*, and make *Wines*, with other matters allwell for pleasure as profit.

(9) At length the *Empire* in these *ixviii* parts standing vniuersally quiet, *Probus* determined a boysty into the *Egyp*, to end at once all forraigne wars; saying, he would shortly bring it to passe, that the state should need no more *Souldiers*: (which speech they tooke very indignely) & hauing passed *Thyrus* in *Scythia*, was by some of his own Army for curbing, as they conceived, with an over-hard hand their disoluite & idle manners, conspired against & treacherously murdered, in November the second, and yeere of Christ, two hundred eighty two, hauing reigned five yeeres and foure moneths: others say, six yeeres: where notwithstanding they erected for him a most honourable Sepulchre, wherein was engrauen this Epiph: *Here lieth the Emperour Probus, highly for his goodnes called Probus, of all the Barbarous Nations and Tyrants a Conqueror*.

Saturinus his death.

Vopiscus.

Bonifacius and Præxas rebell against Probus.

Sabellus.

Bonifacius death.

Sabellus.

Sabellus.

Villorinus a Moore but Scythian.

Mt. Ataxifus, the cap of the Pandels and Barbarians sent to inhabit in Britany.

Vopiscus.

Sabellus.

Wine made in England.

Probus his death.

Vopiscus, Bonifacius, and Præxas killed. lib. 3. cap. 23.

M. AVRELIVS CARVS. VVITH
CARINVS AND NVMERIA-
NVS HIS SONNES.

CHAPTER XLIII.



M. Aurel.
Carus Emp.

Carinus,
Numerianus,
Cæsar.

Anno 282.



R O A V S has laine in the
midst of his Army, with-
out any apparant cause
manifested, the Soldi-
ers were stricken into a great
fear, and mistrusted each
other to be guilty of the
Treason, no man therefore
diligent to finde out the
beginner, nor halfe to pun-
ish the bloudy executors, but holding the right of
election to remain in themselves, they presently chose
Carus for their Emperour, who had been the *Prætorian*
Præfect valiant, sufficient, of worth and esteeme;
whereunto the *Sonati* likewise consented.

(2) From whence or what parents we should de-
rive his birth, is vncertaine, and of diuers writers di-
uersly reported. For *Flavius Cassianus*, who wrote the
 storie of his time, as *Vopiscus* doth report, saith, that he
was borne in *Sclauonia*, or as we call it *Moesia*. *Orosius*
an ancient writer affirmeth his birth was in *Rome*,
and that his father was a *Sclauonian* indeed, but held
for a citizen, as he cith by letters from *Vopiscus*: *Aurelius*
Vidius, *Ensebius*, and *Paulus Orosius* will haue him
a French man, and borne at *Narbonne*: but whence so-
euer, his princely parts defersed these his princely
performances, and no waies for the short time of his
raigne, carried he himselfe vnder expectation. Two
sonnes hee had of vncqual conditions, *Carinus* and
Numerianus, these both he made his *Cæsars*, with the
Name and Power of *Augusti*.

(1) His first proceedings was to finde out the
murderers of *Probus*, whom hee severely punished,
which took away all suspicion of treason in himselfe.
Then marching against the *Sarmates*, whose furie had
pierced so far into *Pannonia*, that they threatened Italy it
selfe, hee ouerthrew with the slaughter of sixteen thou-
sand, and took twenty thousand of them prisoners.
And leauing *Carinus* (his elder sonne) to gouerne *Brit-
taine*, *Gallia*, *Ibheria*, and *Spain*, himselfe with the
younger, *Numerianus*, prepared for the East against the
Parthians, in which expedition hee tooke in his way *Me-
sopotamia*, *Sclerica*, and certaine cities whom the ene-
mie had entred: and being surprized with sickness, and

not able to trauel, pitched his Paulion vpon the shore
of *Tigris*, where in the midst of his armie (about the
yeere of our saluation 281.) garded from all suppo-
sed dangers and assaults of man, felt the vnexpected
stroke of death euen from the hand of God himselfe:
for in his bed by a thunderbolt falling from heauen,
he was laine, with many others then present with him
in his tent, and the same consumed altogether with
lightning fire.

(4) The terror thereof so daunted the courage
of his whole army, that no further they proceeded in
their enterprise: and his death was so griuous vnto
Numerianus now elected Emperour, that with con-
tinuall weeping (a fault in few Sonnes who are raised
by their fathers fall) his eies were so weakened, that he
could not indure any light. Vpon which accident, *Arrius*
Aper, (his wifes father) tooke occasion to conspire
his death, hoping thereby to attaine the Emperie him-
selfe. For hauing at all times free access to his pre-
sence, as length in his closet hee secretly murdered him;
pretending to the armie, that his infirmie only
kept him from sight, and so leauing his body to putre-
fie and corrupt, in short space by the very siner there-
of the treason was deliered, and the Traitor laine by
the hands of *Dioclesian*, who was both his Iudge and
executioner.

(5) His Empire thus ended before it was well be-
gunne, the Armie proclaimed *Dioclesian*, a *Principall*
man in the *Camp* for Emperour: who to vphold his ele-
ction, made all his power for *Gallia*, against his Concur-
rent *Maximian*, a man of profuse frivolisitie, who there
had caused himselfe to bee proclaimed, and in his fa-
thers absence had so ruled there and in *Brittain*, that
Perthys lining at the same time, gaue out this estimi-
monie, that *Brittain* was a fertile Province of tyrants.
Betwixt these two Captaines, many skirmishes were
fought with variable successe, till lastly in a set battell,
Carinus was laine by a Tribune, whose Wife he had de-
filed; whereby the Imperiall Title was iustly confer-
red vpon *Dioclesian*.

(6) The time that these three, the father and two
sonnes reigned, is reported to be two yeeres and some-
what more; and this last to die the yeere of Christs na-
tivity, two hundred eighty foure.

C. AVRE.

Carinus laine by
a thunderbolt.

Maximian

C. AVRELIVS VALER. DIOCLESIANVS IOVIVS AND M. AVRELIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

CHAPTER XLIIII.



Val. Diocles.
Emp.

Val. Maxi-
mian, Caeſar
and Emp.



He Empire thus deuolued to Dioclesian, with approbation of the Senate, hee every way studied to bee accounted worthy of the ſame, as knowing well his birth was no way anfwerable to his preſent lot; and therefore choſe for his Caeſar, Maximianus, a

man of better deſcent, very honourable, wiſe, and valiant, as was maniſeſt in his firſt ſeruiſe againſt the Gaules, whom with an infinite number of petans in that province, troubling the peace of the Romans, hee with much ſlaughter ouercame. For which exploit hee fortunately accompliſhed, the Emperor made him his Conſort in the Government.

(2) Diocleſianus parentage is vncertainly reported by Writers, ſome making him the ſonne of a Notary, and others of a meere Bondſman; but all agreeing that his Countrey was Dalmatia, and his offspring very baſe. This man being but a Common ſouldier, conſoluted with a Witch for his future ſucceſſe; who told him (if you pleaſe) to belecue the reporters) that he ſhould become an Emperour after he had killed a Bore: to which he gaue credit, and euer after was a great enemy to that beaſt, and in time grew vnder Probos ſo great account for dexterity in expediting his affaires, that he was made Steward of his houſe, and now laſtly elected to the Empire.

(3) The very ſill thing that he attempted, was the puniſhment of his predecessors death; for which *Arrius Aper* being conſulted before his tribunall ſeat, himſelfe riſing ſuddenly from the Throne, ran him thorow with his ſword, in outward ſhew for zeale of Juſtice, as not able to endure ſo foule a fact; but in truth to fulfill the Prediction of his hoſteſſe, the Druid; for that *Aper* ſignifieth a Bore. After which act he held his Empire fully eſtabliſhed.

(4) To let paſſe many imploiments and troubles of the State, theſe two Emperours choſe to themſelues two Caeſars, whereby the One-headed Eagle became againe ſquare-headed, and each almoſt of an equall au-

thority. Diocleſian choſe *Galerius Maximianus*, perſon Maximianus, ſurnamed *Herculus*, choſe *Constantius Chlorus* a Roman Senator, enforcing them to put away their former Wiues, & to take their Daughters, for an aſſurance of loue by the bonds of that Alliance; of whom the former was imploied for defence of *Syria*, and the other afterwards into *Britaine* againſt the *Rebells* there raiſed by *Carauſius*, whoſe coine is here ſet.



(1) This *Carauſius* by birth a *Meſapien*, but of low Parentage, as *Beda* and *Entropius* ſaith; who being appointed Admirall by the Romans to guard the *Britiſh* Seas, from the *Pyrates* of the *Saxons* and *Lower Germans*, who with continuall robberies waſted the coaſts, aboſed his authority both in ſuffering thoſe *Pyrates* to paſſe vnder *Compoſitions*, and in taking many ſhippes and much ſubſtance from the true *Subieſſ* to his owne vie; whereby in ſhort time hee became very rich, and (like a cat ſet to keepe mice from the larder) did more miſchiefe then the *Robbers* themſelues. *Sabellicus* reports, one very poliſtick cuſtome whereby hee enriched himſelfe; and that was by ſuffering the *Pyrates* to take as much ſpoiles as poſſibly they could before hee would ſurpriſe them; whereby they were his inſtruments to rob others, and nothing to better themſelues.

(6) *Maximianus* then warring in *Gallia*, and fearing the greatnes of his wealth and power, ſent ſecretly to ſlay him by treacherie; and in the meane while ſurpriſed many of his principall men at a *Ceſſation*.

(7) *Carauſius* now rich & compaſſed with friends, ſeeing his deſtruction thus intended and ſought, thought

Pompey.
An. Do. 286.
An. Do. 291.

Carauſius a Meſapien
reſiſt in A. D. 286.
An. Do. 291.

Beda ſaith. Aug.
An. Do. 286.

*Now called *Brigit*
in *Peſcoſ*.

Paulus Orosius.
Europus.

Flavius
Vopſcus.

Entrop.
Sextus.
Orosius.

Apoc. 13.
Dan. 7.

Ezek. 38. 2.

The violent
deaths of many
Emperors.Psal. 45. 5.
The first Scale.
Apoc. 6.
The second
Scale.

The third Scale.

The fourth
Scale.

The fifth Scale.

The sixth Scale.

the Tenth Horn of the Imperial Beast, who had received his Power from the Dragon (the devil) and Famine from those four Beasts depicted by the Prophet Daniel, whose mouth was as the Lyons mouth of Ashtar, his feet like the Beasts feet of Perfly, his spots as the Leopards of Greece; and these ten horns taken from the Monster of the Grecians parted kingdom, the Sciences and the Palmetics, called in Ezekiel, Gog and Magog, and here alluded unto by S. John, that thus made battle against the Saints. But as those four Beasts perished and were crushed by the fall of The first cut without hands, Emmanuel borne in our flesh: so this Beast compounded of them Famine, fell in the destructions of these most wicked Emperors, whereof almost all died by violently and unusual deaths, as the like is not read of elsewhere.

(14) For some flew themselves, as Nero and Otho did, some were smothered to death, as was Tiberius; some poisoned by their wives, as Claudius and Commodus; some ragged and torn in pieces by their own soldiers and soldiers, as Vitellius, Heliodorus, Papienus, and Balbinus; some flayed by them whom they most trusted, as Caligula, Othman, Didius, Gallienus, and many others; some tumultuously murdered, as Pertinax Severus, Maximus, Emilius, and Probus were; some slain in battle and defence of their titles, as Macrinus and Gallus; some hanged themselves, as Gordianus and Maximianus did; some drowned and swallowed up, as Decius and Maximus were; some slain by a thunder-bolt from heaven, as Carus was; some died in most miserable captivity, as Adrianus did, whose skinne was flayed off, he yet alive; some cut their owne veins and bled to death, as Quentius and Florianus did, some dying mad, as did this our Dioclesian some few, and them somewhat favouring Christians, died in their beds, a thing most strange to see in these times, wherein the Wrath of God thus fought against them in his Justice, and the power of his Gospel preached by his Apostles and Disciples, that as a Conqueror returned, and riding upon a white horse, bare a bow in his hand, and that the sharpe Arrows of death into the hearts of these the Kings enemies, as in the opening of the First Scale is seen; and in the Second is described and made manifest by a Red Horse prepared for Battle, whose Rider bare a Bright sword, and had commission To take peace from the earth, which most effectually we have seen performed in most of these preceding Emperors. And as Famine in great Wars is not greatly strange; so Scarcity exceeding Plenty, was seen under the opening of the Third Scale; whence a Black horse sent from God, passed through the earth, whose Rider bare a Balance to weigh Corn, as it were Spice, for dearth; and in the reign of this last Tyrant Dioclesian, they that had Eagles eyes might see the threefold judgements of God in the opening of the Fourth Scale, when Sword, Famine, & Death were all together as a pale-horse, sent from the presence of the Lamb, whose rider was Death and Hell, following as his Page. These were the times of calamities, when as the Scales of the righteous in the opening of the Fifth Scale, cried for vengeance for the blood of the Martyrs, whom these ten horns had gone to death; and under the Sixth Scale, both then, and for ever the wicked are said to call for the Mountains to fall upon them and for the rocks to hide them from the presence of Him that sits upon the Throne, and from

the wrath of the Lamb, before whom none could stand.

But why doe I (weake man) thus open the Curtaines of Gods most sacred Tabernacle, to behold the Mercy-fate of his diuine Mysteries in the accomplishments of these holy Oracles, when as they who have worn the Ephod, and in whose hand Aarons Rod hath budded, with a religious reverence haue feared to look into the same? Therefore with the charge of Iesusa I will not approach neere the Ark, and with Iohs hearers will lay my hand on my mouth, and returne to the prosecution of my purpose.

(15) It was the sixteenth yeere of his reign, in the month of March, when this Tyrant sent forth his wicked Edicts through all his Empire; That all churches should bee utterly overthrowne; that the Scriptures should be burnt; that all Christians for honour should bee held infamous, and all Christian servants should bee vncapable of freedom; that all Pallors should be enforced to offer to Idols, &c.

(16) The fountain & chiefe cause of these miseries lighting on the Church of Christ, did arise from the Christians themselves, as Eusebius in these words declareth: After that our conseruation through too much liberty and licentiousness was degenerated, and holy discipline corrupted, whiles everyone of us did cease, bite, and backbite each other, waging intestine warres within our selves, and piercing one anothers hearts with the sharpe speares of opprobrious words; so that Bishops against Bishops, and people against people were at bitter contention. Lastly, whiles nothing but hypocrisy was in the face, deceit in the heart, and guile in the tongue, whereby mischiefs were even full at the bosome, then began the heavy hand of God to visit us, &c. Where he proceedeth and sheweth that the greivous finnes of the Christians, was the cause of drawing downe these iudgements on their heads.

(17) And so this wicked Tyrant accordingly was but as Gods Instrument and Iron-throwing-flail, to bruise the precious wheat and seed of the Gospel, and to crush that outward glory of the Christian profession, which then was flourishing in most parts of the world.

(18) But long the Lord deferred not their release nor that Tyrants end. For after the first yeere of their persecutions, and twentieth of his Reigne, the thirteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere of Christs Nativité three hundred and three, hee with his fellow Emperors (both of them by the reuenging hand of God, stricken with a mad humor (saith Eusebius) renounced the Empire, and defending from the Tribunal of off their Purple and Imperial robes, whereby they againe became Private men.

(19) Dioclesian retired into Dalmatia, where in the Cite Salonia, hee poisoned himselfe, as Aurelius Victor affirmeth: and Eusebius saith, that no small dislike overtooke him, for that hee died mad. His consort Maximianus escaped not unpunished, but died for attempting the Murder of Constantine, and as Eusebius saith, hee hanged himselfe in the cite Mediolan: such ignominious deaths followed these two persecuting Tyrants, whereof Dioclesian had formerly made himselfe a God, and by an Edict commanded his Faute to be kissed: a practise pretely since imitated by his Successors, who have ruined the wounded Head of the Beast, and have trod his steps in wounding and persecuting the true members of Christ.

Exod. 19.
Numb. 17.Ioh. 1. 4.
Ioh. 39. 9.Euseb. hist. eccl.
lib. 8. cap. 2. 3.Euseb. hist. eccl.
lib. 8. cap. 2.

Amon 1. 3.

Euseb. hist. eccl.
lib. 8. cap. 2.Euseb. hist. eccl.
lib. 8. cap. 2. 4.For all pag. 119.
p. 115.
Euseb. hist. eccl.
lib. 8. cap. 2.Dioclesian
prætor.
The Pope an
institute of him,
and not of
Christ.

{FLAV. VALER. CONSTANTIVS CHLORVS,}
{C. GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.}

CHAPTER XLV.



Constantius,
Chlorus,
Emp.

Val. Maximianus
Emp.

Diocletian and
Maximianus re-
signed up the
Empire this y.
Calc. of May, in
the year of
Christ 304.

Galerius and Con-
stantius Empe-
rors.

The Christian
began peace.



Diocletian and Maximianus resigning up their Souerainties (as is said) at the Citty Nicomedia in Bithynia, comitted the charge thereof, and the defence of the Common-wealth vnto Galerius and Constantius, who had been their Cæsars: vpon which occasion, great

peace followed in the Church of Christ, and most especially vnto these *Western Provinces*. For those Emperors confirmed by the Senate, presently diuided the Empire betwixt them, as two *Seuerall Estates*, and not subiect to one Government, as formerly had been exercised; which (as *Euagrius* hath noted) was the fatal end of the Imperiall Glory.

(2) Vnto Galerius fell the government of *Sclauonia, Macedonia, Thracia, Egypt*, and the Provinces in *Asia*, who took for care of that burden these two, whose Coines we haue here expressed.



Maximianus and
Constantius
Cæsars.

(2) C. Galerius, Valer. Maximianus, and Aurelianus.
Seuerus his sisters sonnes, whom in the year of Christ

three hundred and six, hee elected Cæsars, and after *Augustus* which honours the last enioied not long, for he was slaine at Rome by the treachery of *Maxentius*, after one yeere. And the other, when he had foure yeeres gouerned as Cæsar, and three as *Augustus* in the East, died at Tarsus in Cilicia.

(1) And to the lot of Constantius, who much at one time with his Copartner, elected his sonne *Constantine*, (so famous in christian historie) Cæsar, fell Italy, France, Brittain, Spain, Germany, and most of the Provinces in *Africa*: which seeming to him (who rather chose to gouerne well then much) too spacious, gave vp to Galerius all that in *Africa*, as too remote from the Seat of his residence, and eie of his direction.

(4) This good Emperour was for his Father named *Chlorus*, by birth a Roman, his Father named *Eutropius*, his Mother *Claudia*, Niece to the Emperour *Claudius*. Himselfe had attained the dignitie of a Senator, and was both *Wise, Valiant, Noble, and Vertuous*; whole parts *Euagrius* doth thus commend.

Constantius was a man of singular clemencie towards men, and pietie towards God. He did not partake with him in cruelty, whose partaker he was in *Seneca* aligie: neither staining his Raigne with the blood of the Saints, nor destroying our Churches and places of Prayer as *Maximianus* furiously did; but rather he reuerenced and highly honoured those who truly honoured God. For which God so blessed him, that this godly Father left a more godly Sonne *Constantine* the Heire of his well-gotten Empire.

(1) To which his vertues, other Authors adde, that he was of great affabilitie, louing, and gentle, little regarding his Private Profit, but altogether reigning to enrich his Subjects, and to that end would often say: That it was more behouefull for the Weale publique, that the wealth of the Land should be dispersed into the common hands, then to be locked up in Princes coffers. In which kind, so uerle he was from all superfluities, that hee may be adiudged fairly the other way: for vpon Feast-dayes, and in his Entertainments of Strangers, he was faine to borrow Plate of his friends (for such many times are richer then their Soueraignes) to furnish his Table and Cupboard.

(6) But aboue all other vertues, was his louing countenance

Constantine the
Great called
Cæsar.

With robe, & cap,
id. Acap.

Præp. Latine

1. Kin. 10. 20.

Constantin poss-
ed the Tine who
were true Chris-
tians.Constantin his
wifes.

courtesance and protection to the late persecuted Christians, making his Court their Sanctuary, and his Chapel their Oratory. And to winnow the Chaffe from the ivy heat, he vied the like poeasie as Itho King of Israel sometime had done against the Priests of Baal. For he commanded all his Officers to offer sacrifice to the Idoll-Gods, pretending to dis-coutt all such as refused: but contrariwise those that obeyed hee put from him, with this reproofe, that hee who is displayd to his God, will neuer be true to his Prince.

(7) When he was first made Caesar, he was forced to forsake his first wife Helena, by whom hee had his vertuous sonne Constantine, and to take Theodora daughter in Law to Maximianus, for a further confirmation of friendship.



Eutropius.

Eutropius lib. 7.
cap. 18.
Seda lib. Angl.
lib. 2. cap. 2.
Hicli. Chron.
lib. 4. cap. 26.
Crom. lib. 2. cap. 26.

Eutropius.

(8) Helena by birth was a Britaine, the daughter of Caelus a British Prince, as saith Eutropius, though Nicophorus make her of Bethunia, and Beda tearmes her his Concubine, some an Ivne-holder and others for her person and parentage stand very doubtfull: to meet with whom, let vs heare the censure of Times Chief Secretary, the learned Camden in his Britannia: Constantinus (saith hee) what time hee served in Britaine under Aurelianus, took to wife Helena daughter of Caelus or Coelius a British Prince on whom hee begat that noble Constantine the Great in Britaine; for so together with that great Historiographer Baronius the common opinion of all other Writers with one consent beare witness, while it becometh one of two petty Greeke Authors of late time, and those discounting one from the other and a very learned man, grounding upon a corrupt place of Iul. Firmicus. Howbeit, compiled he was by Maximianus to put her away, for to marry Theodora his daughter. This is that Helena which in Antique Descriptions is called VANARABILIS and PISSIMA AVGVSTA, and for Christian Pietie, for cleansing Ierusalem of Idols, for building a goodly Church in the place where our Lord suffered and for finding the sayng Crosse, is so highly commended of Ecclesiastical Writers.

And yet both Jewes and Gentiles termed her by way of ignominie and reproch, Stabularia, because shee (a most godly Princess) fought out the Cribbe or Manger where Christ was borne: and in that place where blood that Hostie, founded a Church; for which cause shee was by the Enemies of Christian Religion called an Hostie, and (because such are commonly kind to their Cuckies) a Concubine also. For whose defense, let the Funerall Oratun of Ambrosius, made upon the death of Theodosius, answer, wherein hee doth rather commend her humilkie, then asseme any such base Offices in contempt of her person.

They say that this Lady was at first an Ivne-holder or

Hostie, &c. Well (saith he) this good Hostie Helena halted to Ierusalem, and sought out the place of our Lords Cribbe, and made diligent search for the Lords Cribbe. This good Hostie was not ignorant of that Guest which cared the wey-faring mans hart, that was wounded by Thernes. This good Hostie chafte to beget a Stable-sweeper, that she might thereby save Christs.

And verily she was the moover and only worker of her husbands conversion, who calling off all superstitious worships, willingly acknowledged the only all-ruling God, suffering the Christians that had beene hidde in Caves and Denes, now to exercise their Devotions publicly, and both to reedifie the old ruinate Churches, and to erect new.

(9) Of the like Pietie wee read in a Queene of the like name, Helena, Queene of Adiabene (commended by Iosephus) that was Converter to the Jewish Religion, who coming to Ierusalem to visit the Temple in time of a greivous Famine, which happened in the daies of Claudius, sent to Alexandria for great quantity of Corne, and for Dried Figges from Cyprus, which shee very charitably bestowed vpon the poore. And about three blades or furlongs off from Ierusalem, built a Sepulcher with three Pyramides, wherein her selfe and her two sounes (both Kings) were afterwards interred. But to proceed.

(10) Constantine being heere in Britaine, and lately returned from his Expedition made against the Calcedonians and Picts, fell sicke in the City of York, where the Imperiall Throne of his residence was set. At which very time, Constantine his sounes escaping the hands of Galdarius, (with whom hee had beene left hostage) halted from Rome, having belaid all the way with Post-horses for the purpose, and left them houghed for feare of pursuit, came with all speed to York, and to his fathers presence; who so much ioied at his sight, that hee fate himselfe vpright vpon his Bed, and in the presence of his Counsellors spake as followeth:

(11) "It now sufficeth, and death is not feared, full, seeing I shall leave my vnaccomplished actions to be performed in thee my Sonne, in whose person I doubt not but that my Memorials shall be retained, as in a Monument of succeeding fame. What I had intended, but by this my fatal period left vndone, see thou performe: let those fruits bee ripened in thee the Branch, that I thy Stork from a vertuous intent have had ingrafted alwaies in me: that is, govern thy Empire with an vpright Justice; protect the Innocent from the Tyranny of Oppressors; and wipe away all teares from the eyes of the Christians; for therein, about all other things, I have accounted my selfe the most happy. To thee therefore I leave my Diademe, and their Defense, taking my Faults with mee to my Grant, there to be buried in everlasting obliuion: but leaving my Vertues (if euer I had any) to reuiue and live in thee. With conclusion of which vertuous counsell, heeooke his last farewell of his sounes, his friends, and his life, after hee had liued Caesar fiftene yeeres, and Emperor two, as Eusebius accounteth, and died the five and twentieth day of Iuly, the yeere of our Saviour three hundred and six, and of his owne age fifty six.

Ambrosius Ora-
tion upon The-
odosius.Ioseph. Antiq.
lib. 2. cap. 6.
Helena Queene
of Adiabene a
vertuous woman
also.Constantine also
spoke Galdarius.His presenting
pardon. His
commeth
fate to York
to his fathers.Constantine his
speech to his
sounes.Constantine his
reasons to death.
Pomp. Latun.
Theodosius
lib. 2. cap. 26.

FLA. VALERIVS CON-
STANTINVS MAXIMVS.

CA. VALERIVS LICI-
NIVS LICINIANVS.

CHAPTER XLVI.



Val. Constant.
Emp.

Licin. Licin-
ianus Emp.

An. Do. 306.

Eufrat. Hist. lib. 1.
Id. 3. cap. 14.



HE Father thus departing both gloriously and peaceably in the presence of his Son and sage counsellors, the grief in the loss of the Sir was no greater then was the joy conceived that they had gained the sonne for his Successour, all men rejoicing at the good fortune of that journey, wherein he came to close the eyes of his dying father, and to comfort the sorrow of his mournfull Countrey-men.

For forthwith here in Brittain by acclamation of the people, assistance of the Souldiers, and advice of *Erastus* King of the *Albans* (who by the way had accompanied him hither in his flight from *Rome*) they proclaimed him at all hands Emperour, and Successour to all that part of the world which his father deckt. This election was joyfully ratified by the *Senate*, and of all other Provinces so gladly accepted, that they accounted this Island most happye of all other, whose chance was fitt to see him their *Caesar*, as in these words of the *Panegyrist* is scene: O fortunate Brittain, and more happye then all other Lands, that hast the first sight of *Constantine Caesar*.

(2) His birth (as is said) was in Brittain, and honourably defended, his father a *Roman Senator, Caesar, and Emperour*; his mother a Brittain, (daughter to *Celcus*) a Princesse vertuous, wife, chaste, and religious: himselfe in true *Pietie* degenerating from neither. At his first entrance he purified the reliques of the *warre* which his father had begonne against the *Caledonians*, and other *Picts*, subduing the Britains that were more remote, and inhabitants of those Lands that are witness (saith one) of the Sunnes let or going downe

Rome, and *Romulus* his founte (whose face wee have here with his fathers from both their monies expressed) was created his *Caesar* (the way to that *Seat of Maestie* whereunto hee had too hastily and most vnderly climbed) for now this *Caesar* by his *Neeremancie, Adulteries, Persecutions and Murders*, was growne so intolerable and odious, that the *Senate* lent to *Constantine*, craving him and redresse, who fore lamenting the fores of the *Empire*, and the case of the *Christians*, first wrote: but that taking no effect, prepared his forces against *Maxentius*.

Maximianus the father, either in true zeale or fained pretence, (which by the legell is more probable) tooke great offence at his sonne *Maxentius* vnderstandable outrageousness, and vnder colour of dislikes and redresse, repaired to his sonne in *Lau Constantine*, whose daughter *Fausla* hee had married, and notwithstanding his fauor pretences before the face of *Constantine*, yet secretly he tampered with *Fausla* to make away her husband. But the good Lady well knowing that the bond of a child is great, but greater the love of a wife, revealed his treachery to *Constantine*, who caused him thereupon to be put to death, a fit end for so bloody a *Tyrant*. And ripe was the like destiny for his no-way-degenerating sonne, against whom hee prepared his forces: and drawing *Licinius* Gouernour of *Sclauonia*, who was made *Caesar*, to his side, by giving him his sister *Constantia* to wife, (a man but of an ordinarie descent, though *Gallienus Maximianus* had made him in *Syria* his Copartner in the East) halted towards *Rome* with an Host of ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, leaved out of *Brittain, France, and Germany*.

(4) But knowing well that successe in warre dependeth more in diuine assistance then humane strength, yet doubtfull what *God* hee should in this blessed enterprise inuocate for aid, (for as yet he was not fully settled in the Christian Faith, though the *Gods* of the Gentiles hee observed altogether deceitfull) cast vp in this his holy meditation his eyes *Eastward* to heauen, and had by daime ordinance presented to him in obiect the signe of a Crosse, wherein were Starrs (as letters) so placed, that visible might be read this sentence in Greeke, IN HOC VINCE, as diuers Authors report.

Yet are there some fro the testimony of *Eusebius* himselfe, vnto whom this blessed man did declare his *Vision*, that affirme this forme being the first Greeke Character of the name of *Christ*, (to which the reuerse of *Desertius* heretofore expected, as of many others, may addemuch probability) rather then either of these, although *Terentianus* and *S. Jerome* affirm, that the latter was the very figure of the Crosse whereon our Saviour died: but this as a question beyond my judgement or intention, I leaue to those learned Diuines and others, who haue laboured in that subiect with curious search.



(1) *Maxentius* the sonne of *Maximianus Hercules*, who at the death of *Constantine* was proclaimed *Augustus* by the tumultuous *Prætorian Souldiers* at

Saltilion.

Maximianus
put to death by
Constantine.

Joseph. l. 3. c. 20.
Eusebius lib. 11.
Actus 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Eufrat.
The forme of
the Crosse.

Terentianus
Martyr. l. 1. c. 1.
Martyr. l. 1. c. 1.
Martyr. l. 1. c. 1.
Martyr. l. 1. c. 1.

Enriched by the
18. p. cap. p.
Substitution.

Enriched by the
18. p. cap. p.
Substitution.

Enriched by the
18. p. cap. p.
Substitution.

An inscription
made in memory
of the victory
over the
Goths.

The memorial
of the victory
over the
Goths.

(5) This miraculous sign promising Victory, and that (saith *Eusebius*) not in an inscription only, but by voice of Angels, was so comfortable to *Constantine*, that with great courage he went forward, bearing before him and his victorious Army, in place of the Imperial Standard, the forme of this vision imbrodered with gold and fimes of greatest price. And as one armed from heauen, proceeded against his heliish adversary.

Maximian as much depending vpon his Sorcerers, was no lesse assured of the victory. In furtherance whereof, as a stratagem of warre, hee framed a deceitfull Bridgeouer the river *Tyber*, neere to *Pani Atalini*, to intrap *Constantine*: but byoyning battell, and overlaid with strokes, retired and fled, and (whether for haste, or through forgetfulness) rooke ouer the same Bridge, which suddenly failing vnder him, hee was with many more drowned, and *Constantine* remained victor. In memory whereof, hee caused a triumphall Arch to be erected in the midst of *Rome*, where in his Statue was imholled, holding in his Right hand a *Crosse*, according to the fashon of that which hee had seene in the heauens: and vpon ancient inscription in memory of this Victory, thus we finde engrauen: *IN SINGVLT DIVINITATIS, MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO, TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE, VNO TEMPORE IVS- TITREMP. VLTVS EST ARNIS*. Thus: By insinuation of the diuine power, with great magnanimity and hope of his armie in a lawfull warre, hee reuenged the cause of the common wealth, as well as the Tyrant himselfe, as on his whole faction all at once. With the like successe had hee warred against the *Franks* in *Galatia*, whose *Prin- ciple* was likewise slumped in gnd, wherein is a Woman sitting vnder a Trophy, and leaning her head vpon a *Crosse* borne, with this inscription, *FRANCIA*.

(6) But as his fame increased in the mindes of most, so was it as much malignd by *Lectinius* fellow Emperour and Brother in Law, who in his heart neuer fauoured the *Christians*, howeouer for a time outwardly hee suffered their Religion: but at last, seeking occasions against *Constantine*, hee raised a cruell Persecution in the East, where hee reigned with *Martianus*, whom at *Byzantium*, and *Julius Licinius* *Lectinius* at *Arles*, hee had before made *Casars*: permitting chē to stamp these monies as marks of Souerainete.



(7) By this affliction of Gods Church, he informed this Champion of God for their defence to prepare his forces, with which hee met *Lectinius* in *Hungary*, where he gaue him a great overthrow. But hee escaping to *Byzantium* in Asia, the lesse joynd againe battell, and was there taken Prisoner: yet by the mediation of his wife *Constantia*, had his life spared, and was confined within the citie *Nicomedia*, where for his treasons afterwards, he and his sonne *Licinius*, that sometime had furnished him, were put to death. And now the peace of Gods Saints manifestlie appeared, and the progresse of the Gospell passed vntroubled.

(8) For now (saith our *Gylden*) no former was as the blessing tempest and storme of Persecution blowen over, but

the faithfull *Christians*, who in time of trouble and danger had hidden themselves in woods and deserts, and in secret places, being come abroad to open sight, reedified the Churches ruined to the very ground. The Temples of he- lie Martyrs they founded, and erected (as it were) the banners of victory in every place, celebrating festiual holy daies, and with pure hearts and mouths performing the sacred ceremonies: for the which blessednesse, hee euer after had the Attributes ascribed vnto him of most blessed Emperour, most pious, happy Redeemer of *Rome*, Cause, Founder of Peace, Reiller of *Rome*, and of the whole World, most great invincible *Augustus*, Sacred, Divine, and of sacred memory, &c. Howbeit, for admiring these praises, as it should seeme, hee is taxed by *Eusebius* and *Vulser* of pride, as also crueltie for putting to death *Crishon* his sonne (by *Minervina* his concubine, whom hee had made *Cesar*, and permitted to stampe these monies here vnder inscribed) as likewise his wife *Fau- sta*, sister to *Maximian*: but others affirme that the causes of their deaths were just, though (as *Pantus Orsius* saith) the reason thereof was kept secret, and *Quintus* doth therein excuse him as *Cassiodorus* relateth, and so doth *Rafinus* and *Eusebius*.



(9) Touching *Constantine* affairs in this Island, it appeareth by the last Author, that after his Fathers death, and his owne departure out of this Countrey, some aspiring mind taking aduantage of his absence, in other warres, perswaded the people here to withdraw their obedience. Whereupon once againe hee addressed himselfe with his Armie to the reestablishing of the Islands subiection: and passing (saith *Eusebius*) ouer into *Britaine*, inclosed on every side within the banks of the Ocean, hee conquered the same. The joyfull memory of this expedition is registered to posteritie vpon his Coine set in the entrance of this Chapter, inscribed *Aduentus Augusti*, and by these Letters, *P. L. N.* the place of the Mint to heare London.

(10) After this (saith the same Author) hee began to compile in his mind other parts of the World, so the end hee might come in time to succour those that wanted helpe: and when hee had furnished his Armie with milde and modest instructions of Pietie, hee inuaded *Britaine*, that hee might likewise instruct those that were inuaded round about with the waves of the Ocean: bounding the same fitting as it were with those coasts. And of the Politicall gouernment therein by him altered, let it not seeme offensive that I, who know and professe mine owne weak fight in most of these matters, doe light my dimme candle, at the Bright-flaming Lampe of that Illustrious Antiquarie, who saith:

(11) About this time (saith he) as evidently appeareth by the Code of *Theodosius*, *Constantinus* was the Vicegerent of *Britaine*: for by this time the Premier had no more Proprietors, nor Lieutenantes, but in stead thereof, was a Vicegerent substituted. And againe, Seeing that *Con- stantinus* altered the forme of the Roman Government, it shall not be impertinent to note summarily in what sort *Brit- taine* was ruled vnder him, and in the next succeeding ages.

He ordained foure Prefects of the Pretorian, to wit, of the East, of *Thyrace*, of Italy, and of *Gauls*: two Leaders or Commanders of the forces, the one of footemen, the other of horsemen in the West, whom they learned *Præfates*. For civil gouernment there ruled *Britaine*, the Prefect of the Pretorian or Grand Seneschall in *Gauls*, and vnder him the Vicar Generall of *Britaine*, who was his Vicegerent and honoured with the title, *Speatialis*, that is notable or remarkable: him chiefed respectiue to the number of the Praesenters two Consular deputies, and three Presidents, who had the bearing of civil and criminal causes.

For military affaires, there ruled the Leader or Com- mander

Signia.

Lab. rigat.

Exilium.

Constitution in his
Britaine.

Enriched by the
18. p. cap. p.
Substitution.

mander of the footmen in the West, at whose disposition were the Earls or Lieutenants of Britaine, the Earle, Count, or Lieutenant of the Sacre Coast along Britaine; and the Duke of Britaine, ruled every one Spectabilis.

The Erie Lieutenant of Britaine fermeth to have ruled the Inland parts of the land; who had with him seven companies of footmen, and nine companies or troops of horse.

The Earle Lieutenant of the Saxon coast, who defended the Maritime parts against the Saxons, and was named by Antiquaries Lieutenant of the Maritime tract, for defence of the Sea coast, had seven companies of footmen, two Guidons of horsemen, the second legion, and one cohort.

The Duke of Cornwall, who defended the Marches against the Barbarians, had the command of thirty and eight garrison forts, wherein their Stations kept, consisting of fourteen thousand foot, & nine hundred horse.

So that in those daies (by Pausanias account) Britaine maintained more thane threescore and two hundred footemen, and five hundred horsemen, as thereabout in ordinary. Besides whiche, the reuerend the Emperors TIMARUS or TIMARCHUS: the Prætor of the Emperors Treasures in Britaine, and the Procurator of the Drapery in Britaine, in the which the clothes of the Prince and Scoulders were Vpon: and the Count alfo of private countreies had by Ratiouall or Auditor of private State in Britaine: to lay nothing of the sword-greene [School Procurator in Britaine: whereof an old inscription maketh mention] and of other officers of inferior degree.

(12) After the settling of these Affairs, to the end that he might with the more facility bring the untamed Persians that he found were in quire, he removed the Imperial Seat of his Residence into the East, for now *Gallathea* and *Lutetia* both dead, the rent and divided State of the Roman Empire was in him united: and purposing to build there a City, as an eternal Monument of his name, he chose the plot at *Chalcedon* in *Asia*; but whilst they were measuring out the circuit, an Eagle swooping at the Line, led with it over the Sea towards *Byzantium* in *Thracia*, to which place (the thing seeming ominous) he transferred his new foundation, and there built a most Magnificent City, naming it *New Rome*: as appears by an inscription of Fifth stature. In imitation whereof the Circled *Selen* sits with a Wall for *Heigh*, *Thicknesse*, and *Beauty*, the fairest in the world; and not only erected *Temples*, *Towers*, and most lofty *Palaces* himself, but by his publick *Edicts*, commanded all the *Princes* of the Empire to raise therein some Monuments & memorable Edifices, becoming the *Martyrs* of glorious foundations.

(13) Hither also from Rome he came to be brought many renowned Monuments of Antiquities, as the famous *Goddeſſe Pallas* of old *Troy*; the Image of *Apollo* in braſſe of an vncumbrable beauty; the *Statues of Juſus, Minerva, Venus*, and the like : whereupon *Myrmene* ſaith : That *Conſtantine* to enrich this one *Citie*, impriſoned all others in the Empire : and other *Writers* which ſaw it in the perfection of beauty report it to be rather an habitation for the *Gods*, than the dwelling place for *Earthly men*. Herein alſo (ſo Rudious was he of good Arts) was built the *Princel Palace* of that *Publick Library*, wherein were contained one hundred twenty thouſand of the choicest *Writers Books*, and in the midst thereof were the *Gates of a Dragon*, in length one hundred twenty *Foote*, on which was admirably written in *Letters of Gold*, the *Poſts of Homer*. The *New Name* of this new *Citie* laſted not long, for the affection of all men to the Founder, afforded it rather the name of *Conſtantinople*. As a prophecy then of this Emperours tenure, though now a brand of infamy to another of that name, who loſt it in the yeere 1452. to *Mahomet the Turke* : and as *New Rome* was reared and ruined in one ſame ſod, ſo *Old Rome* in *Auſonia* her patch of height, and in *Auſonia* her bed of pitch.

(14) He drew likewise hither those *Legions* that lay for defence of the *Provincers*, as well in *Germany* and *Gallie*, as in *Brittaine*: from whence hee broughte (saith *Adamesbury*) a great power of *British* *Souldiers*, through whose industry and forward service, having obtained *Tri-*

nephews Villi ories to his hearty desire, and attained to the Empire: such of them as were pious service, and had performed the pious part of Soldiers their fulltime, he planted in certain part of Gaulle Wigward, the popery very shore of the Ocean: where at this day their posterity remaining, are wonderfully given ears to a mighty people, in manners and language former that degenerate from our Britains. In which his doings, he laid open the *Procurator* to the irruption of their *Emperors*: and is therefore by *Zefum* hardly censured, as being the only man that by this means first liboured the flourishing estate of the Empire. And indeed, by withdrawing his Forces out of Britaine, the *Poets* and other their wonted *Emmoes* had the bolder and easier entrance into the more chiall parts of this *Island*: whereby ere long, being altogether abandoned of the *Romans*, it became a prey of *Cannibals* to the *Scythians*: as shall be shewed in due place.

(13) But *Emperour* his policie failed (carried) as it is seemeth) by a *Divine* inspiration to leave *Rome*; yet is this good *Emperour* much commended by all Writers for his many vertues, especially for that hee laid the foundation of the *Christian* securitie, that the same bold vnder the protection of *Princes* ever since, euen vnto this day. And albeit that many *Casars* his successors, haue often attempted to shake it by their authorities, and the tharpe instruments of hereticks dangerously haue vndermined it, yet hath it borne out the *Stormes* of all their boisterous affaires, and stood in the strength that this *Emperour* first laid it.

(16) And upon this foundation, that a glorious building might be raised, hee congregated three hundred and eighteen Christian Bishops in the Citie Nice in Thracia, where himself was present, and also President of the same Council (though now his Bradrinne (the Pope) put him & his Successors from that right) and as another *Moses*, he then pacified the contentions of the brethren, and reestablished the authorities of the Bishops for the godly government of the Church in that Primitive age.

(17) But as the clearest *Sunne* hath his set, and the fairest day his night, so *Constantines* glorious life drew to an end, though his living glory shall be endless: attending a voyage against the *Perſians*, he fell grievously sicke, and was called by his Physicians to be carried vnto *Nicomede*, a Citie in *Byzonia*, to the *Hots Bathes* that naturally there spring (which caused some erroneously to write that he became a *Leper*) he died on the way neere to the place, and in great deuotion commended his departing Soule to his *Crucified Redeemer*, May 22. the yeere of Christ Iesus three hundred thirty leane, and of his happy victorious reigne thirty one, and of his age sixty five; whose body was interred at *Constantinople*, in the Church of the *Apoſtles* that hath since had therein founded.

(18) *Esau* in writing this good *Emperors* life *Jaish*, that he deffered his *Rapine* vntill his old age, in de-
 clare that he might receiue it in *terdwane*, where our *Sau-
 iour* him selfe was baptiz'd. Yet others thinke that he
 was baptiz'd with his *San Cristos*, what time he crea-
 ted him his *Caesar*: for the Celebration whereof, he
 caufed a most impudens *Fest* to be made in *Rome*,
 which *Plinius* & *Sabelius* affirme to haue continued
 to their times. And the ingenuity of the same *Sabelius*
 is much to be approued, in that speaking of *Cen-
 sextians Denial*, which some fo much vaunt of
 (though the vank of that forgery is now laid open
 to the view of all by sundry learned men) he acknow-
 ledgeth (himselfe being a Romanist) that he findeth
 no mention of any such matter, in any of the ancient
 Records which he followed, and so leaue it to the
 Patronage of those Craft-men, out of whose forgery
 it first was formed. He left to succeed him in the *Em-
 per* as *Angustis*, (with dilasse of the eiden) his three
Sonnes, *Constantine*, *Cen Constantine*, and *Constantine*, whom
 before he had made *Caesar*, & designed by Teitelmast,
Delmatius the son of *Amiballmar*, (his brother) *Caesar*;
 and therefore we haue infered him moyn in ranke of
 those that succeeded this great & glorious *Emper*

FLAYAL

Also see
Marvell

Nineteens' shoes
and fifties' hand-
bags were even
maintained in
ordinary in Bris-
bane.

Schritt 1: Die Daten

A Jewish Doctor
thus deformed
the Cause in an
article which
himself delin-
eated in our En-
glish Ambassador,
residing in
Constantinople in
April 1804.

after, in his ed-
ditions to *Me-
dium*.

Constant people
built by Con-
stantine.

1872, 24 January

Can I mention the
establishment of
the library.

André upon
the death of
Thérèse.

Revised,
Enlarged,
and substantially
re-written.

Abstract

229710.
 Logarithm.
 Can't seem to
 find a suitable
 supply.
 240000, Feb. 1,
 cap. 10.

Attestation des notaires soussignés.

Table 2 cont.

Can I continue to
criticize.



{ FLA. VAL. CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR,
FLA. VAL. CONSTANS, — Emp.
FLA. IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS,
FLA. DELMATIVS ANNIBALLIANVS, }

CHAPTER XLVII.



Constantinus
Iunior Emp.
Val. Constant
Emp.

Ioh. Constanti-
us Emp.
Delmatius
Anniballianus
Emp.

Aa. Do. 337.

Constantinus his
part of the Em-
pire.

Constantinus his
part of the Em-
pire.

Constantinus
Iunior.
Suetonius l. 1. c. 14.

Constantinus l. 1. c. 14.

A Council la-
gued the Anti-
christ called by
Constantine.



FOR the Empire being di-
vided among these Bro-
thers, Constantinus the el-
dest, whole portion was
Britaine, France, Spain, and
part of Germany, took
himself wronged in this
partition; whereas Con-
stantinus his second brother
had Italy, Africa, Sclava-
nia, Dalmatia, and Greece; and Constantinus the young-
est possessed Thracia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt,
Provinces much greater in his sight, than his owne
seemed to bee; and therefore at last ambitiously hee
attempted to enlarge his vpon the Frontiers of his
brother Constantinus, at that time in Dacia, and in warres
against the Goths, who there also invaded his territo-
ries, but was met with and slain by a Captaine of his
brothers, neere to the Cinc Agula in Italie, when he
had held his *Seigniorie* the terme of thre yeeres.

(2) Hieronimus *Constantinus* grew exceedingly proud,
and setting his deceased brothers Provinces, joined
them vnto his owne Possessions, and with his brother
Constantinus came into this Island. This Battle, and
their annual heere, by the words of Iohu Firmus,
changed in the winter season: for (saith hee, speaking
to these Emperors) you have subdued vnder your Oares
the furthest and raging waves of the British Ocean, run in
the deepe of Winter: a thing which never seene before.
And the Britains were sore afraid to behold the vn-
expected face of their Emperour. This Constantinus
was he that called a Councell to Sardes against the Ari-
ans, whither were assembled three hundred Bishops, and
among them, some of the British, as formerly we haue
mentioned. But this Prince being youthfull, cast a-
way all care of the Empire; and drowned in his owne
pleasures, followed all counsell, (the vntill way to
Princes ruines.) Thus growne greivous to the Pro-
vinces, and nothing acceptable to the Souldiers, was by

Magnentius a Captaine of his owne saine, as hee was
hunting neere the Castle of S. Helens, situate amongst
the Tapers, a Spanish people vnder the Pyren Moun-
tains. And as hence this Murderer of his Soveraigne,
Lord and Master, was branded with the name of Trai-
tor, so in this Emperour there murdered was fulfilled
a Prophecie that hee should die in his Grandmo-
thers Lappe.

Olympas the Widow of this Constantinus was giuen to
Asparius King of Armenia, by Constantinus his brother,
to be a bond and purchase of his sister friendship, of
which his need was much, as the times required: for
after the death of Constantinus, Vetranus was proclaimed
Emperour by the Pannonian Armie, though shortly
disrobed, and sent to end his decrepit age in a private
fortune. Neposianus the nephew of Constantinus by his
sister Eutropia, was at Rome by the abiekt Raul saluted
Augustus, which he envied not much above twentie
daies, being suppressed by Magnentius, who had now
made the trunkes of Marius, his Soveraignes bodie,
the Staffe, whereby he meant with Diocletian and Dy-
clianus, his two brethren, to ascend the Throne.

(3) Simon Daniellus saith, that Great Constanti-
nus at his departure from Britaine, left one Ollianus
to gouerne the Land, who shortly rebelled, and after
diuers conflicts was slain by Treverius, Commander of
a Roman Legion. Galsfridus makes the said Ollianus a
Britaine, and will haue him to raigne with great victo-
ries ouer this Island the space of fifty foure yeeres,
which (as Fabian hath accounted) doth extend to the
time of Valentinianus Rule in Rome: so farre doe our
British Historians differ from the Romans. But from
them most certaine it is, that Magnentius before men-
tioned, a Britaine by his father, though borne among
the Latins in France, inuaded himselfe into the Imperiall
Dignitie, usurping France, Spain, and Britaine, thus
flamming the face of himselfe and his brother Decen-
tius, by him made Caesar at Milan, vpon the current
Monies of such reuoluted Provinces as he vsurped.

Constantinus Iunior.

Antimus l. 1. c. 14.

Flipp. Neposianus
l. 1. c. 14.

Simon Daniellus
l. 1. c. 14.

Galsfridus l. 1. c. 14.

Ant. Fabian.

And

He lendeth an Army against Julian, and dyeth by the way. *Socratus lib. 2. cap. 38.*

Amian. Mar. lib. 11. cap. 13.

The time of his reign.

Amian. lib. 12. cap. 2.

Constantius persecutes and be-
sides. His wife was Pauline.
Constantius a great exacter of tributes.
Sulpicius Severus.

A Council in favour of the Arians assembled by Constantius.

Election he meant to disavow : and Julian for his part resolved in point of honor to maintain and uphold. Whereupon warres prepared. *Constantius* set forward to encounter him, and coming to *Tarsum*, from *Antioch* in Syria, fell there like of a fever, which still increased as he further travelled, and in the borders of Cilicia, at the place called *Mopsus Wells*, situated at the foot of *Mount Ararat*, died the third day of November, the yeere of Christ by *Jeromes* account, three hundred sixtie foure : by others, three hundred sixtie one, when hee had ruled twenty foure yeeres, and lined foure and a few moneths, as *Amianus Marcellinus*, and *Pomp. Latins* affirme. But *Socratus* and *Zosimus* say, that he lived forty five yeeres, and reigned thirte eight, that is, thirteen a *Caesar*, in the life of his Father, seern a Competitor in the lines of his brethren, and seuerenteen yeeres *Emperer* alone.

Hee is neither accounted with the best, nor worst *Emperers*, his *Virtues* seeming to hold scale with his *Vices* : temperate, courteous, liberrall, and affable, not eloquent, yet desirous to speake well, blunt witted, yet a great fauor of learning, a most skilfull Archer, and apt to take paines, but withall very suspicious, led by *Flatterers*, and most cruell to the accused, and in exacting importable Tributes, drew more hatred vpon his head then money into his coffers. But especially is he stained with the heresie of the *Arians*, for whose sake he banished many of the Christians, and amongst them *Athenagoras*, that excellent light of the Catholike Church. In fauour of those Heretikes, he caused to be summoned foure hundred western *Bishops* vnto the

Council of *Arminum*, whereof three are reported to come out of *Brittaine*. And he is by *Amianus* his Life-writer, condemned for mingling feign'd superstitions, with the sincere doctrine of the Christian Religion, giuen rather to a more intricate search therein, then to settle his opinions vpon grauities : and stirring up seditions and disorders in maintaining of words and contentious disputations, which as they spread more and more, gat wing euen vnto this Island of *Brittaine*, as by the words of our lamenting Historian *Cyprian* is seene. When (saith he) the sweetest consent of Christ the head, and his members the body had continued until such time, as that deadly and pernicious *Arianisme*, like to a pestiferous Serpent from the other side of the Sea, casting vp her venom open vs, caused brethren dwelling together, to be deformed piteously one from another. And thus the way as it were being made over the Ocean, all other cruell and fell Beasts wherefoere, flaking out of their horrible mouths the deadly poison of enuy bersege inflicted the deadly sting and wounds of their teeth vpon this our Country, desirous earnest to heere some nauelie.

(1) For personage, this *Emperer* was indifferently tall, his complexion browne, the cast of his eyes losie, his sight quicke, his haire soft, his cheekes alwaies shauen, from the grafting of his necke to the groine very long, but from thence somewhat short and bow-legged withall. His body after death was embalmed, and in *Constantinople* entered nere vnto his Father, at the commendement of *Julian*, whom by his testament (for all his former displeasure) hee declared his Heir and Successor.

He doth callow down the Bishopps of the Provinces of Brittain in an Epistle vnto the Bishopps.

Cyprian.

Amian. Mar. lib. 11. cap. 13.

Constantius his persecutions, Constantius builted in *Constantinople*.

FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS IV- LIANVS EMPEROR APOSTATA

CHAPTER XLVIII



Julian succeeded, whose birth had as much of Nobilitie as either the greatness of place ; (for it was *New Rome*) ; or the high blood of parentage could adde vnto him, for his Father *Constantius*, was the brother of great *Constantine*, and not much his mother

Rafina was lower in her birth, though most vnfourunate in bearing him, her owne destruction. An Orphan he was left together with *Gallus* his brother, long tossed betweene the sources of his owne imperfect constitution, and the cloudy iealousie of his ruling-kinsmen (not long before the fatal ruine of his Father) for being too nere allied to their Crownes.

Meane he was of stature, yet carrying from head to foote a iust proportion and vni forme knitting of his lineaments, whereby he had agilite and strength : big and broad his shoulders, his necke fat, bearing his head forward; lonely and gracefull was the cast of his quicke and cleere eye, straight his nose, and no feature of his face amisse, but the greatnes of his mouth, and the parting of his nether lippe, the soft haire of his head he wore in a decent length, and his rough beard he cut in a pointed fashion.

(2) His education was vnder many masters, of which *Mardonius* a Syrian Eunuch was the first. From him he was sent to the publike Schoole at *Constantinople*, where of *Nicetius* of *Laodicea*, he learned his Grammar, and of *Eusebius* the Sophister his Rhetorick; and of both of them (as of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*) the Christian Religion, in which his delight was such, that he betooke him to the function

His proportion and stature. *Amian. Mar. lib. 11.*

His education. *At Vigne. lib. 1. cap.*

Julian his Parentage.

Amian. Mar. lib. 11. cap. 13.

Socrates lib. 3.
cap. 4.

of a Deacon, reading in public to the people the sacred Bookes, and aimed at no further mark of greatness than the reprobation of a holy man: led on with the love of knowledge, hee went to the Schooles of *Nicomedia*, where, of *Lambertus*, who succeeded *Porphyrus* in the Chaire, he learned the Philosophie of *Aristotle* and *Plato*. There bewitched at length with the fame of *Liberius* Eloquence, though detesting his religion, from reading in private studie his prophane labours, hee grew a publick hearer of his inuestive Lectures: and imitating at first in exercise of wit only this Rhetoricians forme of declaiming, hee grew in the end the profane Railler, and deadliest Enemy of all other himselfe against the Church. And to fill vp this vessel of iniquity, *Ataxius*, the only *Imperator* and *Magician* then of the world, (worthily after for his impious doctrine put by *Valentinian* to the sword) mult come to *Nicomedia*. From him did *Iulian* learne such Astrologie as foretold Natiuities, and such Magick as inuoketh Spirits. And here was the schoole of this mans Error, and Mistis of his impietie. The feedes of whole Nature and Education hazing thus obscured, let vs search with an impartial Eye into his manners and condition, and see what vertue was in fruit.

His temperance.
Marcell. lib. 3.
de Iuliano Iulian.
Iup.

(1) His temperance is commended to vs with admiration. He slept little, and could awake at pleasure: his bed was curd with the hardest, and his diet the meanest meat, and the moderate measure, whereby he neuer but once, and that by accident, durbarded his stomach by vomit, and would often say, that it was the fatetie of his life, that he neuer had any war with his belly. Such was his chastitie, that hauing lost at once in *Francia*, *Helena* his beloved wife, and her infant, his only Sonne, he neuer so much as in suspect, had an incontinent desire. And therefore of all the *Persian* beauties taken in those warres, as the richest spoiles, *Nee contrahere aliquam uoluit nec uidere*: Neither suffer in his Army either Cookes or Barbers, as being *delictum in armis, inter imperatores meminit*.

Marcell. lib. 3. cap. 34.

Marcell. lib. 3.

De Iuliano Iulian.
Iup.

Arces mepsum & *Theatru*: I force my selfe (saith he) from the view of Stage-places, and neuer but once a yeere permit my Eye that delight in Court; wherein the delecter of my mind is, *tanquam pauper agricolae tributum aliquod pendens inque Domini*. And when the action was performing, *familiar sum detestanti oculis ludis quim spectanti*. Yet doth *Marcellinus* tax him of much verborosie and affectation of vaine glory. And *Gregory Nazianzen* charging him with intemperate passion as vnconfortably, *Iust*: *But by his ranging and furious affect, his vnsteady and halting pace, his fleeing leaue, and immoderate laughter, I demer ante opera uidi qualem in operibus cognoui*.

Marcellinus, lib. 3.

Gregory Nazianzen
lib. 3. contra Iulianum.

His Justice.
Marcellinus, lib. 3.

(4) The loue of Justice in this Prince is remembered to vs in his rules of *DIRECTION*: for he so amended the Lawes *Ambagibus circumcissis*, that the Iudges might clearly fee, *Quid iuberet fieri quid octarent*: and in his *EXAMPLE* for imitation. For when to an innocent denial before him, *Delphidius* the Oratione inuighed saying; *Necesse est patitur quoniam innocentis suffocari*: himselfe replied, *Et qui innocentis esse potest non esse possit?* and so discharged the party. As for his clemency and charity, which ought to attend the sword and Scepter of a Soueraigne, since the one is *Magnanimitas remedium*, and the other will be *post concres tributum*; *Nebriodius* and *Lucilianus* are Regiments of the one, whom notwithstanding their conspiracies in fauour of *Constantinus*, hee not onely pardoned, but defended with perill of his owne person from the furies of his owne followers. And for the other, those his letters to *Arcadius* is a sure record, Let there bee in the Cities of your charge, many *Hospitalia erecta*: that the want of the vnsuffring may be releued by our benignitie: and not of them only of our Religion, but of all the right: for it fautes not well with the goodnes of our Government, that when the *Ieros* permit none of theirs to beg, and the wretched *Galileians* releue not only theirs, but ours, that ours should be the dispensation of other helpe.

Marcell. lib. 3.

De Iuliano. Epist.
ad Arcadium. G.
Liber.

Some haue blemished his bounty with the brand

of vainglory: thus did the *Antiochians* for deepening so much the reasonable price of Graine in their Markets, by a profuse expence of his owne Treasure, gaining thereby at first onely the applaude of the light multitude, after which he hunted, and drawing on in the end a miserable dearth, through the licentious exerceise of their improvidence: which often happeneth.

And as the banishment of *Palladius* into *Britaine* vpon a weak suspicion, *Taurus* to *Parcedum*, in whom the eye of Justice could finde no skarre; and to death *Vrsulus*, with *Figulus* (the first his Treasure, that had spent with him and on him his owne meanes, when being *Cesar*, he had little of his owne: the other the guide of his youth, and to whom he truly ought the greatest part of his goodnesse) may iustly blame him with lawlesse severity, and vngratefull cruelty: so may his malicious spirit against the *Christianians*, howeouer masking in more Art than many that went before him, set him vp in the ranke and top of the greatest Persecutor. And although there be some passages in his Government more calie then in some others that may imply a gentle disposition toward them, (Sometimes taking the Gods to witness, that the *Galileians* (for so he named the *Christianians*) should not vndergoe the least of injury, neither be led to Pagan sacrifice, or forced to any thing beyond the compasse of their owne consciences: and that he not onely revoked the Edict of *Constantine* the *Atrian* Emperour, whereby those holy men stood long exiled: but taking the advantage of an vproare begun by the *Atrians* (their Enemies) at *Edissa* seized vpon their goods, twolue too great in number and fortune by the graciouse aspect of his Predecessors, to whom hee dissembled himselfe a *Christian*: yet did he while he had in his owne hands the reime of Government, by all his actions and ends, declare himselfe an heauy opposit vnto them. Sometimes by alurements to assy to corrupt them; sometimes by a subtil siding with one faction of the Church, as he did with the Catholicke against the *Atrians*, to counterpeise their power, *sed secum regnaret*, that by such licence of sedition, *Nos timere vnum tantum phobem*, he need not feare the power of their vnite, as himselfe professed.

De Epist. Iulian.
In epist. ad Iulianum.
De Iuliano Iulian.
lib. 3. in Iulianum.

De Epist. Iulian.
Iup.

Epist. ad Iulianum.

From this vnfortunate plot of earthly policie (but with worse success) he minded the *Ieros* to redifie the Temple at *Ierusalem*, and renew their Sacrifice, permitting to them their debt of Tribute, and vowing that at his returne from *Persia* he would visit that holy Citie, and (as he faith to them) of *uoluntatem in re Deo optime gratias agam*: well beleueing that by raising such an opposit to the *Christianians*, he should suppress their increase, and annihilate their Prophecie of *Ierusalem* desolation. To repaire these cursed wallies against the prouidence of *Diuine Iustitie*, *Alipius* of *Antioch*, that had bene Governour of *Britaine*, was sent: but his indeuour, and the worke of all his Ministers, was interrupted by fearefull flaming ballies of fire, which issued from the Earth nere vnto those foundations, consuming very many of the *Ieros* and workemen; by reason whereof, this Element still giuing fresh assault on them, the place became vnaccessible, and the enterprise giuen ouer: so vaine it is for *Man* to strive against the decreed purpose of God. And it is by others affirmed, that at the same time can *Earthquake* to shooke those Foundations which were left by *Titus* vntouched, that one stone thereby was not left standing vpon another, but were all laid leuell with the ground: by which miraculous fights many *Ieros* were turned to the embracing of the *Christian* Earth, vpon whose garments fell formes of *Croesse*, which shined as the beames of the Sonne, neither could they by any meanes be washed or wiped away. *Alipius* that had bene chiefe in this business, was afterward confined into *Banishment*, with the losse of his goods, by *Valens* vpon suspicion of *Treason*. And thus farre of *Iulians* vailed harred: now of his open actions of despiight against the *Christianians*.

Constantinus no sooner dead (vnder whom as before

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 15.

Sabellian.

Iulianus lib. 3. cap. 4.

to affect the Empire, and restore the State. As touching his election, he calleth the Gods to witness his unwillingness, and the publick protestation he made against it at Paris, when he was there by the tumultuous *Arme* called *Adulphus*. And although by the great promotion made by him of Corne from *Britannie*, to hold a foot the *Arme* against the plot of *Constantius* (that grew now envious of his fortune, hee may seeme to have intended the ruine of his Sovereigntie) yett doo hee by the Gods of his great confidence, *lupiter* and the *Sonne*, protect. *Quod Constantinus occidere nunquam optavit, nisi ne id accidere contemnit.*

(7) But *Constantine* ending this quarrell and competition by his death, *Iulian*, whom a *Priest* had deduced with the hope of *Peris*, telling him that his fortunes should be like his fathers, like *Great Alexander*, desired in him a thirde desire after the surname *Perseus*: whereupon hee prepared an *Arme* for this expedition, and seeking the favour of his Gods the *Moon*, *Fortune*, and *Mars*, embred their Altars with the blood of an hundred Bulls at once, though manie ominous signes, as they were interpreted by his *Philosophers* and *Soothsayers*, forbade the same. Such was the great Earthquake happening in *Bithynie*, that swallowed up the Citie of *Nicomedia*. Rivers likewise are said to stand drie, even in the heart of winter; and *Springs* forgetting their usuall boilings, yielded not forth their wonted waters: yea and if wee will beleieve the reporters, his successe was foretold by the departure of an Angell, and by a *Meteor* gliding in the Aire. All which hee sought to prevent, by pacifying his *Heavenly Gods* with multitudes of *Sacrifices*: and with an *Arme* extended ten miles in length, entered *Peris*, cutting asunder the Bridges by which hee passed over his men, to adde to them more of resolution, as their meanes were lesse of returne, refusing all humble submission and composition offered him by their King: and at the place then called *Phrygia*, joined Battle against *Surrena*, a great Commander among the *Persians*, and *Mertres*, General of their Hosts, accompanied with two of the Kings sonnes, whose powers not able to resist the *Romans*, gave backe and fledde.

Iulian either vpon a vaine confidence, or sudden *Alarm*, had forgot to arme himselfe with his *Corslet* or *Brigandine*; and in following the disarmed flight of the *Persians*, lift vp his hands in signe of victorie: at which very instant a *Javelin* brucke throw his left *Arme* into the *floure Ribbet*, and brucke in the nether lapet of his *Liner*; which whilst hee endeavoured to plucke out, did cut the finewes of his fingers: whereat altogether distracted, hee fell forwards vpon his hor-

ses maine, and thence was carried vnto his *Familiam*. From whose hand this *Javelin* came (saith *Amianus*) God only knoweth. Some report the Caiser to have bene a *Justine Persian*: others say that from the hand of one of his owne Souldiers it proceeded: and *Calpurnius* one of his owne Guard, that wrote this *Battle in Hericall Persie*, affirmeth, that by some wicked *Fierd* or *Duvel*, this *Javelin* run him thorow. Howsoever, there are that report that in pulling out this *Liner*, and casting it into the aire with his blood, hee should utter this blasphemous speech, and say, *I am baptizme me, O Gilean*. At his setting forth he vowed to his Gods a *Sacrifice of Christians* if hee returned *Conquerour*, but he performed it with his owne. His flaine Corpes was carried to *Tarsus* a Citty in *Cilicia*, where with small pompe of *Funeral Obsequies* it was interred neere to the Citty side, which place himselfe for that purpose had formerly assigned: although *Nazianzen* affirmeth the earth to have opened, and in a flame of *Sulphur* to have sucked vp his body into her Wombe.

(8) Thus ended this Emperour, the twenty sixth of Iune, in the two and thirthe yeere of his age, and three hundred sixty and three of *Christis Nativity*, when he had reigned *Angustius* neere three, and *Cesar* full seven yeeres. Whole wit and eloquence needs no further testimonie then the Monuments of his owne *Pen*; nor his religious zeale more then the Function his youth so worthily performed in the Christian Church. His *Imperiall Vertues* we see match him in florid with *Titus*, in moderation with *Aurelian*, and for successe in warre, with *Traian*; three of the most excellent Princes; and his fortune was to see bounded within his sole greatnesse, what the hand of right and sword of tyrannie had loosed dispersed. But now one *Error*, his *Apostasy*, disrobing him of all his *Morall Vertues*, leaves him an obiect naked to the vulgarie, but as a Monster of men, and marke of infamie. I hold it therefore fitting no lesse the vs, then the iustice of a Story, to doe him (as I haue done) all his right: since in him we lesse that all those admirable endowments of *Nature*, embellished with all the morall and internall graces that *Art* could adde, are not the base of holinesse, without diuine grace; nor dalliance of *Fortune*, and fulnesse of *Empire* (that made this man wanton and forgetfull) is the center of security and happinesse, without heavenly protection: since from the seate of *Sacred Pietie* hee fell to *Pagan Superstition*: for many are called, but few are chosen; and in the feat of *Presumptuous Marius* hee felt the rod of *Diuine Revenge*.

Dysete Iustitiam mouit, et non tremere Diuis.

FLAVIVS IOVIANVS.

CHAPTER XXX.



Fla. Iovianus, Emp.

An. Do. 364.



He mindes of the whole Army being much distracted by the death of *Iulian*, the next day, being but twenty seven, they met, and consulted vpon a new Emperour: where for a while two factions were maintained, & with equal deserts argued, till

lastly in one accord they both agree vpon *Salustian*, a man very honourable and wise, but withall aged and weakke, and therefore hee absolutely refused the election. *Iovianus* by them then was nominated, in regard of his fathers desire indifferently commended, saith *Amianus*: but *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, and *Socrates* attribute great worths vnto himselfe, and confidently affirme his unwillingnesse to accept of that dignitie, for that the whole *Arme* had yielded to *Iulians Idolatrous Edicts*, openly professing himselfe to be

Amianus lib. 21. cap. 3.

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 18.

Eusebius lib. 8. c. 2. Theod. lib. 3. c. 25. Socrates.

Tobellius lib. 2. cap. 3. Iulian his Sacrifices.

An Earthquake.

Said that on 1.

An Army reaching ten miles.

Iulian brucke in the body with a Dart.

Math. 26. 68.

*Mentioned, Socrates.

Socrates lib. 3. c. 25.

a Christian, and withall protesting that he would not be a *Sacerdote* ouer an *Ethiopicke Empire*, vntill by the instance of the *Souldiers*, which declared themselves likewise to be *Christians*, he did accept of the same.

Iouianus his Personage.

(2) His Father was *Varrenianus*, by birth an *Hongarian*, a Captaine of good note, who not long before had laid downe his charge of warre, and retired into his Country, to a more quiet course of life. Himselfe serued *Julian* the *Apollata* in his Campe, from whence he departed by vertue of his Edict, commanding all *Christians* out of his pay, among whom *Iouianus* (as wee haue said) chose rather to cast from him his *Sword* and *Giraffe*, (marks of honour to *Military* Professors) then to forsake the *Ensigne* of his *Heauenly* Chiefeaine, and the Badge of his *Christian Profession*.

(3) No sooner was he clad in the *Purple Robe*, but one *Iouianus* (a *Roman Emperour*, lately at variance with this new *Elected Emperour*, then a private man) fearing the danger of so powerfull an *Enemie* stepped now about the degree of the common sort, resorted to the *Perfians*, and hauing good access, informed *King Sapor* of the death of *Julian*, (to them till then vnkowne) and disabling *Iouianus* for an *Unskilfull* and *Effeminate Captaine*, both encouraged the *Enemie*; and gaue directions how to take the advantage. The *Perfians* as ready to execute as ioyous to heare, set forward his forces, his *Elephants* leading the way, whose terrible brayings and fearefull approach much affrighted the *Roman Souldiers*. Afore battell was fought, and fountaines of blood drawne from the sides of both parts: wherein, with an infinite number of *Perfians*, *Iulianus*, *Mercelins*, and *Maximus*, three *Roman Tribunes*, of thofe *Legions* that then were the *Principall* of the whole *Army*, were slaine: in regard whereof, and especially for want of *Vittuall*, (whose cariage then was such, that for one *Pecke of Meale*, ten peeces of Gold were given) *Iouianus* made *Peace* with the *Perfians* for thirty yeeres, gining them five *Provinces* beyond *Tigris*, some *Cities* and *Fortins* in *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Nisibis* is named for one that had been the very sinewes and strength of the *Confines*, ever since the *Warres* of *Mithridates*: for which his doings, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Amianus* (who both liued in his daies) and of most the deed is held very dishonourable to the greatnesse of the *Roman Empire*: howbeit diuers others excuse him very iustly, considering the extreme misery and famine where *Julianus* left the *Army*, which was in apparant hazard to be giuen ouer for a pray to the *Enemy*, to the endangering of the whole *Empire*, had it not been thus preuented: and therefore they highly commend

Amian. Marcell.
lib. 24. cap. 15.
Eutrop. Tripan.
lib. 8. c. 3.

Proculus Orosius.
Sabinianus.

him herein, as the onely Preseruer of the *Roman Army*.

(4) Howsoeuer, he is highly commended by *Socrates*, (the continuor of *Eusebius* his History) who flourished about *Twelve hundred yeeres* since; for his constant faith grounded vpon the *Niuen Creed*, and for his *Learning* Reuerence to the *Christian Bishops*, recalling from banishment thofe that *Constantine* and *Julian* had exiled; among whom, *Athenasius* of *Alexandria* was one: putting downe the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *Gentiles*, and restoring to their *Officers* both in *Court* and *Campe*, thofe who for their *Conscience* had been expelled.

Socrates Schol.
lib. 2. cap. 10.

Bishops recalled
from banishment.

(5) At his departure from *Persia*, hee visited the *Citie Tarsus*, where he caused the Sepulchre of *Julian* (though otherwise he had found him merke both in *Affection* and *Religion*, yet for that hee was his preceeding *Emperour*) to be richly adorned: and taking *Antich* in his way for many daies together was troubled with some accidents, which that age did take for *Ominous signes*. For the Statue of *Maximianus Cæsar*, standing at the entrance into the *Kings Palace*, fell off the *Ball* or *Globe* out of his hand, no force mouing it: horrible sounds and noises were heard within the *Consistory*: and *Blazing-starrs* appeared at *Noone-day*.

Iouianus vnder-
standeth Iulianus
monde.

A Blazing Starr
seene at Noone-
day.

Thence therefore in great haste he marched, and at *Ancrea*, declared his sonne *Varrenianus* his *Cæsar*, a *verie Infant*, whose *Wrappings* and *unwilllingnesse* to ride in the *Imperiall Chariot*, portended (saith *Amianus*) that which after happened. For halting still towards *Constantinople*, he came to *Dadastana*, a place that diuidenth *Bithynia* and *Galatia* asunder, and there died suddenly of the obstructions and stopping of the *Lungs*, caused by the damp of a new mortered Chamber wherein he lay; or (as others write) by coales there set to dry the new feeling, whose vapors haning no issue, stifled him to death, the thirteenth day of February, the yeere of the worlds redemption, three hundred sixtie foure; after hee had reigned seuen moneths, and twenty two daies, aged thirty three yeeres.

Sabinianus.

Iouianus death.
His reign.
Amianus Marcell.
lib. 24. cap. 16.
Socrates schol.
lib. 2. cap. 10.

(6) For his personage, he was of goodly presence, both tall and big, his gesture graue, his eyes gray, and countenance pious: an affectionate brother & professor he was of the *Christian religion*, of indifferet learning himselfe, but a most honorable imbracer thereof in others, very precise and considerate in chooling of *Judges* and *Magistrates*; facile and familiar to his seruitors about him. His *Blowes* were these, that hee was a great feeder, and giuen to wine; and somewhat to that other *Vice* which usually accompanieth such intemperancies.

Iouianus shape
and disposition.



FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS } Emp. FLAVIVS VALENS.

CHAPTER L.



Flavivs Va-
lentinianus,
Emp.

Flavivs Va-
lens, Emp.

An. Do. 364

Antoninus Mar. III.
18. sep. 5.

Securus in rectif.
18. sep. 5.

Chap. 47. fol. 4

Valentinianus &
Christianus.

Theodore.



Recently vpon the death of *Iulianus*, by a secret whispering and running rumor, *Eugenius*, Tribune of the *Senatus*, was nominated Emperor, a man naturally rigorous, and rude; and therefore disliked of the better advised, and no further followed. But frō

him, their voices turned to *Iulianus*, a kinsman to the last deceased *Iulianus*, at that present Governor of *Africum*. But he also reiected, *Valentinianus*, then absent, was Elected at *Nice*, as a fit and meet person for the managing of their Warres, and good of the *Wede-publike*.

(2) His birth was of *Pannonia*, in the *Circus Celsus*, of meane and poore parentage; the sonne of *Gracian* (spoken of before, who by trade was a *Rape-seller*, but of great strength; and therefore by sence preferred to places of account, and had been made Ruler of *Britaine*. His owne life likewise was spent in service of Warre, and was ere-while a *Captaine* over the *Targathens*; but *Iulian* requiring him either to *Sacrifice* to his Gods, or to leave his place; he chose rather to lay aside his Belt then his Faith and *Christianitie*, as likewise *Iulianus* had done; and so for neglecting a litle honour then, he had now a farre greater bestowed on him by the disposer of all Earthly Kingdomes. The Estate so vrging it, he made *Valens* (his Brother) Partner in the Empire, the trumpets every where sounding warres throughout the Roman World. For the *Almans* invaded *Gaul* and *Rhetia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* made spoile of *Pannonia*: the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Sents*, and *Attacens* infested the *Britaines*: the *Austrians* made roades into *Africa*: the *Goths* ranfackd *Thracia*, and the *Persians* entered *Armenia*. For which cause, *Valens* remained to defend the East, and *Valentinianus* tooke his progresse into the West, where in three *Battles* vnder the conduct of *Iulianus*, hee discomfited the *Almans*: and *Valens* likewise ouercame and beheaded *Proce-*

pins; whose feature we haue here expressed, a dangerous surper in the East.



(1) But in *Britaine* things prospered not so well: for by the generall bandings of the forlaid *Nations*, their old *Enemies*, the *Franks* was fore distressed and brought to extreme misery. For *Nestorius*, Admiral of the *British* Fleet they flew, and *Belisander*, Lord Warden of the *Marches*, by a traine of these barbarous people, was forelaid & assailed on every side. The intelligence of which occurrences, when it was brought to *Rome* with great horror, the *Emperour* first sent hither *Securus*, Steward of his *House*, if fortune would happily speed his hand, to redresse whatsoever had happened amisse. But he in short time being called away, had not the hap to see the wished successe. Then *Iunius*, famous for his Warres in *Germany*, came into the same parts; and feeling the puissance of the *Enemy*, meant to cruse aid of the *Auxiliary Forces*, the vrgent necessitie requiring so much: at last, in regard of many (and those fearefull) accidents, which rumor continually reported, reaching the state of this land, hither was designed *Theodosius*, a man esteemed most happy, and approved for his *Martial* prowess, who with a bold resolution and select power both of *East* and *West*, set forward for *Britaine*.

(4) The *Picts* at that time were diuided into two *Nations*, to wit, *Deuadidones* and *Pesturians*. The *Attacens* likewise a warlike kinde of people, and the *Sents* ranging in diuers parts, waited all where they went.

Anton. Mar. III.
18. sep. 5.

Nestorius
Basis.

* Withness
Pels.
* Eastward Pits.

went, As for the *Traffs of Gauls*, the *Frankers* and *Saxons* their neere confined neighbours, whereſoeuer they could brake forth, and make *Roads by Sea or Land*, made hauocke heere by ſeizing of *Barkes*, ſiring of *Towers*, in killing of men and women, and leading away *Captiues*. To Ray theſe woſull miſeries, if the *Meaneſ* had bene ſo benigne, this valiant *Captaine* intended a voyage to this *our end of the World* : and coming to *Bononia*, which lieth diuided from the oppoſite tract of *Land* by a narrow Channell ebbing and flowing with terrible *Tides*, where the *waters* are ſcene ſometimes to match the height *Mountain*, and ſome to ſtride with the ſuell of the *Plaines*, without any harme of *Sailers or Paſſage* : this *Slew* with a gentle courſe hee croſſed, and arrived at *Antipie*, a quiet *Road* and *Harbour* our againſt it: from whence alſter that the *Balkanians*, the *Herau Jony* and *Vllores* (Companies bold and confident in their ſtrengths) were come, he marched towards *Laudinium*, an ancient *Citie*, which poſſeſſities afterwards named *Anguſta*: and hauing ſeuered his *Troopes* into ſundry parts; he charged vpon thoſe companies of roning and robbing enemies, even when they were heauie laden with *Barkes* and *ſpoils*, and were driving away before them both *Aſen* and *Women* bound for their *Captiues*; beſides much *Cattle*, and a great *Prey*. Theſe hee ſoon diſcomfited, and reſtored to the poore diſtreſſed *Tributaries* their *Liberties* and *Liſſes*, beſtowing ſome ſmall parcels thereof among his weary and well-deſerving *Souldiers*; and entered the *City* with exceeding great ioy, in manner of a *Petty-triumphe*, which ere-while was ouerwhelmed with *Calamities*, but now on the ſudden reſtored and ſet in perfect ſafety.

(1) Vpon this proſperous ſucceſſe encouraged to greater attempts, hee abode yet doubtfull of the future, ending with himſelfe many projects, which poſſed *Fortunes Scales* alike: but laſtly by certain *Captiues* and *Fugitiues* hee learned that thoſe *Companies* of ſundry fierce *Nations*, ſpread ſo farre and diſſeuidly vpon the face of the *Prouince*, could not be vanquiſhed, unleſſe it were by ſleights and *Stratagemes*. By *Edicts* therefore hee firſt proclaimed *impunitie* to ſuch as had forſaken their *Celerys*; if they would returne, whereby many which had run to the *Enemie*, or at their owne pleaſures had bene diſperſed into diuers parts, came in, and by their countenance declared their reſolutions in his behalf. Notwithſtanding, miſtruſting the euent, and penſiue ſtill with cares, hee thought good to call to his aſſiſtance *Chauls*, a man of great vnderſtanding, quick ſpirit, and withall an vpright *Iuſticer*, who was to rule *Britaine* as *Deputie*, and likewise *Dalcitus* a *Captaine*, renowned for his ſkill and deedes of *Armes*.

(6) After *Conſultation* with them, hauing gotten courage and departing from *Anguſta* with a power of *Souldiers*, which in his politike indolence hee had leuiſed and trained to his hand, hee brought exceeding great ſuccour euerly where vnto the troubled and conſuſed ſtate of the *Britaines*, gaining before hand ſuch places in each part, as might giue aduantage to annoy the *barbarous Enemie*; and enioined the *Common Souldiers* no ſeruice, whereof himſelfe toke not the *Aſſy* with a cheerefull heart: in this ſort performing as well the *Offices* of an *Admiral* and hardy *Souldier*, as the careful charge of a right-noble *Generall*, he diſcomfited & put to flight diuers *Nations*, whom inſolent *Pride* (fed with ſecurity) had incited and ſet on fire, to invade the *Romane Territories*; and ſo reſtored wholly vnto their former ſtate the *Cities* and *Cafles* which had ſuſtained many loſſes, and eſtabliſhed a ſure peace for a long time following.

(7) Now there happened whiles hee attended theſe exploits, a dangerous matter likely to haue broken out into great miſchiefe, had it not bene quenched in the very beginning of the enterpriſe: for one *Valentinus* of *Valeria* *Patronia*, a man of a proud ſpirit, firſt *Deputy Lieutenant* and alſer *preſident*, for ſome notable offence baniſhed into *Britaine*, as *Frontinus* immediately before had bene, as one impatient of

reſt, like ſome noiſome wilde Beaſt, vpon a certaine ſwelling pride, roſe vp in commotion againſt *Theodoſius*, whom hee perceived to be the only man able to withſtand his wicked deſignes. Howbeit, calling about many waies, both cloſely and apparently, as the gale of his vnmearurable deſire roſe higher, hee ſolicited as well the baniſhed perſons as *Souldiers*, promiſing (as the time would alſoſordly) rewards to allure and draw them on to ſome aſſaill attempt. Yet when the day came wherein it ſhould haue bene effected, *Theodoſius* hauing intelligence thereof, ſurprized *Valentinus* with ſome few of inward complices, and deliuered them vnto *Dalcitus*, to be put to death accordingly. But in his militaie ſkill and policie, (wherein hee was reputed to haue exceeded all men liuing in thoſe daies) getting at ſuture dangers, hee inhibited all *Inquiſitions* to be made touching the reſt of the *Conſpirators*, left to generally a feare ſurprizing at once, and ſpread abroad among many thoſe trempetuous troubles of the *Prouinces*, which were now well allaid, ſhould reuiue againe.

(8) Therefore turning himſelfe from this buſineſſe to the reforming of ſuch enormities as were of moſt conſequence, now that all dangers were quite ouer-blowne, hee reſtored the *Cities*, repaired the *Gariſon Caſles*, and fortified the *Frontiers* with ſtanding *Watches*, and ſtrong *Fortreſſes*. And thus hauing recovered the *Prouince* againe which had yielded ſubiection to the *Enemies*, hee reduced it vnto the priſtine *ſtate*, ſo as by his meanes and motion hee had againe a *lawfull Governour* appointed, and alſo named it *VALENTIA*, in honour of *Valentinianus* the Emperor.

(9) The *Arcanes*, a kinde of men (as witneſſeth *Amaſius*) inſtituted by thoſe of ancient times for politike implements, who by little and little were fallen into diſorders and vices, hee remoued from their *Sitians*, as being manifeſtly conſiſtred, for that (induced with the greatneſſe of rewards receiued or promiſed) they had diſſepts times diſcovered vnto the *Barbarous* whatſoeuer was done or debated betwixt the *Preſident* and his *Counſell*: for indeed their charge was to runne to and fro by long iournies, to intimate and make knowne vnto the *Romane Captiues* vpon the *Marches*, what doings and ſtirres were among the *Neighbour Nations*; whereby they had great opportunities both to know and reueale the ſecrets of the *State*.

(10) And thus *Theodoſius* hauing managed moſt excellently theſe affaires, was lent for to the *Emperours Court*: who leauing the *Prouince* ouer-ioied for their *Peace*, was no leſſe famous for his many important *Viſceres*, then was either *Varus Cornelius*, or *Papinianus Carſer*. And being honourably accompanied and attended vnto the *Narrou Sea*, with the hearty loue and fauour of all men, departed, and with a gentle gale of winde paſſed ouer, and came to the *Princes Camp*, where (being receiued with ioy and praiſe) hee ſucceeded in the roome of *Valens Iunioris*, who had the conduct of the *Warſomen*. For theſe his Martiall deedes ſo happily achieved, in honour of him there was a *Statue* erected, reſembling a *Man of Armes* on *Horſebacke*, as by *Symmachus* may be vnderſtood, thus ſpeaking to his ſonne *Theodoſius*: The *Author* of your hundred and ſixtye, *Captaine* Generall both on *Africa* and *Britaine*, was (among other ancient *Titles*) conſecrated by the moſt honourable Order with *Statues of Knighthood*. And in his commendations, *Claudian* with full noce thus poetically ſing:

*Ille Caledonijs poſuit qui Caſtra prauis,
Lynceus Libys ſub Caſide perſuſus aſſur.
Terribilis Mauris, debellatrix Britanno
Litteris, ac pariter Borca caſtrisq; & Auſtri.
Quid riget aſternus? Cui quid ſidera preſunt?
Ignomiam ſcitum? Maduerunt Saxone ſuſa
Oracles, euulſit Piſſorum ſenſumque Tule,
Scotorum comales ſenſu glaciſus Hitherne.*

*In Caledonian ſtroſſe his Tents hee pitcht,
And Lybians ſearching heat endur'd in Field:*

*Valentinus & R.
bell. p. 10. deſc.*

*Theodoſius in cap.
p. 10. deſc.*

*Britains called
Valens & R.*

Arcan. deſc. p. 10.

*Arcan. reſcued
from theſe
ſtations.*

*Theodoſius com-
parable to Co-
melius.*

Symmachus.

*Claudian in prae-
ſe of Theodoſius.*

*The Cackling Mares, and Drunken fore, in fight
He queld, and for'd both South and North to peid.
What then could eold Clime strange Seas, or Starres,
When Orkney flie be drencht with Saxons gore;
When Thule did reake with Pitt's blood fill in warres,
And Irelande do longe heapes of Scots deplore?*

Dreadfull fights,
and fearfull
Earthquakes.
Athen. Marcell.
lib. 1. cap. 14.

Quilts of the Sea
land here, and
many Cities
drowned.

Paulin Orosius.
S. Jerome.
Wool came
from Heaven.

Arrian. Marcell.
lib. 10. cap. 9.
Frammarus made
King of the East-
Indians.

(11) Strange and dreadfull were the signes that
in the third yeere of this Emperour chanced; as Earth-
quakes, inundations, and the like; whereof *Arrianus*
thus reporteth: A little after the Sunne-rising (such he)
the waighy and fleshy mist of the whole Earthly Globe
flowed, flues of lightning very thicke and fierce going
before: the Sea also driven aside, and the waies and hollowes
so proportionally tumbling and retiring back, that the deepe
Gulfs being discovered and laid empty, a multitude have
sene sundry sorts of swimming creatures floating in the
wilde: Also the vast Vallies and Racket, which Nature
had set farre away under the huge Waters, did now behold
the Beames of the Sunne; insomuch that many Ships were
bedded fast in the drie ground, and flukes of people streight
as their pleasure in the small remanens of water, to take up
Fishes as the Sea-fishes, when on the sudden the waves dis-
sembling to be thus dispossessed, returned with such violent
beating upon the Lands and Promontories, which lay farre
into the Sea, as that they over-flowed, and land itself an in-
finite number of buildings and Cities. And therefore in
this furiosum disorder of the Elements, the surface of the
world being covered, represented strange and wonderfull
fighes. Among which *S. Jerome* reporteth, that there
rained Wool from Heaven so perfect and good, that no bet-
ter grew upon the Sheepe, the naturall Producer. But to
returne.

(12) *Frammarus*, whom *Valentinianus* had ordain-
ed to be King of the *Bucinobantes* in Germanie, was
made Tribune and Colonell over a Regiment of *Almans*
in Brittain, which for number and valour in those
daies were renowned; where (no doubt) matter e-
nough was ministered for him to worke upon. But the
death of the Emperour presently following, admits no
mention of further discourse: which happened in this
manner: The *Rhods* after many molestations done
to the *Roman Legions* and their Confederates, sent their
Ambassadors unto him, desiring pardon for their for-
mer fautes committed, and an abolishment of all re-

membrances thereof: with whom being in earnest
conference, suddenly the blood gushed out of his
mouth; and being laid upon his bed, shortly after di-
ed of an Apoplexie, or rather of the *Plague*, as the *blew*
Markes appearing vpon his dead body gave con-
fidence: *November* the twentieth, of his age fiftie five
yeeres, having reigned eleven yeeres, eight moneths,
and two daies, in the yeere of our Christ three hun-
dred seuentie five.

(13) For preference, he was Majestically, of bodie
fat, his complexion faire, his eies gray, and having
therewith som what a true cast, his haire shining bright,
his joints strong and well knit: he was a Prince merci-
full and loosing, and mitigated many Tributes for-
merly imposed on the *Provinces*: a wife Warriour,
sterne in countenance, halbie of speech, and chaste of
body, a good Iudice, and impatient of all delays. But
these his *Vertues* with some *Vices* were accompanied:
for he is taxed with enuie and partialitie, in punishing
severely the poore *Sculdres* for small offenses, but re-
missive to the faults of their *Captaines* and *Leaders*,
and that was the cause (by *Arrianus* has report) of the
troubles in Brittain, the losses in *Africke*, and the wa-
ring in *Thrace*.

(14) His *Asian* brother *Valens* succeeding him,
reigned Emperour in the *East* by whose sufferance the
Barbarian Gothes entered *Thrace*, which presently pro-
ved to be the bane of the *Roman World*, for that these
Gothes (a strange and ynkowne People till then) be-
ing forced out of a secret Nook in *Syria*, by the
Hog-Backs Hunnes, rushing as an irresistible wherle-
winde from those *High Mountains*, invaded the *Cosses*
about *Danubius*, and obtained licence from *Valens* to
passe the *River Danew* into *Thrace*, where long in
quiet they staid not, but like a violent Flood running
with a full current, they over-whelmed all before
them, overcoming the *Romans* in many Battles, and
in one slew the Emperour *Valens*, with most of his ap-
prooned *Captaines*, and twenty five Tribunes that had
charge of *Regiments*, the third part of his Armie
hardly escaping vnsaine. Some report that *Valens*
flying the *Pelts*, tooke into a house neere *Adrianople*,
whither being pursued by the *Lombes*, and his *Head* fi-
red vpon his head, was therein burned to ashes, after
he had late Emperour fourteen yeeres.

Secret. Hist. 102.
lib. 4. cap. 28.
Valentinianus
death.

Valentinianus his
preference and
vices.

Valens Emperour
in the East.

Asian Marcell.
lib. 1. cap. 14.

Gothes overcome
the Romans.
Duke's Summe.



FLAVIVS GRACIANVS } Emp. FLA. VALENTINIANVS IVNIOR }

CHAPTER LI.



Gracianus &
Valentinianus
Emp.

An. Do. 376.

Gracianus Mar.
376. 377. 378. 379.
Gracianus and Valentinianus Emp.

376. 377. 378. 379.

Gracianus being
376. 377. 378. 379.

Gracianus being
376. 377. 378. 379.

Gracianus being
376. 377. 378. 379.

Gracianus being
376. 377. 378. 379.



Gracianus, the Eldest Sonne of Valentinianus, by his Emperesse Mother, was made his Father's Colleague in the Empire in the fourth yeere of his Reigne: notwithstanding six daies after his death, his second Sonne Valentinianus, a Child of four yeeres old, by the ad-

vice of the Counsell and generall consent of the Camp, was also stiled and proclaimed Emperour. These Brothers lived in much love, and ruled in the West, as their vncle Valens did in the East, of whom wee last spake. And albeit Gracianus had taste of displeasure, that this his Younger Brother was thus advanced without his allowance, yet he as a Prince kind and naturall, regarded his Brother exceedingly, and brought him vp in all tender affection, forgetting the wrong offered unto himselfe and his owne Mother for Valentinianus mother sake.

(2) The Mother of this Valentinian was Justina, a damzell of an admirable feature and exceeding beauty, surpassing all other women so farre, that the Emperesse her selfe fell in love with her, and vially conuersed with her familiarly as her equall, imparting her most priuate secrets vnto her as her trustie Counsellor, and often basking together in the same Bath. Neither was her ardent affection contained within the measure of womanish modestie, in so much as she restrained not in the hearing of the Emperour (her Husband) to extoll her incomparable beauty, preferring her far above any creature in the World. Whereupon Valentinianus so farre affected this Lady, as that he tooke her to his Wife, by whom he had this young Valentinian, and also three Daughters, notwithstanding Justina was yet living.

(3) The foremes of the Gothes as a violence tempest beating still against the Shores of the Roman Frontiers, caused Gracianus to leave Seyle toward the South Harbour, and to commit the guidance of his shippe to the most assured Pilot: their forces

being so great, and their outrages so terrible, that hee thought it best not so adventure his owne person, but to employ some other approued Captain. For which exploit, none was held more sufficient then Theodosius, the Sonne of that Theodosius who was so famous for his Britishe Warres, and whose life was taken away by Valens the Easterne Emperour. Him he made first Captaine Generall of the Roman Empire and immediately vpon his first seruice against the Gothes, his Fellow Emperour and Augustus, allotting him those parts in the East, that his vncle Valens lastly had enjoyed.

(4) In many Battels, fought to the last drop of blood, this worthy Generall overcame the Gothes, so that their King Athanasius was lastly inforced to sue for his Peace, which vpon honourable compositions was granted, and himselfe in most princely manner entertained by Theodosius in the Imperiall Citie Constantinople, where falling sick after three moneths, he died, and was both much lamented, and sumptuously buried by the Emperour. These reports caused Sapor, the most puissant King of Persia, to submit himselfe vnto Theodosius, and by his Ambassadors, attending his Court, obtained his Amistie. Thus gloriously reigning and perfect peace established, he ordained his young sonne Arcadius his Fellow Emperour in the East.

(5) But the affaires in the Western Empire proceeded nothing so fortunately: for Gracianus a merke and soft tempered man, ballanced with Theodosius, was held without regard; and Valentinian by his Prefect Preboscus, held both Rome and Italy at his deuotion, onely Gallia obeyed Gracianus. For Clemens Maximus borne in Spain, but descended lineally from Constantine the Great, by his affability and liberal carriage, had wonne the affections of the Brittaines to side with him; a man, no doubt, both Valiant and Wise, had he held his allegiance to his Soueraigne Lord. But the time fitting his purposes, when the Scots and Picts with their wonted inroad, sore indamaged the Province, he set himselfe for their deliuerance, and thereon sped so well, that the Soldiers by constraint (as Orosius saith) forced him to assume the Imperiall Stile and Purple Robe. And

Theodosius, Cap-
taine generall of
the Roman Em-
pire, and fellow
Emperour.

Theodosius over-
came the
Goths.

Arcadius V. King,
Prefect Orosius.

Sapor King of
Persia.

Clemens Maxi-
mus rebelleth
Goths.

An. Do. 381.

376. 377. 378. 379.

Charm. Max. well attended the Imperial Suite.

so having into *Gallia*, with all the flower and strength well near of the *Britannia* forces, arrived in the mouth of *Rhene*, unto whom also the *German* Army joined, and now accounting himselfe an absolute Monarch, admitted *Victor* his sonne, then *Cesar*, to be partner of his Empire, whose *Stampe* therefore with his father we have here annexed.



(6) Thus *Maximus* establishing his throne at *Triers*, spread his wings (saith *Cyprian*) the one into *Spain*, the other into *Italy*, and with the terror of his Name, leaved *Tribrates* and *Pannonia* for *Souldiers* pay, of the most fell and savage *German*.

Against him *Gracianus* made his power, but after five daies skirmishings was forsaken of his own *Souldiers*, and so put to flight. And now dejected and deliquite of names to maintaine his quarrell, hee sent *Ambrosius* (a great Doctor of the Church) his Ambassador unto *Maximus*, to treat for *Peace*, which in outward shew was granted, but was faine otherwise intended, as the sequell proved. For seeking his death, hee did shortly after effect it in this wise: He caused Letters, and reports to be given unto *Gracian*, that his Emperre was in journey to visit him, and withall sent forth a *Carriage* stuffed with *Souldiers*, and with them a desperate *Captaine* named *Andragathus*. *Gracian* greatly rejoycing for his wifes approach, prepared himselfe to meet her accordingly, and opening the Letter, thinking to embrace his Emperre, was by these *Ruffins* treacherously murdered neere unto *Tours*, when he had reigned fiftene yeeres, and lived twentie nine. *Valentinian* with his Mother *Iuliana*, fearing the like conspiracies, became supplicants unto *Theodosius* in the East against *Maximus*.

(7) He therefore preparing his forces, marched as fast as *Aquileia* in *Lombardy*, where *Maximus* remained both confident and secure. For having fortified the straits of the *Mountains* with sufficient *Garrison*, and dammed the *Naues* with strength of *Ships*, himselfe and assistants with great boldnesse proceeded against *Theodosius*, and gave him a battell before the *Citie* *Sylva* in *Pannonia*, and againe most valiantly received him in another, under the leading of his brother *Marellus*; but in both of them was overcome. From this last, hee secretly retired unto *Aquileia*, where of his own *Souldiers* hee was betrayed, and delivered to *Theodosius* his pursuers and by him to the Ex-

ecutioner to be beheaded: of which his vnfortunate, but deterred end, the famous Bishop *Martinus* Turnough being in *Britaine*, did foretell him long before. *Andragathus* also, the Murderer of *Gracian*, whose fate was now desperate, cast himselfe headlong into the Sea, and made an end of his wicked life. *Victor* the sonne of *Maximus*, made his *Casir* in *France*, as we have said, was defeated, taken Prisoner & slain. This victory was held so worthy and memorable, that the *Romans* from thence forward solemnized that day every yeere as festiual, saith *Prosperus*.

(8) But these *Britaines* that had assailed *Maximus*, as by Writers is recorded, did forcibly invade *Armorica*, and there planted themselves: From whence (saith *Bede*) the *Britaine* first arrived into this Island. But surely himselfe is either greatly mistaken, or else we must take him altogether, and that rather, for that by *Cesar* those Counties that lie vpon the Sea borders, are called *Armorica*, and there the *Celts* lived, being the Originall of our Inhabitants, as is holden, and so from thence they might spread themselves further into these *British* Islands, long before it received the name of *Little Britaine*. The like troubles fell to other *Provincers* at the sametime, by the inselme *warres* of the Emperre: for the *Gauls* were molested by the *Frankes*, *Spain* by the *Sacians*, and *Africk* by the *Vandals*: the East parts by the *Heruls*, *Ostroges*, and *Hunnes*; *Italy* by the *Lombards* and shortly after by the *Goths*.

(9) These troubles in the *Provincers*, caused the Emperre to call home their Armies, with Aides of their Allies, & all too little to support their own declining Estates, which now beganne to end of it selfe, and these Emperres raignes to be cut off by their vnmity death.

But to retorne into the path of our History, from whence (by the intangled occasions of these foure Emperres raigning together) we have windred; let vs remember what occurrents happened vpon the death of *Maximus* the Tyrant, and hasten to end the greatness of the Empire, which in most *Provincers* began to end of it selfe. For *Valentinian* being rid of his faires, unto which hee had bene subiect, and *Theodosius* of his *Caligae*, vnto whom hee was enforced; great hope was conceived of a flourishing Estate, but it brought forth onely the remains of their downefall: for the one returning to *Constantinople* in great Triumph, liued not long after; and the other left peaceably in the *Western* World, was (as you haue heard) loone made away by *Conspiracie*.

(10) *Valentinian* remaining at *Vienna* in *France*, free from Hostile Enemies, retained in his Court those that fought his life, whereof *Arbogastes*, a *Captaine* of a haughty stomacke, politticke, aduenturous, and of great power, but withall of a base Perverse, a stranger and an Infidell, was one; *Eugenius* a *Grammarian*, but now bearing *Armes*, and of great account, was another. These corrupting his *Chamberlaines*, compounded for his death, which they as wickedly performed, by strangling him in his bedde, giving it forth that the Emperre had hanged himselfe; which was so confidently mouched, that *Prosperus* in his Addition to *Eusebius* writing his death, saith, that it was ailed by himselfe, after hee had liued twenty six, and reigned fiftene yeeres, being strangled in the yeere of Grace three hundred eighty foure.

Valentinian was
killed.
An. Dom. 388.
Andragathus
murdered him-
selfe.

Clemens Maximus
was strangled
against
Gracian

Andragathus a
murderer.

Gracian, his
death & escape.

Arbogast a
conspirator.

Eugenius a
Goth
soldier, murderer.

Valentinian
strangled.

Prosperus.

Valentinian
killed
himselfe.





FLAVIVS THEODOSIVS.

CHAPTER LII.

Flu. Trade-
Emp.



An Do. 102



I haue declared in the life of the last preceding Emperour, the Birth and Fortunes, Warres and Victories of this most worthie *Theodasius*, vntill the death of *Maximus the Britaine*, (for so most writers terme him) and now onely remaine his latter Acts in her related.

(2) This Emperor returning from Aquileia in Lombardy vnto Constantinople in the East, long time there staid not, but was drawne againe into the West both to reuenge the death of Valentinian his Fellow-Emperor fortrochiously strangled, and also to oppose the proceedings of Eugenius, whose Coine we haue here exprest, being one of the Murderers then vnting that portion of the Empire, sided by Arbaces the other.

These two groups
again refer to
the end of the

*Erpinnia flammula*

(3) *Theodofius* marching with his forces towards the *Confines of Italie* found the passages stopped at the foot of the *Alps*, and his *Enemies* powers farre surmounting his : Therefore a while to deliberate on these businesses, hee pitched his *Tents*, and there staid. In the meane time *Eugenius* and *Archieus* his associate had forelaid the Countrey, and hummed him about in such a strait, that no victuals could bee brought vnto his Campe.

(4) No means being now left, but either to cleave the passages, or be overthrowne, he first became supplicant with *Prayers* and *Tears* unto his God, whom he knew to be the God of *Heaven* and whom ever he had feared, and whose aid had hitherto never failed him: whereupon boldly encouraging his men, he accepted of the *Field*. But the Battle furiously begunne, fell so sore against him, that ten thousand of his *Souldiers* were presently slaine, and the rest despairing ready to flie, himselfe at that instant had beene surprized, had not God turned the heart of *Athens*, *Captaine* of his *Enemies*, suddenly to come to his aide, and to rescue him. *Therewith* much daunted by this *unfortunate beginning*, yet conceived better hopes of the following *issue*, trusting to the vprightnesse of his *Cause*, and the helpe of his God, which still he im-

Thou dost praise
 us to God for
 victory.

Selfish Expansion
7 Col. 4.

plored, till the *Hausas* were propitious to his earnest
desires.

(5) For suddenly a violent tempest arose, and a raging wind rushed so extremely on the faces of his Enemies, that they were in no wise able to withstand it, the power thereof beating backe againe their darts into their owne sides; whereas the arrows shot from the Emperors part, were thereby forced with double strength to pierce through the *Rebels* Iron plates, whereby a molligrivous victory was obtained; and *Engenius* taken, who lay grollelling at the Emperors feete, deploring his estate, and craving his pardon; but even as hee kneeled with cries and tears, the *Souldiers* standing by bruckt off his Head. And *Archangelus* the Author of their evils by flight escaping, two daies after ran himselfe upon his sword, and so reuenged on himselfe his owne wicked actions. This victory was achieved the sixth of September, in the yeere of grace three hundred ninety six, by *Stratus* account; and was so famous, that belies the Records of *Crinith Historians*, *Claudian* a Heathen Poet thus eternizeth the same in his Heroick Poeme

Thereafter about
with nature.

Source: *Excl. Inf.*
 Excl. Inf. Co.

Expenses Incurred.

strafgefallen billigt
habe ich ihn.

*Gods darling dears, the heavens thy soldiers were in arms,
And winds conspired to aid and follow thy alarms.*

(4) *Theodolus* thus delivered, repaired vnto *Milica*, where worne with yeeres and trauels, flouently after he sickened vnto death. And fending for his Son *Horatius*, made him *Emperour of the West*, and to *Ancasus* gaue the *Eggs*, wherein hee had before made him his *Cesar*. The *Prætor of Africa* be assigned to the gouernment by one *Gylas* in his Sonnes behalfe, and in the *New-age of Arcadius* appointed *Rufinus* for *Consul*, and *Stiliche* Tutor to young *Horatius* in *Italy*, three moeth worthy men vndoubtedly, had the gratefull of their spirits bene contained within the luts of their trauell and places.

(7) This last named *Flavius Stilicho*, famous for a long time, and an inward companion with *Theodosius*, had been employed in the *Britannian* wars against the incursions of the *Scots, Picts, and Pelagi*, and therein had borne himself with fortunate success, as the Poet *Claudian* implieth, where he bringeth in *Britannia* thus speaking :

*Me quod, viciniis perantem Gentibus, angat,
Munus sit Spicchio, sed cum quoniam Sentis thibetum
Mons, Et infestis summas remige T betis.
Illum effugam curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem, ne hostes toto
Prosperum adhuc venierem Saxona ventis.*

Thompson, George.

Hammaria and *Atracodium* made European.

Golden Ostrich
of Africa.

Refined Concentration of Capitalism,
Salisbury Conn.

But the comedian
suspended in the
South West as

Smith is commended by *Canadian* for his services in *Germany*.

And I, faith she, that ready was
By bordering foes to perishe,
When Scots did cause the Irish stirres,
then Spalcho did me cherish.

序

*When Seas did foam with strokes of Oares,
that beat the bellies backe,
His forces effecting with his cares,
presented still my wreake:
He had me feare no further power,
that Scots or Picts could make,
Nor of the Saxons that on Seas,
overraine courses take.*

So that being by him freed from those many dangers, and all her enemies overthrowne, shee singeth her security by the same Poet.

—Domito quod Saxone Theris
Matris ant fractis securi Britannia Pictis.

*My Seas, though rough are calmd,
fish Saxons conquer'd are,
And I securely rest,
new Picts are queld in warre.*

But this her ioy through the Treasons of these three Gouernours, was loone turned into lamentations and teares, and the whole Empires glory brought to a fallall period, as presently it will appeare.

(1) This Theodosius for his Princely parts by all writers is ranked among the very best of all the Emperours: And as he is likened to Trajan for his feature and personage, so may be compared in wisdom to Marcus Aurelius: In temperance with Antoninus Pius: For his Christian profession and deuotion, with Constantine the Great: and for his meeknes, c-

quall to any: Whereof among many other, we haue one example very remarkable, vpon an offence committed by the Inhabitants of Theſſalonica, hee commanded most severe punishment to bee inflicted, which was so vnadvisedly executed, that as well the innocent, as the offenders were involved therein. He then coming to Milan, would haue entered the Church to haue communicated with other Christians in their sacred deuotions, which Ambrose, the great Doctor, and Bishop of that See (though otherwise a man of admirable mildnesse) resisted and forbade, in which estate the Emperour stood for eight moneths continuance: and then with great humility & submission, acknowledging his offence was absolved, and againe receiued into the congregation: For preventing of the like rash offences by him committed, he then enacted a Lawe, that thirty daies should passe betwixt the sentence of death, and the execution of the Malefactor: And to suppress his hasty choller (wherunto he was much subiect) his usual manner was to recite the *Greek Alphabet*, before hee vntured any speech sueruing of that humour.

(2) He died January the fourteenth, the yeere of the worlds happines three hundred ninety five: when he had reigned seuenne years, and liued sixty, as *Aurilius Victor* writeth, with whom he ends his History. His first wife was *Flavia*, a religious Lady, the Mother of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, by his second wife hee had a daughter named *Placidia Galla*, first married vnto *Athenasius* King of the *Goths*, and after his death vnto *Constantine*, whom *Honorius* her brother made *Augustus* and his fellow Emperour.

Theodosius upon his submission, absolved by the Church.

Theodosius his Act to suppress anger.

Saxons calmd.

Theodosius his death and personage.

There is from his nature.



{ ARCADIVS } { HONORIVS } Emperours.

CHAPTER LIII.



Arcadius Emp. East.

Honorius Emp. West.

Anno 395.



Asail was the Act of Theodosius, in his Election of the three foresaid Protectors, whose greatnes carried with a glutted prosperity, grew to a surfeit after his death in their ambitious thoughts, and was the downfall of the now aged and drooping Em-

pire: first *Gildas* in *Africa*, not contented with the title of *Comes* or *Earle*, cutt off all subiection, and as an absolute Lord, acknowledged neither *Arcadius*, nor *Honorius* for his Soueraigne.

(2) Against these proceedings, his owne brother *Massecerius* opposed himselfe, and both in words and acts assayed to set him in his wonted place of obedience, which by no other means could be brought to passe, but by assistance sent him from *Honorius*,

with which, though much too weake, he marched against the Emperours Enemy, and as *Pausanias Orosius* writeth more by force of prayers to God, then power of men, in his encounter preuailed, and behended *Gildas* for his Treason: But himselfe becoming mightie, and forgetting that which in others hee remembered, himselfe viurped the command of *Africa* against *Honorius*, calling off all subiective obedience, and as a free Prince ruled the Province: The Souldiours that had lately assisted the Emperours cause, now well perceiving his aime, leuelled at the Crowne, thought best to cut the string before hee loosed the shaft, and made him shorter by the head.

(3) *Austrianus* in *Constantinople* as boldly bare himselfe, thinking *Arcadius* both too weake and yong to found the depth of his designs, whose thoughts did also worke vpon concerned Soueraignty: he therefore secretly sollicitated the *Goths* to warre vpon the Emperour, that so *Arcadius* might either be slaine or in-

Pausanias Orosius.

Gildas behended.

Massecerius behended.

Austrianus solicited.

Gildas rebelled.

Pausanias Orosius.

Massecerius was contented with his brother Gildas.

trapped, or else himselfe in those dangers, set vp as the more sufficient. But these things thus dangerously comploted by *Raffinus*, were as politically prevented by the *Emperour*, although a Child: for before the Seed of this *Treason* could bring forth either *Bad* or *Blade* it was discovered, and the *Author* (slaine by an *Italian Band*, his Head (which as some affirme, first tooke breath in *Britaine*) was advanced ouer a Gate in *Constantinople*.

(4) Thus *Peace* obtained by the Deaths of these two *Traitors*, the *Third* stood vp with more danger in the *wey*. For *Stilicho*, *Tutor* to young *Honorius*, thought it not sufficient honour for him to haue his Daughter an *Emperesse* by the Marriage of his Ward, but set at hazard (for himselfe and sonne) his own *Confession*, both their *Lives*, and the facill ruine of the *New-declining Empire*. For first, sowing seditions amongst the *Lieutenants* of the *Provinces*, picked also quarrels in the *Emperors* Court, *Causing* with disgraces those *Gates* that had serued with good proofe of their fidelitie aboue twenty yeeres, since their entertainment by *Theodosius*. These to reuenge their *Wrongs*, chose for their *Chiefe* a valiant *Goth* named *Alaricus*, which shortly proved the *Seuerge* of *Rome*: with whom ioyned the *Vandals*, *Alanes*, and *Suenians*, who ioyntly with great fury beganne to waite in *Austriack* and *Hungarie*, increasing their *Power* with such *Multitudes*, that as *Paulus Orosius*, an *Author* of that time saith, The *World* was amazed and stood in feare. For vnto their *Colonies* resorted two hundred thousand *Goths*, more, vnder the leading of *Rodericus* their *King*, who together with vnited forces, subdued all *Thracia*, *Hungary*, *Austriack*, *Sclauonia*, and *Dalmatia*, and spoiled all in such manner, that it seemed *Diuels* and not *Men* had passed that way, as *Saint Ierome* (who liued at that time) expresse it: These brute Beasts (saith he) suffered by the wrath of *God* in this warre, haue laid Cities waste, flaine the People, and left the very Fields bare and desolate, whereof the *Provinces* of *Thracia*, and *Sclauonia*, with the Country wherein my selfe was borne, beare too true, but lamentable Records.

(5) The *Roman Empire* thus daily declining, and these fierce *Nations* making hauck where they came, the *Armes* in *Britaine* were put in great feare, lest the *Flames* of their *Neighbours* fire might *Flash* out, and take hold of them also. Therefore providently to prevent that danger, they elected one *Marcus* their *Lieutenant* for *Emperour*, yielding him their obedience some short time, and then finding his defects, immediately murdered him.



In whose stead they *Interposed* one *Gracian* a *Britaine*: whose carriage not answearing their expectations, they *Murdered* also, within *Four* *Months* after his *Royall* soleimnity.



The features and Imperiall Titles stamped on the

Romish Money of these two *Vsurpers*, (according to the usual manner of the like in *Elate*) we finde not, neither stands it with credit of our *Hitory* to faim them at pleasure: therefore till time bring them forth, from the Causes of obscurity we haue allowed them place onely by these *Circles* inserted, that others may supply what prektulle wee want, and accomplish by penicill what we cannot by Presse.



(6) Yet time to *Constantine* hath bin more favorable in preferring his remembrance by his minted *Monies*, which here with his *Story* we prefer to fight. At the fall of these former, no better at all then a Common *Souldier*, but vpon confidence onely conceited of his Name, was made *Emperour*, who with more respect of honour, and liking of his aduancers, bore himselfe better then the others had done. For putting to Sea, and landing at *Bologna*, he easily induced the *Romans* forces as farre as the *Alps* to side with him: *Valentin* in *France* hee manfully defended: the *Rhine*, which long had been neglected, hee fortified with *Garrisons*: vpon the *Alps* as well as vpon the *Mediterranean* Coasts, where passages were frequented, hee built Fortresses: *Spain* likewise hee held vnder the hand of *Constantine* his Sonne, whom of a *Master* hee had made *Augustus*, &c. by whose valour subdued all from the *Pyrenean* Mountains to the Ocean. Whose *Monies* wanting to expresse his Image and Stile, we haue also supplied with another *Blanke*.



(7) *Constantine* prospering as wee haue said, sent Letters of excuse vnto *Honorius*, affirming constantly that he was compelled by the *Souldiers* to doe what he did: whereby he so pleased the *Emperour*, that commending his *Valor*, & holding him fit, hee sent him of free gift a *Purple Robe*. Whereupon this new-grown blade began to bud faire, and at *Arles* planted his *Imperiall* Seat, Commanding the *Citie* to be called *Constantina* from him, and ordained that the Assemblies of the affaires of *Seven* *Provinces* should bee therein held. But this his *Smoothness* of prosperitie was soone overcast with the Clouds of aduersie fortunes, and his *Crowne* & *Life* laid together in the dust. For in *Spain* against him was arrayed *Maximus* & *Fassall*, whole *Generall* *Grontius* intercepting *Constantine*, (his *Sonne* and *Cesar*) at *Vienna* in *France* slew him: and *Constantine* himselfe within the *Wall*es of *Arles*, besieged for *Four* *Months*, after the *Raigne* of *Four* *Yeeres*, laid aside his *Purple Robe*, and entered the Church in *Order* of *Priesthood*, surrendering the *Citie* with his *Stile* *Imperiall*, was lastly led into *Italy*, and there beheaded.

(8) From that time *Britaine* renewed her obedience to *Honorius*, and the *Provinces* while was repressed by the *Wisdom* and *Prudence* of *Vigilantius* her *Lieutenant*, who often repressed the incursions of the

Constantine of a common Souldier made Emperour. Ann. Do. 410.

Constantine the son of Constantine made Augustus. Sub. Sec.

Honorius allowed Constantine Emperour.

Constantine Quine.

Constantine beheaded.

Vigilantius Lieutenant in Brittain.

Stets

Seals and Pillis: whereupon in his praise *Rutilius Claudian* thus wrote:

Conspicis Oceanum circumstantia tuiq; Thule,
Et quæqu岸sseveræ aras Britannia ardet.

The Ocean wide and Thule,
by virtues winstle will;
And all the Champion Fields,
which Brittaines ferret doe till.

Rutilius Claudian.
Paul. Græf. lib. 7.
August. de Civit.
Deli.
Horat. in Epig. p.
ad Princip.

Formosus in lib.
Genb.

Victorinus tes.
with Brittain.

Eximus.

Brittaines write to
Honorius for succour.

Plagius in Epist.
to the Britain.
Rede lib. angl.
lib. 2. cap. 10.
Gomadien.

Innocentius con-
demneth Pelagi-
us Heretic.

Agricola, one who spread the venom of that *Heretic* into *Ferrare parts*: whose doctrines were, 1. That Man, without the grace of God, was able to fulfill all the Commandments. 2. That Man in himselfe had *Freedom*. 3. That the Grace of God was given unto vs according to our merits. 4. That the lust have no sinne. 5. That Children are free from Original sinne. 6. That *Adam* should have died, though he had not sinned. And therein also one *Tomasie* most impiously disputed against the *Divine and Humane Natures* of *Christ*. Notwithstanding, at the same time flourish'd *Falsities*, a most learned *Brishp* and *Chryfian* also the *Depute* or *Viceroy* of *Brittain*, who with great honor governed the affairs of the Church and Common-wealth, and was afterwards (as elsewhere we have shewed) made *Bishop* at *Constantinople* of the *Neustians* against his will.

(11) Thus were the affairs of this Land managed under these *British Emperours*; the elder of which, *Arcadius*, died in peace at *Constantinople*, leaving his sonne *Theodosius*, a child of eight yeeres, to the succession of the Empire, and to the tuition of *Modestus* King of *Perfia*; a matter which seem'd at first very dangerous, but proved at the last very profitable. He reigned thirteen yeeres, and died the first of *May*, the one and thirtieth of his age, the yeere of *Christ*'s birth four hundred and ten. At which time one *Innocent*, of an obscure beginning, had raised some Tumults in *Gallia*, stiled himselfe *Emperour*, usurp'd the *Purple Robe*, and stamp'd his Coines with the Title of *Victorius*, as is seene in one which we heere present.



(12) Against him *Honorius* made his power, and with his little Ioffe slew the *Pyssars* in the Field: whereby his fame was more spread in the West, though not so fortunate as his brothers was in the East, after whom hee liued fifteen yeeres, and with whom hee had reigned other thirteen; and he died, saith *Paulus Diaconus*, of an infirmie at *Rome* in the yeere of grace four hundred twenty foure, leaving no issue of his body to succeed him in the Empire.

August. de Nivis.
For ign his op-
erunt.

Thomas lib.
Heretic.

Lib. 2. cap. 9.

Arcadius his
death and
regne.

Theodosius his
succession.
Modestus his
Tuist.

Honorius his
death and
regne.
Paul. Diacon.





THEODOSIUS 2. } Emp. VALENTINIAN 3. }

CHAPTER LIIII.



Theodosius 2.
Emp. East.

Valentinian 3.
Emp. West.

An. Do. 408.



Great have been the Wars and strange the Alterations which both here at home, and through the World abroad have chanced vnto States since the first attempts of Julius Caesar vnto these present Emperors, Theodosius the second, and Valentinian

the third, his Affiliates, whole Lixen and Reignes did conclude the Successions of the *Samoy Monarchs* within this Island of Great Brittain, and threw downe their Triumphall Arches in many other Provinces, which for long time had been obligatours to *Romes Soueraine Command*. So vncertaine is the Glory of this World, and her Seeming Strength so liable to Mutabilitie, that the Powers and Personages thereof held in His hand that holdeth the *Princes fall*, are suddenly turned from their high-mounted fire and beaury of the Sun vnto the *Darke fall* and darke side of the Globe, and either fall againe into the small Circles of their first compasse, after they haue expired their Number, Waights, and Measures: or else with *Daniels Image* are vicerly extinct and blowe away, as the chaffe from the Summer flower.

Dan. 13.

The Roman Monarchies continuance.

Abraham the first betweene the Promise made to him, and the giving of the Law.
Gen. 17.

1 King 6. 1.
First, the time betweene our departing out of Egypt, and the building of the Temple of Solomon.
Then, the time betweene his Ancestrage and the death of Zerobach.

(2) The continuance of whole Estates seeme they neuer so Great and Durable in Power, Circuit, Defence, and Multitude, hath feldome extended much the limit of Five hundred yeeres, but that their high and mounted Flammes, fall in the ashes of their owne consuming decayes, or else hath received some other alteration of Empires increase, as many learned Writers haue obserued in most Common-wealths. So was it in the State established by God himselfe among his Peculiar People. As from the Promise to Abraham, made of Christ the Blessed seed and life of Man (where created the World formerly-closed computation from the Ages of Men) vnto the Law delivered vpon Mount Sinai, declaring condemnation and death, were four hundred thirty yeeres: from Israels departure out of Egypt, when their Common-wealth beganne to be ruled by Iudges, and Gods service celebrated in the Tabernacle vnder Curtaines vnto the Building of their Glorious Temple erect by King Solomon, were yeeres foure hundred and eighty. From the Anointing of David, the first King, set vpon Iudahs Tribe, vnto the death of Zedekiah the last King thereof, slaine by Nebuchadnezzar, and that Holy Temple consumed by fire, were yeeres foure hundred & fouentie. And other Politike Estates haue stood much vpon the like Space of time. For the Kingdoms of Athens set vp by Cereps the first

King thereof, vnto Codrus the last, when they changed their Monarchie to a Democratic, is said to haue continued foure hundred and ninety yeeres. The Lacedemonians staid from Lycurgus their Law-giver, vnto Alexander the Great, that ouerthrew it, flourished the space of foure hundred ninety yeeres. From the expulsion of Romes Kings vnto Tarquinus, vnto the affected Empire in Julius Caesar, were foure hundred ninety and nine yeeres. And omitting many others, to come to our selves; from Casars first Inuasion of Brittain, vnto the daies of this Valentinian the third, wherein the Romans did quite abandon it, were five hundred yeeres. From the Saxons intrusions and diuision of this Realme into an Heptarchie vnder their Government, vntill the viued Monarchie made by King Egbert in the yeere eight hundred and nineteene, were yeeres foure hundred sixty nine. But from thence, vntill their issue failed in King Edward Confessor, were yeeres only two hundred forty seuen. And from the Normans Conquest, vnto the death of that most sacred Soueraine of eternall memorie, Queene Elizabeth, when began againe the name of GREAT BRITAIN, and the vntion of the whole Island to be brought into one lastre Monarchie, by the rightfull Succession and thrice-happy entrance of our most gracious King IAMES, are yeeres five hundred thirtie six. But of these three last, we are to speake hereafter; and now returne to finish vp the falling Estate of the Romans Greatnesse.

(3) Theodosius the Sonne of Arcadius beganne his Empire in the yeere of the worlds diluacion foure hundred and eight, and was governed with a speciall protection by the Persian King during his Adolescence, vnder the charge of Antigenus an excellent man. But now growne to yeeres and some variance happening betwixt him and his Father, he was left to the disposal of himselfe; and his vncke Honorius leaving at his death great troubles vnquenched in the West, the mightie Potentates assaid to make themselves Emperours ouer feuerall Dominions, and from the rebusse of the Imperiall Diademe, each one sought to plucke a Tewel to beautifie his owne Crowne. So the Barbarous Nations out of this one Monarchie began the foundations of many succeeding Kingdomes. For in Spaine the Vandals, Sueues, and Alans, not contented with their portion therein assigned, betooke themselves to Armes. The Franks and Burgundians, which had been driuen out of France, relapsed againe to returne. The Goths, that were Lords of Barcelona, Norboma, and Talaf, did as the rest. The Hunnes entered Hungarie, Iohn the Tyrant held Rome: and in Africa, Boniface became a Neuter. These sturres moued Theodosius to nominate

The time betweene Casars last living ype and Caesars the last.
Lycurgus, the time betweene him and Alexander the Great.
Tarquinus, the time betweene him and Julius Caesar.
Casars first Inuasion of Brittain, and Valentinian the third.
Saxons, the time betweene their intrusions and King Egbert.
Egbert, the time betweene him and Edward Confessor.
Normans, the time betweene their Conquest, and the entrance of our gracious Soueraine King James.

Theodosius, vnder the Persian King.
Antigenus, the time.

The division of the Roman Empire.

Valentinian el-
dest Emperor
in the West.

His defense,
in Chap. 35.
160. 1.

Placidia Galla
her care of Va-
lentinian her
son.
After and Actia
chosen by her.

John Vitar-
per.

France now
known to Caesar
by that name.

Britains were
oppressed with
the Saxons and
Picts.

Britains sent
Ambassadors
to Valentinian.

Britains obtain
some small suc-
cess.
Galla sent to aid
them.

Germanicus
Germanus (the
son of the
Emperor)
was sent to
assist the
Romans.

The Romans
were defeated
by the Saxons
and Picts.
The Romans
were defeated
by the Saxons
and Picts.

nominate Valentinian his kinsman Emperor in the West; whose reign and affairs (so far as they touch Britain) we will follow, being the last of the Roman Emperors that held out the facession of our British Monarchs.

(4) This Valentinian was the sonne of Constantine, made Augustus, as is said, and of Placidia Galla daughter to the first Theodosius Emperor; which Lady in the taking of Rome by Alaricus the Goth, was taken Prisoner, and by him given in marriage to his neere kinsman Athaulphus, who afterwards was King of that Nation; and by her sweet demaion, and prudent counsels, a Peace was concluded betwixt her Husband and her Brother, but with such dislikes to the Goths, that they presently killed him, and raised one Wallia for their King; who likewise coming to composition with Honorius, delivered Placidia according to Covenants, whom the Emperor her Brother bestowed in Marriage upon Constantine his General, in reward of his good service and Fidelity by him achieved.

(5) Shee, with young Valentinian newly made Emperor, being sent into Italy, selected the best approved Captains to secure her sonnes Estate; whereof Alar was one, that in Rome first slew the Emperor, who had there made himself Emperor, stamping this his face and stile upon the current Money of the State, and by his Tyranny held his fortunes for five yeeres continuance.



Alar likewise, that had been Governor of Spain, was imploied into Gallia, where the Franks and Burgundians (under the conduct of Cladius their second King) fought to establish (as shortly they did) their Kingdom in that Country, giving it the name of France, according to their own, by which name they were never knowne to Caesar, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Arrian, nor Ptolemy; whereby the great blab of their Antiquitie is shew'd to be but a puffe of winde.

(6) At this time the Britains were againe fore oppressed by the Saxons and Picts, who having notice that the Aides sent by Honorius were returned, passed over the Water in their Boats at both the ends of the Wall, and invaded the Province with such force, that they bare downe all before them. The Britains in this lamentable plight, sent their Ambassadors to Rome, with their Complaints, and layd upon their heads, unto Valentinian the Third, bewailing their most miserable Estate, and craving his helpe. The Emperor moved to remede, sent a Regiment of Souldiers into Britaine, under the Command of Galla of Ravenna, a most valiant man, who having put backe the Enemy with the assistance of the Islanders, gave some small comforts to the distressed Britains. But the Burgundians passing the Rhine, and threatening to walke Italy, Alar was compelled to recall Galla with his Legion, to secure the Countrey about Paris, whilst himselfe with him followed the dangerous France.

(7) He now ready to depart for France, told the Britains that it was not for the Romans to take so long and painefull Journeys, neither at that time especially when their own Empire was in danger to be over-run. Therefore he willed them themselves to stand upon their Guard, and go provide for their owne Estates; and to that end, to regard of their good services done to the Romans, he taught them the use of their Armour and Weapons, as also to strengthen their Fortification, and Wall of Turfe, which now they began to build with firme Stone, last eight foot in thickness, and

twelve foot in height. This Wall (saith Gildas) they drew in a straight line (at the publick charges of the State) from East to West, and from Sea to Sea, planting Bulwarks, and raising Towers, with convenient spaces distant one from another; which gave a faire and rare prospect into the Sea. And so the Romans gave a small Farewell, meaning never to returne againe; and burying part of these Treasures here in the Earth, whereof much hath bene found, and more is still sought, left Britaine about the yeere of Christ five hundred, after the first invasion thereof made under the conduct of Julius Caesar.

(8) This unfortunate Emperor Valentinian sold not only Britaine, but suffred also Africa, France, and Spaine to be plucked from his Empire: and the weakness of the Roman power (whose strength consisted most in Fortified Cities, as Tacitus saith) was left unable to defend it selfe; when they had bereft this Province of all the Flower and Chiefe of Men, as Gildas in that age complained, saying, Britaine is depopled of all her armed men, with her military forces: her Rulers (scall though they were) are wasted, her Garrison withdrawn, and defenceless laid open, and an exceeding great number of her stout courageous Souldiers taken from her, to serve the Romans in their warres. With which his sayings the Roman writers themselves agree, and record the Multitudes and great multitudes of Britains that have bene transported by them out of this Land: as when Trebelius Maximus with his British Forces made Ground the Fallow against Otho in Germany; and then also Honorius Flavius brought thence eight thousand choise Souldiers to uphold Arcadius in his cause.



Cladius Albinus banding against Severus the Emperor, assuming the Title, and stamping the Monneyes of the Imperial Estate (as by this here inferred is to be seene, which coming to our hands since his storie was written, we hold it more acceptable to set here, though out of place, then to give it no place at all in this Worke, being so worthy an Antiquitie, and so much concerning the Britains) under whose Banner the Flower of their Chivalrie perished in Battle, when in the Fields of France, and neere unto Lyons, they spent their blood in his cause; whereby the sinewes of their owne Countreys defense was fore weakened, and laid open to Forraigne Invasions. Constantine the Great also (as Malmsbury noteth) carried hence a great power of British Souldiers with him in his warres, by whose puissance (as he saith) he obtained Triumphant Victories, and the Empire of the whole World: and after assigned them that part of Gallia to inhabit, which was called Armorica, lying backward upon the Sea Coast, where they leaving themselves, their posteritie was increased, and continueth a Mighty People even unto this day.

(9) This Countrey afterwards (being conquered by Maximus, and his reconciled Enemy Canus Neriodor, Lord of Denishland, by the prowess of those British Souldiers whom hence he carried in his quarrell against Valentinian the Emperor) was received in free gift of Canus, after the slaughter of Iulianus the King, and the name thereof changed to Little Britaine, as being a Colonie or Daughter of this our Land. The Province is large, pleasant, and fruitful, and contained in her Circuit nine Bishops Sees, whereof three are called Cornwalles unto this day, which are Lannec, S. Paul, and Tregriers; the other six are Dole, Rheas, Eborac, Eborac, Eborac, Eborac.

Gildas.

The time of the
Romans small
being of their
usual condition
in Britain.

Warphome.

Profound
Apocrypha.

Romans unable to
defend their
owne Countrey.

Gildas.

Trebelius Maximus.

Cladius Al-
binus.

Constantine trans-
ported a great
power of Bri-
tains.

America a part
of Gallia given
to the British
Souldiers.

America con-
quered.

America changed
to the name of
Little Britaine.

It consisteth
of some
Sons.
Keepeth as yet
the British Dis-
tinct.
Great numbers
of it are sent
to Rome.
A great multi-
tude of Virgins
are sent to Rome
to be married.

Matthew 24. 14.
Henry 1. 1. 1.
H. 1. 1.

Marino gave
many Countries
to the Britons
his Soldiers.

Gracian.
1. 1. 1.

Britons fled into
Africa in the
time of the
Saxons.

Constantine who
was elected
Emperor, trans-
ported great
multitudes of
Britons.

Cambis.

S. Meta, Nantem, Pannet, and Bryn, whose language differeth from their Neighbours the French, and retaineth as yet the British Dialect. I omit to speak of those other Numbers of men sent for out of this Kingdom by the said Conan, whereof our British Historians make mention, besides the sending of *Ysida* with Eleven thousand Virgins to be married in marriage with those their Country-men, all of them perishing by Sea or by Sword, but none of them returning, either again; whereby the bane of the Land presently followed, her hopes being cut off, and deprived of woored Pastrants.

(10) This Conquest and Plantation to *Armerica*, *Matthew of Westminster* accounteth to have happened in the year of Christ three hundred ninety two. And these Soldiers thus withdrawn, are so recorded by *Henry of Huntingdon* his ancient, and *Nimius* also long before both, reporteth that *Maximus* gave many Countries to these his Britons, even from the *Poole* which is on the Top of *Jupiter Hill*, to a *Cite* called *Cantuar*, and vnto the *Welsh Mountains*. These (saith he) are the Britons in *Armerica*, who neuer returned againe: in regard whereof Britane was Conquered by Strange Nations. With whom agreeth *Gregorius* a Monke of *Canterburie*, *Iohn Anglus*, *Raphael* of *Chesler*, and others. Thithert also in the downefall and desperate Estate of the Britons, many of them fled from the rage of their Enemies, as hee that was borne in *Armerica*, and lived neerly to that age, even the Writer of the *Life of S. Winald* of the *Confessor*, doth sufficiently prove. As of *Wing* (saith he) of the Britons embarked in *Fleets*, arrived in this Land, on this side the British Sea: what time as the Barbarous Nation of the Saxons, fierce in Armes, and vicious in manners, possessed their Native and Mother Sayle, &c.

(11) And lastly, in the cause of that other *Constantine*, who was elected only for his Name, most of the Flower and Strength of the Britons were transported into *Gallia* and *Spaine*, where in his variable fortunes many of them perished. And *Malmesbury* writing of these Times, saith, that the Romans had emptied Britaine of all her Flower and Chivalry of Warre, leaving now in her Countries but Halfe-barbarous men, and in her Cities only *Epagres*, vntil for service. In confirmation whereof, the most learned *Notitia Praeuenturae*, hath observed, that these Companies vnder written serued the Romans in their Warres, and were dispersed here and there in their Provinces, which also were from time to time euermore supplied out of Britaine.

Ala Britannica Millaria.

Ala 1555. Britonum in Aegypto.

Cohors prima Ala Britannum.

Cohors III. Britonum.

Cohors VII. Britonum.

Cohors XXVI. Britonum in Armenia.

Britannici sub Magistro Palatin.

Inuicti Iuniores Britannici inter *Auxilia*

Excelsiores Iun. Britan. S. Palatin.

Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.

Inuicti Iuniores Britones inter Hispanos.

Britones Seniores in Thracia.

(12) No marvel is it then if Britaine lay weak, being thus continually exhausted of her strengths, which these approved Records made so apparant, as we need not allege the doubtful Story of *Isopus* of *Norway*, for the depopulation of the Island, who is said by feibilty vnder pretence of *Kindred*, and *Honor* to be achieved, to have gotten an infinite number of Britons to follow him in his enterprise, which neuer returned againe: or the *Booke Triades* mentioned by the Author of the *Reformed History of Great Britaine*, that bringeth an Army hence, consisting in number of one and twenty thousand men, into *Aquitaine* and *Gaul*; which, as he saith, was the Aid mentioned by *Caesar*, that out of Britaine assailed the *Gauls* against him. Which may partly seeme to be gathered from *Caesar* himselfe, as hath been said: where he affirmeth, that the Britons and *Gauls* were governed vnder the same King: and is further confirmed by the *Fashion* and *Inscriptions* of *Antique Coines*, which wee haue seene stamped in *Gold*, the *Forme* round, and *shield-like*: Imbossed outward in the *Face*, and *Hollow* in the *Reverse* a *Forme* vnfallible to be of the Britons Coines, and yet the word *Comes* is inscribed vpon the Imbossed side, whom we imagine to be the same Governor of *Artye* in *Gallia*, whom *Caesar* mentioneth.

(13) Thus then was Britaine first made Weak by the Romans exhausting, and then quite abandoned of their helpe, and left as a tree in the *Wilderneesse*, to loke her faire leaues by the continuall blis of cheif sharp *Northerne winds*, whose beauty before had bin as the *Cedars* of *Libanus*, or like vnto those in the *Garden of God*. And whose Riches had drawne the *Worlds* thither: to such liking and love, that no means was omitted to attaine the same, nor care neglected to keepe it in their Subiection: which, while it stood a *Prouince* in their obedience, was held and accounted to be the fairest flower in their *Triumphs* *Gardens*, and of some of their Emperors thought worthy the Residence of their *Imperiall Throne*.

S. Iohn P. 1.
Isopus of Norway
transporteth an
incredible number
of Britons.

Britons one
thousand
transported into
Aquitaine against
Caesar.

Arcturius in Gal-
lia and Britain.

Britons accom-
panied the
first
plague of the
Roman
Diademe.





THE ORIGINAL, INVA- SIONS, AND HEPTARCHIE OF THE SAXONS, WITH A SVCCESION OF THEIR MONARCHS IN THIS ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN, THEIR RAIGNES, MARRIAGES, ACTS, AND ISSVES, VNTIL THEIR LAST SVB- VERSION BY THE DANES, AND NORMANS.

But first of the Downe-fall of BRITAIN.

BOOKE VII. CHAPTER I.



BRITAIN thus abandoned of all the *Romane* Garrison, and emptied of strength that should have supported her now down-falling-glare, lay prostrate to confusion and miserable calamities; no lesse burdened with the tumultuous uproares of her

owne great men, who strove for the supreme Government, then of the *Barbarous Nations* which with continual incursions made spoile where they came. These times (saith *Namus*) were full of feares, and were prolonged with forty yeeres afflictions: wherein *Peritigern* then King was troubled with the violence of the *Romans*, the threats of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and the oppositions of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who surmounting his blaine Parents, that had borne the imperiall Purple Robe, sought their reuenge upon their wicked Murderer: besides the Inrations of the German *Saxons*, called in for Friends, but proceeded indeed the greatest Enemies. During the conflict of these tempestuous stormes, some small comforts were ministered vnto the Brittaines by Bishop *German* his presence, who from France assisted them against the *Pelagian Heresies*, and the perillous assaults of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who in diuers skirmishes overcame them.

(2) The dolorous times of Brittaines destruction, *Gildas* the moorish Historian, who liued not long after, doth declare. As saue as the *Romans* (saith hee) had left Brittain, and were returning vnto their homes, fourteenth hideous multitudes of *Scots* and *Picts* came furrowing out of their Carreghies, (wherevnto they passed the Scotch *Picts* like whole Armies of diuillish vermin), which at high noone, when the Sonne in his greatest heat, began to crawl forth of their narrow holes an infinite number of hideous *Scots* and *Picts*; which two kindes of People, though in conditions somewhat different, yet they consorted too well in greedy desire of blood-shed: and having intelligence, the associates of Brittain were now returned with water disclaine of further assistance, with more confident boldnesse then euer before, they seize all the Northern and uttermost part of the Island, as if it had bene

their own inheritance, euen as farre as to the Wall. Against these attempts there were ranged in the high Ports along the Wall, Garrison of Soldiers, but such as were both foolish, and also vnconseruable for Martiall Affaires: which white-beared Ladies with quaking hearts sat still war ding day and night, till their hearts were as benumbed and stayed as the stones whereon they sat: as much as the naked Enemies did with long hooked Engines plucke from off the wall these miserable Warders, dashing their bodies against the ground. Thus good yet they got by this their vntimely deaths that being thus suddenly disatched out of the world, they escaped the imminent lamentable calamities that their brethren and children shortly felt. To bee short, having abandoned their Cities and that high defensible Wall, once more they betooke themselves to flight, and were dispersed in a more desperate manner then euer before. For the enemye was at more hot in pursuit, and more cruell in the slaughter, the wofull Inhabitants being by their Enemies massacred, and rent in peeces like Lambs in the hands of bloody Butchers; or in the waves of creek and fangie Beasts. In these most miserable times, (needles so compelling) the poore distressed people for bare not to rob each other of that sustenance, which could helpe them but for a very small season: and so their hostile oppressions were increased by their domesticke vexations, for that the whole Countrey by these continuall disruptions, was utterly depriued of the stiffe of food, having nothing left to prolong their life, but that only what they got in hunting. Whereupon about the thirtie nine yeere of *Theodosius*, and of *Christ* foure hundred fiftie six, the distressed Remaines of the down-cast Brittaines addressed their misliue Letters to *Aetius*, whom *Gildas* calleth *Agitus*, President of *Gauls*, in most lamentable manner, and thus inscribed.

To *AETIVS* Thrice Consul, the groanes of the BRITAINES.

"We *Barbarians* drive you backe to the Sea; the Sea againe putteth you backe vpon the *Barbarians*: thus betwene two kindes of death, we are either slaughtered or drowned. And the more to intimate their miseries, and to moue his assistance, then they further wringe: Wee (say they) are the Remnants that survive of the Brittaines, and are your Subiects, who besides the Enemye, are afflicted

Brittain abandoned of the *Romane* Garrison.

Namus.

Great troubles in the reigne of *Peritigern*.

Bishop *German* an assister against the *Pelagian*.

Gildas.

"The Irish Sea

Scots and *Picts* come with the Brittaines with long lookes.

Brittaines send for helpe to *Aetius* President of *Gauls*.

See *the* *last* *page* of *the* *last* *page*.

Scots and *Picts* (as the *Romans* did) seize all the Northern part.

afflicted by famine and mortality which at this present ex-
tremely regeth in our Land. And putting him in mind
that it much importeth the Majesty of the Roman Empe-
re to protect and succour the Maileys of the Roman Empe-
re, he had now flood upon the point of five hundred years
vnder their obedience, whose strength of Soldiers taken
from thence to serve their Emperors in their Wars else-
where, was now decayed, and their wealths wasted
by maintaining their many Legions in their own
Land and abroad : All this notwithstanding the Ro-
mans either would not, or could not relieve, hauing
enough to doe to uphold their owne; but returned
them againe with heavy hearts into the hands of
their most cruell Enemies, who now knowing them-
selves free from the Romans interceptions, as a violent
flood brake thorow the Province, and hure downe all
before them; the Inhabitants flying like chafed Deere,
some taking over Seas into Brittain in France, some to
South-wales, North-wales, Cornwall, and parts of Deuon-
shire, leauing the beft of the Land to the will of their
Persecutors, and much of their Treasures hid in the
ground, which neuer after they enjoyed.

(4) But the greivous Famine still increasing,
though it had this wofull issue with fome, that it made
them yield themselves into the Enemies bloody
hands (only in hope to gaine a little sustenance of
food for the present) and for many yeeres after left
lamentable tokens (saith Beda) of great desolations
wrought by that dearth: yet with those other which
were of more noble and resolute spirits it produced a
better effect; inasmuch as frowd of the Mountains,
Caues, and thicke woods, they affailed their enemies,
reposing their trust not in Man, but in God, whose help
is then most at hand, when mans helpe faileth. There
in many skirmishes gaue them the overthrow with
much slaughter, and that for many yeeres together,
when they made their incursions for booties and
spoiles, which caused these Rascally Irish to returne
home, and the Picts a while rested from further mole-
station. Notwithstanding the Brittaines returned not
from their owne wickednesse, growing strong now
daily in repressing the Enemy, but stronger in their
owne sinnes and ciuill dissensions. By means where-
of, though a force of Hostile Warres was imbra-
ced, and the skarres of famine cleerly skinned vp, yet
another sore as dangerous as either, secretly bred, and
shortly brake forth. For the Land being free from the
Enemies wailes, yielded full plenty and abundance
of all things, as the like before no age had seene; and
therewithall such riot and excess, that the peoples
sinnes grew to a plentiful harvest, as by the words of Cy-
drias is apparant.

(5) Certainly it is heard (saith he) that there is such
fermentation, as the like is not among the Gentiles. Truth
with the maintainers thereof is hated : Lies with the For-
gers thereof by his effection. Enall is entertained for good,
leauing his request more then uprightnesse, darst he de-
sired before the bright Sonne, and Satan accepted for an
Angel of light : Kings then were mounted, not according
to Gods liking, but such as excelled others in cruelty; and
as cruelly enuie by their anuities were they moued, not
for any demerit, but that they might aduance others more
sinners then the former. If hee were nullo, or inclining to
truth, the darts of hatred were on every side levelled against
him, as the surely Subverter of the Brittaines Estate. What
was pleasing or displeasing to God, was all one with them,
financing that the better things commonly wrought most dis-
content: so that requite the saying of the Prophet, which was
denounced vnto the people in old time, might bee applied to
our Country : Yet lewdisse and corrupti children haue for-
saken the Lord, and are prouoked vnto err with the holy one of Is-
rael. Why should ye be sinners any more, still multiplying
iniquities? Every head is sick, and every heart is heauy :
from the sole of the foot vnto the crowne of the head, there
is nothing found therein. Thus did they all things that
were contrary to their saluie, as if that medicine which
was bestowed by that trust Physician of all, was needlesse
for the world. And not onely the prophane sort did this,
but also the fildell flocks of the Lord, and the Shepherds

thereof, who ought to haue giuen example to the whole peo-
ple. To speake of drunkennesse, numbers of them lay fous-
lesse and weltring in wine, swelling with pride, contention,
and griping enuie, putting no difference in iudgement be-
tweene good and euill : inasmuch that it seemeth contempt
was as poured forth both vpon Princes and people : and all of
them seduced by vanities, wandred in errors and by-paths,
not lead to the right way. When God therefore was minded
to purge his Familie, and reuerse them thus infected with
the corruptions of sinnes, by heare-say only of Tribulation,
the winged flight of an often-tried rumour pierced the
attentive cares of all men, giuing notice of their ancient En-
emies, ready to arrive, and fully minded to destroy them v-
terly, and to inhabit (as earli they did) the whole Country
from one end to another. Yet all this could not reclaim
them, but like vnto mad horses, which taking the bit fast
betwixt their teeth, runne away with their Riders, so the
leauing the way which leadeth (narrow thought bee) vnto
saluation, ranne at random in the wide way of all wicked-
nesse, which leadeth directly to death. Whiles therefore (as
Salomon saith) the flabourer feruent will not bee amended
with words, he is feared for a foole, and feeleth not the
whip: for loe, a pestilent contagious fell heauily vpon those
foolish people, which (though the enemies frowd was great)
in short space destroyed such multitudes of them, that the
liuing were not able to bury the dead. Neither yet also were
they thereby bettered, that the saying of the Prophet Esay
in them might be fulfilled: God called them to mourning, to
huldnesse, and sack-cloth: but behold, they fell to drinking
of calnes, and to feasting of Rommes; loe, they went to eating
and drinking, and said withall, Let vs eat and drinke, for
to morrow wee shall die. And indeed the time was draw-
nere, wherein their iniquities (like as those in times past of
the Amarrites) should come to the iudgement. And euen at that
instant the like measure beganne to bee heaped vpon the
Brittaines.

(6) For the common enemy now invading the
Southerne parts, was entred as farre as Stamford vp-
on the Riuer Welland; whom to resist, the Brittaines
assembled together, and hauing experience what ci-
uill warres had formerly done, they jointly vniue their
meanes and powers, and with one consent elect a
King to manage these affaires, which was Fortigern,
by birth extracted from the Brithy Line, nobly de-
scended, had not his many vices hlemished the fame.
The Brithy Historie saith, that hee was Earle of Corn-
wall, and of great command in the daies of Constantine
their King, whose simplicitie hee much abused, and
whom lastly hee caused to be murdered by the Guard
of his Person, the Scots and Picts by him so placed,
and to that end infligated: whom neuertheless with
death hee fearefully punished, to auoid further suspi-
cion. In whose reuenge, these fierce Nations so affaulted
his Dominions with rape and spoile, that hee was
forced for further assistance to send for these Saxons
to his aid. Whether thus, or otherwise, most true it
is, the Saxons were sent for, and of hoped Friends,
became the tried Enemies to the Brittaines and their E-
states, as out of Gildas their Historian we shall anon
decare.

(7) The occasion and manner of this their insuing
and comming, is set downe by a Countryman of their
owne Wiltshires, a Writer of good antiquity, who
thus relateth the circumstance thereof. Brittain (saith
he) by Vespasian the Emperour, long since being reduced a-
mong the Roman Provinces, and hold in their subiection,
stood them in no small stead: but their Legions abandoned,
and deliues (as it seemeth) determining the down-fall, be-
came soone a flinted by their neighbour Nations the Nor-
therne Borderers. For the people of Rome after that the Em-
perour Marcellus was slaine by his Soldiers, being tired out
with forraigne wars, were not able to assist their friends with
supply of accustomed aides. And yet had they built a mighty
piece of works for the defence of the Country, reaching be-
tweene the confines from Sea to Sea, where it was thought
that the Enemies would offinde the Inhabitants left in the
Land. But no difficulty it was for them so fiercely bent, and
euer ready to make war (especially where they dealt with a
Nation feeble and left vnable to make resistance) to destroy

PUL. 106 40.

Brittaine becom
of an insou
yet not
mal.

Prou. 19. 19.

Elsay 32. 33.

Brittaines in-
quies.The Enemies in-
uade the Rom.
these parts.Brittaines vniue
their powers.Fortigern the
Brithy line.The Scots and
Picts to mur-
der Constantine.Wilt. Staunf.
The Saxons sent
for.

Wiltshires.

Marcellus was
slaine.The Romans
were for the
Brittaines defence,
used by the
Northern Borderers.Inhabitants fled into
France, South-
wales, North-
wales, Cornwall,
Devonshire.A great Famine.
Gildas. lib.

Beda lib. 1. p. 14.

Brittaines trusting
in God, over-
came their ene-
mies.

Beda lib. 2. p. 14.

Gildas lib. 2. p. 14.

Gildas.

Elsay 1.

Brittaines did all
things contrary
to their saluie.

See great
Warriors and
Saxons.

* Drunken.
The Britons
Ambassadors
and speech to the
Saxons.

The Saxons an-
swers to the
Petition of the
Britons.

Saxons good re-
solves at their
coming.

Gildas.

Kyles.

Saxons prophesie
to possesse
Britaine for good
yeeres.

The Saxons first
arrival on the
East part of
this Island.

the said works. Therefore hearing of the worthy and fortunate exploits achieved by the Saxons, they sent an humble Embassage to require their aid; and these having audience, *(saith as follows)*.

"Most noble Saxons; the poore and distressed Brits, outworne and tired by the many incursions of their enemies, hearing the fame of those victories which you have most valiantly obtained, have sent vs Suppliants unto you, craving that you would not deny them your helpe and succour. A large and spacious Land they have, plentiful and abundant in all things, which we yeeld wholly to bee at your devotion and command. Hitherto wee have lived freely under the patronage and protection of the Romans, next unto whom wee know not any more powerfull then your selves, and therefore we seeke for refuge under the wings of your valour. So that we may by your puissance be superiour of our enemies, whatsoever service you shall impose vpon vs, that will we willingly abide.

To this petition the Peeres and Nobles of the Saxons briefly made answer in this wise.

"Know yee that the Saxons will be fast friends unto the Brits, and ready at all times both to assist them in their necessitie, and also to procure their wealth: with joy therefore returne ye Ambassadors, and with this wilfull-for tidings make your Country-men glad. *Heretupon* (according to promise) An Armie first into Britaine, and wisely recruited, which in short time freed the Land from the insulting enemies, & recovered the country unto the behoof of the Inhabitants.

(3) But how true this last clause is, may appeare out of the ancient Gildas, who thus recordeth it: To repress (saith hee) many transgressions of those their ancient enemies, which with cruell slaughters and hosties continually afflicted them, the Britanes fell to consult upon some convenient course therein to be taken. Lastly, all the Counsellors, together with the proud Tyrant, being blinded in iudgement, devised such a protestation, as in the end proved their Countries destruction; namely, that those fierce Saxons, a people savage and of basefull name, adous both to God and man, should be let into this Island, as it were in waies into sheepe-folds, to ravage (saith hee) the Northern Nations, then which priuile double so nothing was ever more pernicious and unhappie unto this Land. O senselesse and plunge it into deepest miserie of error! O desperate dunnel, and blinde blacknesse of minde! Those whom in absence were feared more then death, now of their owne accord are invited by these Princes of Aegypt (if I may so say) thus, surely counselling their Pharoas, to come and rest with them under one roofe. Presently out of the Denne of that barbarous Lioness rushed forth a kennell of her whelpes, in three lang y effels called in their Language 'Cy-mle, carried under full saile, and with ominous presages fore prophesying that for 100. yeeres they should possesse that Land unto which they then directed their course, and for halfe of that space, (viz. one hundred and fiftie yeeres) they should waste and depopulate the same. These being put on shore first in the East part of the Island, and that by Commandement of this vnsoueraigne Tyrant, there sit forth their terrible peres, pretending to the Islanders, defence of their Country, but more truly intending the destruction of them. To be first said Leoness finding that her first troupe of whelpes fed so well, sends againe a greater Rabble of the same Litter, which here arrived in Flotes, bringing with

them some other Associates of hostility and vauable blood. And these beginning, the steps of vengeance, and the roots of bitterness, (an accursed plantation well befitting our demerits) have sprung up, and put forth in our Isle their haughtie boughes and spreading branches. This barbarous Nation thus admitted, professing themselves our Soldiers, and such as would endure all hazards (so they found) in defence for their good Hosts, first they created supple of victuall only; which being given them, for some time stopped (As we may say) the Deys mouth: but when, afterwards they complained that their wages was not beautifully enough paid, dening of purpose colourable occasions of quarrell, and threatening that unless they might have more magnificent entertainment they would with the breath of conceited flouts and waste the whole Land. And without further delay, they feared these threats with deeds (for our Sinnes, the cause of deserved reuenge, were still manifest) and the first kindled Eastward, as if a flaming by these sacrilegious men from Sea to Sea, crying not to consume all the Cities and Countries bordering therewith, untill such time as burning welcome all the Inland Sides of the Island, it breked (as it were) with the red tongue of the flame the very Western Ocean it selfe. In this violent invasion, comparable to that of the Assyrians against the Land of Israel in old times, is historically fulfilled also in vs that which the Prophet by way of sorrowfull lamentation uttereth: They have set fire vpon thy holy places, and have burned the dwelling place of thy name, euen vnto the ground. And againe: O God the Heathen are come into thine heritage, thy holy Temple have they defiled: for all the Fortifications demolished with their Engines, and the Inhabitants together with the Bishops of the Church, and also the Priest and people, with glittering swords and crackling flames, were all at once laid along vpon the ground, yea and (which was a most lamentable sight) the stately Towers, high mounted Walls, and the sacred Altars lay all tumbling together (all piled with the broken and bloody Quarters and gauded Carcases mixed as in a horrible woe-press. Neither were there any other Sepulchers abroad, save the ruines of building, and the bowels of wilde beasts and birds.

(9) During this most wofull, desperate, and tempestuous season (saith the mournfull Hieronym) some pure Remaines of Britanes being found in the Mountains, were flaine by whole heapes: others pined by famine, came and yielded themselves vnto their enemies, vpon composition to serve them as Bond-slaves for ever, so they might not be slaughtered out of hand: which granted, was repaid a most high and especiall grace. Others went over Seas into Strange Lands, flying under their forced Sailes with a lamentable and mourning note, that of the Psalmist: Thou hast giuen vs, O Lord, as Sheepe to bee deuoured, and hast scattered vs among the Heathen. Yet others remained still in their owne Country (albeit in fearfull estate, and continually suspecting hazard) committing their liues and sosenes to the high Sheepe Hills, to cragie Mountains naturally intrenched, so thick growne with Woods and Forrests, yea and to the Racks of the Sea.

(10) Thus was Britaine brought to the period of her glory, and the people miserably subiect to a foraine Nation, about the yeere from Christs Nativity 473. and after the Romans last farewell 28. In which time you see they were most cruelly purified with all calamities of warre, and lastly betrayed by them in whom so much trust was reposed, as mournfull Gildas hath ruefully declared.

See more lamenta-
tions of quar-
rell.

See more
complaints to
the Assyrians
upon the
Isaiah.
Psalm 74.

Psal. 79. t.

Drunken faint
in the Moun-
tains.

Psal. 44. 11.

Britanes purified
with all calamities
of warre.





THE SAXONS ORIGINALL.

CHAPTER II.



A times decayed Ruines have stopp'd the Passage of those small Springs issued from the first fountaine of Nations beginnings, and bane diverted their Streames far from any sure Courſe, or certain known Heads; ſo the originall parent, place, and name of our *Engliſh Saxons*, have bin writte with a pen of ſlight touch vpon the leaves of obliuion, or elſe recorded in thoſe obſcure Roules, that as yet lie bound vp in the Office of Times forgetfulneſſe: whereby it reſts doubtfull from what root theſe branches firſt ſpring, ſome bringing them from *Aſia*, ſome from *Africa*, ſome from *Aſia*, ſome from *Denmarke*, and ſome without all likelihood from *Britaine* it ſelfe.

Ocea Starcklyſa a *Friſlander* borne, affirmeth theſe *Saxons* to come of *Saxa* a Prince of *India*, who with his two brethren were baniſhed by lot to ſeek their deſtines abroad, their owne Countries being peſtered with our many people at home. Theſe (ſaith he) following *Alexander the Great* into *Greece*, became Progenitors to their Countries, that from them receiv'd their off-ſprings and names; as that from *Friſo* the eldeſt, his *Friſlanders* defended; from *Saxo* the ſecond, the *Saxons* vpon the River *Albiſ*, and from *Brano* the youngeſt, the Inhabitants of the Dukedome of *Brandenwicke*. And of this opinion alſo *Saxidius Petri* ſeemeth to be. *Crantzius* doth derive them from the *Cattin* Germany, and the *Phrygians* a Region in *Aſia*; to omit others, who would bring them from *Saxa* the brother of *Vandale*.

(2) *F. Aſinius* a learned Author, doth thinke the *Saxons* to be defended from *Saxa*, a people in *Aſia*, and that afterward in proceſſe of time they came to be called *Saxons*; as if it were written *Sax-fines*, as much to ſay as *The ſonnes of the Saxa*. To this opinion Maſter *Henry Ferrer*, a Gentleman of ancient deſcent, great reading, and a iudicious Antiquary agreeeth; whole iudgement for my particular, I have alwaies honoured, and from the *Prognos* of his *Engliſh Monarchie* have taken my principall proceeding in theſe *Saxon* Succellors.

(3) As touching the ancient place of their abroad, *Ptolemie* the *Alexandrian* placeth the people *Soſones* in the Inner *Scythia*, betwixt the Mountains *Alm* & *Taporand*. *Ammian* *Marcellinus* ſitteth the *Saxa* (no doubt the very ſame) a fierce and ſavage Nation, to inhabit overgrown places, commodious onely for cattell, at the foot of the Mountains *Aſic-movis* and *Comanus*, nere unto which the Cities *Alexandria*, *Trivandra* and *Dreſſo* were adjoyning, and are ſoſet by *Ptolemie*. Neither is it leſſe probable that our *Saxons* defended from theſe *Saxa* in *Aſia*, then the *Germani* from thoſe *Germani* in *Perſia*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth. And *Ioſeph Scaliger*, a renowned Author, ſheweth, that theſe words *fuder*, *moder*, *lander*, *utcher*, *land*, and ſuch like, are at this day found in the *Perſian* tongue in the ſame ſenſe, as we ſee Father, Mother, Brother, Daughter, and Bound, &c. a great indocement (as ſome thinke) for the *Saxons* originall from thoſe parts; though in my opinion the *Latine*, *Peter*, *Adeſer*, *Frater*, have no leſſe affinity of bound, and in all likelihood were the Primitives to

theſe of ours. Of theſe *Saxa*, *Strabo* writeth that they made Innations into Countries lying farre off, as namely *Armenia*, where they left the memory of their ſucceſſe in a part of that Country, by calling it *Saxoſa*, after their owne name.

(4) From theſe parts of *Aſia*, as *Scythia* and the reſt, one Band of them, conſiſting chiefly of their Yonth, proceeded by degrees into *Europe*, and poſſeſſed the *Neſſe*, or *Fordland*, which the *Romans* called *Cimbria Cheroſus*, being at this day the continent part of the kingdome of *Denmarke*. In which place they were firſt knowne by the name of the *Saxons*. And here alſo they among themſelves beganne firſt to be diſtinguiſhed into other Tribes, as *Halt-Saxons* (for ſo *Perſes*, out of their old *Chronicle*, ſaith they were called) for their keeping in the Woods; but more properly (wee may ſay) into *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*. From hence afterwards they departed, and paſſing over the River *Elbe*, diuided themſelves into two Companies; whereof the one taking into the vpper parts of *Germany*, by little and little intruded themſelves into the ancient Seat of the *Saraceni*, which now of them is called *Weſtphalia* and *Saxony*; and the other inroched vpon *Friſland* and *Holland* (then called *Batavia*) with the reſt of thoſe Countries that lie along the *German* Seas.

(5) The time wherein theſe *Saxons* ſhould thus inleſt *Germany*, by *Ocea Starcklyſa* verduſt, is as ancient as great *Alexander*: others account it long after, in the raigne of *Thiberius*. But before *Ptolemie* we finde them not mentioned by any Author, who flouriſhed in the daies of *Antoninus Pius*, about the yeere from *Chriſt* Natiuitie 140. And moſt certaine it is by *Eutropius* and *Beda*, that before the yeere three hundred, when *Diocleſius* ſwaid the *Roman* Scepter, the *Saxons* out of *Cimbria Cheroſus* ſore offended the coaſts of *Britaine* and *France*, with their many piracies, and were fearfull euen to the *Romans* themſelves. Theſe multiplying in number and ſtrength, ſeated in the *Meritime* tract of *Iſeland*, *Sleſwick*, *Holſtate*, *Danmark*, *Breme*, *Oldenburgh*, all *Engliſh* and *Holland*; and indeed according to the Teſtimonie of *Fabius Quaſtor*, Wholely all the *Sea* coaſts: from the river *Rhene* unto the *Citie* *Dona*, which now is commonly called the *Denmarke*; and with him *Henry of Eſford* affirmeth *Saxon* land to ſtretch from the River *Albiſ* onto the *Rhene*; the bounds of no one people of all the *Germani* extending any way ſo far, ſaith he.

(6) But theſe ſpreading Bonghes, are brought by others from a neerer Route, planted not in *Aſia* or *Scythia*, but rather in *Europe* and in *Germanie* it ſelfe; grounding their opinion from *Cornelius Tacitus*, who maketh them to be bred in the ſame Country, though diſtinguiſhed by Name from the reſt, as others more beſide then were. Which *Saxons* (ſay they) though they were not mentioned by *Tacitus* in his Deſcription of *Germanie*, yet in *Pliny*, that wrote not much about ſortie yeeres after him, they are named; as alſo the *Gata*, and the *Angli*, Copartners of their Conqueſt. *Tacitus* placeth among theſe *Germanes* that worſhipped *Herthum* the Mother-earth for their Auoourie Goddeſſe; at firſt but one People, but afterwards diuided into three ſeueral Tribes; that is, the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, who left the remembrance of their Names ſtamped (as it were) in the ſoile from whence

Starcklyſa the vnderſtandeth from whence they came.

Ocea Starcklyſa, Saxons from Saxa a Prince of India.

Saxidius Petri Crantzius.

Saxons of the Cattin in Germany.

Saxons from Saxa a people in Aſia.

F. Aſinius in Prognos, Mr. Henry Ferrer on his prognos of Engliſh Monarchie.

Pliny in Geographia, Aſian. Marcell. l. 24. cap. 20.

Michael Neander.

Herodotus, Ioſeph Scaliger.

Perſes in Saxons to agree agree in many words.

Inde.

Saxons coming into Europe.

Perſes, cap. 1. Halt-Saxons, Saxons Angles & Saxons Jutes.

Scythia Man-ſer-ſer.

The time of the Saxons entrance into Germany.

Scythia, Inde, Saxons ſpread into the Roman themſelves.

The names of theſe Saxons Tribes.

Tacitus Deſcrip. Germ. cap. 1.

Tacitus Deſcrip. Germ. cap. 4.

Saxons, Angles, Jutes.

whence they departed, and also coined new vnto others, whereof they became possidors.

(7) *Ptolemy*, among the *Saxonijs* in *Germanie* placeth the *Saxons* neere to the mouth of the *Ruer Albis*, in the continent of *Cambria Chersinensis*. And in this *Iland of Britaine*, *Beda* telleth vs, that the *Kingdomes of the East and West Saxons* were of them peopled: Whole originall Name, besides the *Indian Saxe* or the *Seythian Saxe*, some will haue Etymologed from *Saxum a Stone*, becaufe forsooth these people were hard or *Stone-bearded*; and some againe from the *Axones* in *Gallic*, of whom *Lucan* maketh mention in this his verse:

*Lungis leues Axones in armis,
And nimble Axones in their Armour light.*

(8) *Iustus Lipsius* coniectureth, and *Engelssius* affirmeth (as *Perisgion* saith) that the name *Saxon*, tooke the appellation from the *Falsion* of the *trepan* that vssually they wore, which was a *Crooked Boring Sward*, somewhat like vnto a *Sittle*, with the edge on the contrarie side, called by the *Netherlanders*, a *Saxer*, and by themselves *Seaxen*, and the shorter of like fashion for hand-weapons, *Seaxes*; such as were those that were hid vnder their Garments in the *Masse* of the *British Nobilitie* vpon *Salisbury Plain*, where *Henric* gaue the watch-word, *Nimere oer Seaxes*, that is, *Take your Swords*: three of which *Knives Argent*, in a *Field Gale*, were borne by *Erkenwyne* King of the *East-Saxons*, vpon his litle of *Armes*, as some of our *Earls* haue imblazed. And that their Name was so giuen them from their *Weapons*, some alleage their accustomed manner in wearing thereof, which vssually was to tresse the same oerwaith their backs when they went foorth to battle, whereby notice was taken, and that name attributed vnto them, as the like hath been vpon like occasion vnto others: for so in *Asia* the *Serians* were named for their skill in shooting in *France* the *Picards* for their long *Pikes* vsed in fight; and in *Ireland* the *Gallagallies*, which bare the *Pollax* as their principal weapon: and of latter times, vpon like occasions haue *Surreymen* growne both to particular men, as also to whole Societies; which may appeare in such as hauing vowed their volage and seruice for *Ierusalem*, were continually vpon their backs a red *Crosse*, whereby the name *Cross-backe*, or in old English, *Crouch-backe*, was to them attributed: in which ranke, *Edmond Earle of Lancaster* (second sonne to King *Henry* the third) was a principall, and thereby got that name, which he could not claw off from his backe euer since. So likewise those men who entered that Religion of Monachall life, were vssually vpon the outside of their Garments the signe of a *Crosse*, whereby that Order was distinguished and noted from others by the name of *Crouched* or *Crossed-Friers*. But whence or howeuer the name arose, among all the *Germanes* there were none in reputation for millicane deeds comparable vnto these *Saxons*: neither had any aduentured by *Sea* and *Land* so farre to purchase renowne and praise, or perhaps (and that more likely) to supply their owne wants; ranging often from place to place, as men alwaies ready to enter any action: and in *Germanie* to this day a great *Duke* doth retaineth from them the name of *Saxen*.

(9) The *Guta* (no doubt the *Saxen*) *Ptolemy* likewise placeth in the *Iland Scythia*, lying very neere the Coasts of *Germanie*, vpon whose vttermoost *Promontorie* (as such an ancient *Manuscript*) the *Isles* did for certaine inhabite, which vnto this day of the *Danes* is called *Island*. These *Isles*, *Gutes*, *Gotes*, or *Goths* (or as *Beda* calles them) *Fries*, gaue names to those parts of *Britaine* which they inhabited, as to this day the *Isle of Hyshe* beareth their impression. This variety of names we will no further inforce, then that these *Guthes* were not the same that had passed *Ister* by *Pontus Euxinus*, and ouer-rannc *Europe*, who were also called the *Guta* by *Isidore*. Their name, as *Perisgion* will haue it, was taken from their agilitie, or *swiftnesse* of foot: and some of them (as *Sebastian Manfrier* declareth) went

and inhabited among the Mountaines that diside *Germanie* from *Italy*, whereupon their name came to be called the *Hill-Fries*, which are now the *Hemuntani*.

(10) The *Angles* (by *Fabius Ragufer* *Reliquarianus*, an ancient Writer, and a Noble Person of the *Saxons* Royall Blood) are brought from *Old Anglia*, a Portion lying betwixt the Countreies of the *Saxons* and the *Guts*, as he wracth them, whose chiefe Towne was by them called *Stefane*, and of the *Danes*, *Hastby*: but (more particularly) it lay betwixt the *Citie Flomburge* and the *Riuer Sty*, which Countrey by *Albertus Cranzius* is called *Anglia*. From hence (saith *Henricus Ranzianus*) the *Saxons*, who were also called the *Anglo-Saxons*, went to aid the *Britanics*. And as this day there is a litle Province in the Kingdom of *Dania*, named *Angel*, beneath the *Citie Flomburge*, which *Inde* becometh called *Little Anglia*. Their site notwithstanding is placed by most Authors in *Westphalia*, where the *Citie Engers* standeth, and where *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* rangeth them among the *Saxonijs*; which in their times might very well be. Others would haue them in *Pomerania*, where the Towne *Engelen* doth somewhat found their name: so doth *Engelwin*, *Engleburg*, and *Engelwin*, places in *Germanie*, beare witness, and are prynces of their footing among the *Langobards* and *Serians*. But the most glorious remembrance of that their name hath bene for these many ages in this Kingdom of *England*: though *Saxa Grammaticus* (as erst we touched, *Lib. 3. Cap. 2*) will needs haue *Anglia* named from *Angul* the *horne* of *Humblot*, and Giant-like brother of *Danua* the first King of *Denemarke*. But *Albertus Cranzius* being offended at his folly, telleth him that *England* had the name of *Britannia* many hundred yeeres after that *Angul* was dead. Others there are that deriue the name *England* from the manner of this *Ilands* situation, being narrow in the *West* and *North*, for that *Eng* in the ancient *Tentank Tungoe*, as well as in the moderne, doth signifie *Narrow*, *Strait*, or a *Neeke*; and to that purpose doth produce this verbe of a *Portugall* allusion:

*Anglia terra exat et fertilis Angulus Orbis,
Infula praelux, quatenus exat orbe*

*A fruitful Angles, England then, another world art said:
An Island reeb, and hast no need of other countries aid.*

(11) *Calliopine* without prooffe deriueth the Name frō *Queene Angula*: but as weake a ground as those who will fetch it from their *Angel-like* faces, alluded vnto by *Pope Gregory* the Great. Or that of *Gouepius*, from the *Angle* or *Pishing-hook*, becaufe, saith he, they hooked all things to themselves, and might verie well therefore be called *Good Anglers*: a very meane conceit in sooth. But howeuer, most certaine it is that these *Angles* stole the name of this blessed *Iland* from their elder brethren the *Saxons* (as *Isidore* did the birth-right from *Efas*) and called it after their owne; as we shall further shew when our *Historie* hath gotten to the age of the *Saxons* Monarchie.

(12) These all claime their descents from Prince *Woden*, called by our Antiquaries, as *Otho* bene said, from the eldest Sonne of the Patriarke *Nash*, and is accounted the most noble of all the Progenitors of the *Saxon* Kings, in so much as they, and especially the *Anglo-Saxons*, our Ancestors, haue (in their superstitious conceit of such widdon goddijmagined *Woden* to be their principall God of *Bardell*) whose Wife named *Frea*, was by the like fancie held a Goddess, of whom more hereafter.

(13) Their head issue between them sundry Sons, and from sue of them, all the Monarchs of the *English-men* haue claimed to haue bene descended. It is the first being reported to be the Progenitor to the Kings of the *Kentishmen*: Cafer the second, to the Kings of the *East-Angles*: *Wihelme* the third, to the Kings of the *Mercians*: *Wegde* the fourth, to the Kings of the *Dierians*: and *Beldy* the fifth, to the Kings of the

The Angli Saxones place situm habuere, vnde Angli.

Overem New Emmeram.

Linhurgum.

A Promontio in Dania called Insula Anglorum.

Words of allusion with the name Angles.

Saxa Grammaticus.

Albertus Cranzius.

Perisgion.

Eng. significat angulum.

Calliopine.

Gouepius.

Angli stole their name.

Saxons both Angles and Kentish descended from Woden.

Woden deorum est Deus. Frea the wife of Woden.

Woden first found their names: and Scyptismans.

the South-Saxons, to the Kings of the Bernicians, afterwards Kings of Northumberland; and also the Kings of the West-Saxons: only the Kings of the East-Saxons, claiming to descend of the same race, derive not their descents from any of the Sonnes of the same men. This may suffice for the Originals of these three peo-

ple; who, as *Cæsar* affirmeth, retained still the same manners after they were seated in Europe, as they had formerly done in Asia. And what those were, let vs heare the reports of *Tacitus*, and other ancient Authors, who together with the Germans (among whom they dwelled) doe thus describe them.

Op.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT SAXONS.

CHAPTER III.



These Germans, and among them the Catti and Saxonians, (our Ancestors according to *Albertus Cranzius*) were a people (saith *Tacitus*) well set, fierce of countenance, tall of stature, gray eyed, and of a fierce aspect, and their haire yellow.

Vnto whom, *Witchindus* the Monke addeth and saith, that They were faire of complexion, cheerful of countenance, very comely of stature, and their limbes to their bodies well proportioned, bold of courage, hardy in fight, and very ambitious of glory: for which parts (saith he) the Franks had them in great admiration, and wondered at their new and strange attire, their armour, and their busbie lockes of haire, that from their heads over-spread their shoulders, but about all, at their constant resolution, and valiant courage. Their heads and beards they suffer (saith *Tacitus*) to grow at length, and never put off that curved ornament and band of colour, vntill they haue slain an Enemy: but then upon blood and spile, they vncouer their forehead, and say they haue paid backe the price of their birth, and thinke themselves worthy of their Country and parents. Their curled lockes (saith he) they binde up to knots, and standing on end, tie it in the crowne only, that is the humble care they haue of beautie, to seeme more terrible to the Enemy. And by *Sidonius Apollinaris* his testimony, they vied to haue off the haire of their heads, reseruing onely a tuft in the crowne, about which they wore a hooke or plate of copper, which caused the haire to stand vpright, as by this his verses appeareth.

*Illic Saxona cæruleum videmus,
Adjectum anti sula filum timore:
Cum vertice extimus per aras,
Non contenta suis tenere moribus,
Alit lamina marginem comarum:
Et sic crinibus ad cultum recipi
Decepsit caput, addidit, cultum.*

In English thus:

*There doe we see the Saxons clad in blew,
Bald on the Sea, but fearefull new on Land:
Their brightest tops upon their crownes that shew,
Are not content to hold their wonted band,
But raise in tufts, where all the rest, doth stand
Bare naked shew'd, and hath no haire at all,
Which makes full fed'd, but heads seeme passing small.*

(2) And that they were indeede bold vpon the Seas, *Agrippinus* witnesseth. The Saxons (saith hee) a most valiant kinde of men, exceed all others in Piracies, in imitation of whom, *Isidore* affirmeth, that for their

valour and nimblenes in seruice they had their name: a people (saith he) stout, hardie, and most valiant, and farre out-stripping all others in Piracies, formed most fearefull to live on Land, then at Sea. Whole intrusions and sudden violence both France and Britaine with great dammages felt: for in Gallie they seized into their possession the Countrey of a *Bascaisse*, as is to be seene in *Gregorius Turonensis*, who thence termeth them Saxones - *Bascaisses*: and in Britaine an Office of Charge was instituted to defend the Coasts from their irruptions, the Captaine whereof was commonly called the Count or Earle of the Saxon Shore: of whose Piracies and Savage Cruelties, let vs heare *Sidonius* in his Epistle to *Nomantius* complaine: So many Rovers as you see (saith he) so many Arch-Pirates thinke you behold, they all of them together so command, obey, teach and learne, to rob and steale. There is no enemy so cruel as this, that setteth upon others at unawares, and as occasion serues, as warily slips himselfe away. Her sister at night such an encounter him: hee brings her to nought, shee that take no heed of him: whom hee can feth, hee surely ouertaketh: when hee feth, he is sure to escape. To this seruice, Shipwracks are him, they terrifie him not. Be there a Trespasse, the same strength them, and to assaile others. They neuer wey, how Ancour upon the enemies Coasts, but with a resolution a-gaine to returne: and their manner is to kill every tenth Captaine with a lingering and dolorous torment: for to such Vowes they binde themselves, and with such Sacrifices they discharge their Vowes againe, being rendered not so much purified by such Sacrifices, as polluted with Sacrilege: and the bloody and abominable Murderers thinke it a religious thing, rather to torment a Prisoner vnto death, then to set him free for a Ransome.

But when wee shall heare these vnbomane and barbarous reports either of the old Brittaines or these savage Saxons our ancient Progenitors, let vs neither be offended at *Gildas*, or at the reports of these other forraign Writers, who spake thus of them as they were then Heathens, and knew not God: the time of whose ignorance seeing God regarded not, as the *Apolline* teacheth, let vs acknowledge with due thanks the goodness of a most gracious God, who hath brought vs to a holier conuersion, and hath made vs Iudges of those fables in them, that we might flie them in our selues.

(3) Their Apparell was much different from others, and seemed strange to the Gauls, as *Witchindus* hath told vs: and *Tacitus* declareth the manner thereof: which (saith he) was a kinde of Caske, called *Sagum*, clasped, or (for want of a cloffe) fastned with a thorne, binding otherwise no garments at all, but going stark naked. Nevertheless the richer sort were distinguished from others, by their garments: which were neither large nor wide, as the Sarmates and Partians use to wear them, but strait and shewing the proportion of euery part of their bodie: besides they wore Felts made of beastes skin.

Saxons exceeding all others in Piracies.

Saxons - *Bascaisses* - *Gregorius Turonensis*.

Sidonius, lib. 8.

Saxons kill every tenth Captaine.

Saxons except no Ransomes.

Act. 17. 30.

An admonition to the Readers.

Witchindus, lib. 8. cap. 2. *Tacitus*, De Origine Germani. The Saxons were.

The

Cranzian

Tacitus describes of Germans.

Witchindus, lib. 8. cap. 2. Saxons described.

Tacitus describes of Germans.

Sidonius Apollinaris.

Agrippinus.

Isidore.

The beauty of
the women of the
ancient Saxons
was in their
eyes.
Paul. Diac.

The Men and Women attire differed in nothing, (saith he,
saith) that the women of those Saxons trimmed and
adorned with purple, and without fescs, their arms
bare, and before naked and uncovered. Yet Paulus Dia-
conus speaking of the Longobards, comparing them
to the Saxons, saith that their Cafticks were large and
were long, most of Linen, trimmed and set out with very
broad Gar ds or wels purplif, and embordered with fupery
colours, and the rakes set with Pearls: their haires bound
up in a copper boope, fixed on rests upon the crown, the rest
curled and falling down upon their shoulders: their boards
they kept still open, till they had killed an enemy: and for
another note of ignominy, they waft an Iron Ring, as a
figne of bondage, till they had cast it from them by the
Conquest of a Man. Great Knives, or rather broad bending
swords, they trusted upon little Shields that warr their
backes, from which (as we shewed) Engulfus acknow-
ledged they had their appellation. He that abandoned
or left this shield in battle (saith Tacitus) was abhorred
from their publick Sacrifices and Assemblies, the greatest
disgrace that could be: for very shame and griefe whereof,
many many times hanged themselves. And upon these
Shields their manner was to lift up their new elected
Generall, and with acclamations to carrie him thro-
row their Campe.

Arminius.
Engulfus.

Tacit. in de lege.
Germ.

Tacit. lib. 4. cap. 5.

Tacit. de lege.
Germ. cap. 5.

Saxons of all the
Germans the va-
lourous.
Tacitus.

Armin. lib. 2. c. 2.

Tacitus.
The Saxons goe
singing to the
warrs.
The Saxons use
to sing to combat.

The custom of
adorned these
Lobdicks.

The Saxons
were in warre.

Armin. Pandora.
The Saxons was
war.

Their Ceremo-
nies in marryng.
Tacitus.

Armin. Pandora.
lib. 2. cap. 5.

is gotten by the sweat of their browes, when it might have
been obtained by the expense of their blood. A frange di-
versitie (saith he) that the same men should so much love
flesh, and hate quietnesse. It is with them a great shame
for their Primer to be overcome in Palour, but for any
one to returne alive from that Battell wherein the
Primer is slain, a perpetuall infamie and reproach.
And that their resolutions were ever noble, and their
courage not daunted in dalliesse or bondage, it well ap-
peared by a whole band of them taken by Symonius,
and designed for the Romans pallime of Sarras-plaier,
who the same morning that this spectacle was ex-
pected, strangled themselves rather then they would in-
curre such infamie and baselesse, as to make others
pallime with the ignominious widge of their owne
persons.

Saxons their reli-
gious courage.

Tacit. de lege.
Germ.

(6) Their Lawes were severe, and vices not lugh-
ed at, and good Customs of greater authority among them,
then otherwise were good Lawes: no temporizing for fa-
vour, nor clemency for game, but stoutness in hospitality, and libe-
rality in gifts, accounting both due to be given and received,
yea and that without thanks: no Nation free from adu-
ltery, or punishing that sinne more severely. For the women
after, having first her haire cut off, was turned forth
naked out of her Husbands house, and that in presence of
her sune hundred, whence she was covered with whips thro-
row the Towne, without regard of birth, beauty, age, or
wealth, and never after could finde another Husband. Those
that were commonly lewd of their bodies, their manner was
to drawne them in filthy weed, and to cover them with
hides. Yea and greater punishments then these the
Pagan-Saxons executed upon such offenders, as by the
Epistle of Boniface an Englishman, Arch-bishop of
Magunze, which he wrote unto Ethelwald King of the
Merians, in reproaching his adulterous life, is mani-
fested. For (saith hee) in the ancient Country of the Saxons
(where there was no knowledge of God) if either a Maide in
her Father's house, or one having a husband, became a whore,
shee should be strangled with her sune hundred cleaved to her
mouth, and the Carrion should be hanged upon the Post
whereon she was buried. If shee were not soyle, then her
Garments being cut away deare from the Girle's selfe, the
chaste Matrons did scourge and whip her, and did strike
her with knives: and so was the first from Trewe to Trewe,
where other frends and new frends did meet and earnest
her unto death.

Saxons great
punish-
ments of adu-
ltery.

Chronic. Ethel-
wald.

And their Severe Lawes a long time remaining in
the daies of Christianitie, doe declare with what rigor
(without regard of person) they both examined and
punished this offence: whereof that of Queen Emma,
the mother of King Edward the Confessor, is a suffici-
ent example, who being accused for incontinencie of
body with Althys Bishop of Winchester, was inioined
to passe over nine Plough-shares Iron: glowing red hot,
the being blind-fold and bare-footed, by which trial
shee is said to have acquitted herselfe, inso much that
having passed them all before shee knew it, cried and
said: O good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my
purgation? This punishment beginning in their Pa-
gans, and continuing vnto the yeere 750. Stephen the
Second, and most pious Pope of Rome, did vete-
lically abolish, as too severe and over-rigorous for Christians
to undergoe.

Act. High. in Tu-
ber. lib. 2. cap. 23.

Queen Emma
had punishment.

Stephen, a Bishop
of Rome.

The Virgins of these Saxons were never to be
married but once, that they might have no other
thoughts, nor further desire but in case of matrimony:
neither had the men plurality, excepting great Per-
sonages, and they lived vnto in regard of procreation,
for to be without Children, was to be without reputation.
So that the testimony of Salmasius, which lived a-
mong them, fitteth well our purpose, saying; Though
the Saxons are outrageous in cruelty, yet for chastity they
are to be honoured.

The Saxons Vir-
gins married but
once.

The Saxons did
highly cleave
to lawfull
children.

Salmasius.

(7) But as in these vertues they out-stripped most
Pagans: so in the Zeale of their heathenish supersti-
tious and Idolatrous service, they equalled any of
them: for besides the gods, the Mother-Earth, whom
the Angles our ancestors accounted for a Goddess of
Aide: they worshipped Mercurius vnder the name of
Hhh . . . Woden

Tacit. de lege.
Germ. cap. 5.

(1) Their fashion was to goe forth singing to the
Warrs, for rather they especially are said to march to battle,
whereas others are said to goe) carrying before them cer-
taine Images taken out of their converted Woods. Their
manner was before they joined Battle, to trie by sin-
gle Combat (therein trying one of their own against
some captiued enemy) what successe was to be ex-
pected: and this they kept as a Law violatour, that none
might presume to beare Armes before hee was solemnly ad-
mitted, where in a frequent Assemblies a Shield was given
him by his Parents or Kindred: and this was the pledge (as
it were) of his first honour, he being till then reputed but a
particular of a Familie, but thence-forward a member of
the Common-wealth. They are very comely, wife, and con-
siderate in their service, in preferring chiefe Captaines,
in following their Leaders, in shewing their rankes, in taking
the advantage and benefit of the day, and interchanging in
the night, holding fast one another, but colour attracts
certaine. Their weapons, as testifies, Iuanes Pa-
marinus, were long Spears, broad Swords, and the Craf-
bow: these they held in chief esteeme, that with a horse
furnished, Shield, Sword, and Lance, their Virgins were
received in marriage, accounting them for the greatest
bonds, and the very Patron-Gods of Matrimony: which
custom might well be taken from their neighbours
the ancient Saracens, whose Maidens vntill pre-
sented to their husbands a Trent and a Speere, in way of En-
dowrie at the entrance of their Nuptials. And among these
Germans those Martiall habitations were in such vfe,
that they did meet neither at Festiues nor in Council, but
in their Armour.

A People (saith Tacitus) whom thou canst not so easily
persuade to leave the ground, as to provoke the Enemy,
and adventure wounds, holding small esteem of that which

*Merry was
Drapp of the
Saxons Woden.
An old Man-
script.
Wodenley dedi-
cated to King
Athen.
Friday dedicated
to Quene Fre-
ja a Goddess
of the Saxons.*

*Essex a Saxon
Goddess.
Beda a compari-
son.*

Esay 40. 13.

*Francis War.
Mith. 3. 44. 3.*

*Herald King of
Norway was at-
tributed to Odin.*

Adam Bromwich.

*Wife a Temple
of the Saxons all
of gold.*

*The Saxon Gods
in their Temple
Wife, and their
properties.
Hence Thor-
day is named in
the names.*

Woden for their principall God of Battle: after whose victories they usually sacrificed to him their Prisoners taken in warres, and of him named one of the weeke daies • *Woden-day*, wherein hee was chiefie worshipping: whose wife named *Frea*, was by the like foolerie held to bee *Fenna a Goddess*, vnto whom another of their weeke daies was assigned for name and service; which of vs is called *Fride*.

Is likewise with them was a Goddess of great account, so was *Essex*, vnto whom they sacrificed in the month of April; whence it cometh (saith *Beda*) that they called *April Easter-Month*: and we still name the feast of the *Resurrection*, *Easter*. The Images of all these they still bare before them in battle, repining no small confidence in their aides: and yet (saith *Tacitus*) they thought it unseemly to paint their Gods on the shape of men; hauing euen by Nature doublet written in their hearts, a regard to that demaund of the Lord: *To whom will ye liken me that I should be like him, with the halie one I knowe?* They gaue great heede also to the neighing of their Horses, and to the flight and singing of Birds, as ominous fore-shewers of future euenes.

(8) These Superstitions, *Ethelward* euen in his daies complained of: That they had respected the Danes, Normans and Saxons, with the worship of this God *Woden*; vnto whom these barbarous Nations offered sacrifices, that they might be victorious where they fought. And as *Cranes* recordeth, *Herald* the first of that name, and *Norwich King*, was so farre merged, that he sacrificed two of his Saxons vnto his Idols: that he might obtaine a tempest to disperse, and put backe the Armado, which *Herald King of Denmark* had prepared against him.

This general defecion of Gods true worship, *Adam Bromwich* maketh mention of in this manner: In a Temple, saith he, called in their vulgar and native speech *Fylde*, which is made altogether of Gold, the people worship the Statues of three Gods in such manner, as that Thor the mightiest of them hath only a Throne or Bed: an either hand of him *Woden* and *Essex* hold their places. And thus much they signifie: • Thor, say they, beareth rule in the Aire, and governeth the Thunder and Lightning, Windes, Showres, Faire weather, Ceres, and Fruits of the Earth. The second, which is *Woden*, that is, stronger, maketh Warres, and misseareth manly valour against Enemies. The third is *Essex*, bestowing largely upon martiall men, peace and pleasure, whose Image they deaife and pouerrey with a great circle member. *Woden* they enage armed, like as we use to cut and expresse Mars.

(9) Their controversies and doubtfull matters were decided by drawing of Lots, which they euer made of some fruit-bearing tree, and was performed

after this manner: If there were publicke cause, the Priest of private, the Goodman of the house, or worthiest in the company take they fittes of paper, dyed in red with certaine markes that had bene scattered at hys backe-card upon a white garment: and after prayers and invocation on their God, with eyes fixed upon heauen, and three times lifting the same lots aloft, gaue their interpretations thereof according to the markes therein inscribed, which was received and believed for a most sure Oracle: as the like was obserued vpon other occasions, both by the inspections of Beasts intrals, and singings of Birds, after the accustomed manner of other Gentiles, that doted vpon the augurations for things of future successe.

(10) For the generall gouernment of their Country they ordained twelve Noblemen chosen from among others, for their worthiness and sufficiency: These in the time of peace rode their severall circuits to see inflame and good customes obserued, and they often of course at appointed times met together, to consult and giue order in publicke affaires: but euer in time of warre one of these twelve was chosen to be King, and so to remaine so long onely as the warres lasted: and that being ended, his name and dignitie of King also ceased, becoming againe as before. And this custome continued among them, vntill their wars with the Emperour *Charles the Great*: at which time *Witkeind*, one of the twelve aforesaid, a Nobleman of *Angria in Westphalia*, bore ouer the rest the name and authoritie of King, and he being afterward, by means of the said Emperour, converted to the faith of Christ, had by him his mutable Title of King turned into the enduring title and honour of Duke: and the eleven others were in like manner by the said Emperour advanced to the honourable Titles of *Earles and Lords*, with establishment for the continuall remaining of these Titles and Dignities vnto them and their heires. Of whose defects are since illud the greatest Princes at this present in *Germanie*. But though they obserued this last forme of gouernment elsewhere, yet heere in *Britaine* it was otherwise, as hereafter will appeare.

(11) And thus much out of my poore readings, I haue obserued of the original beginnings, the names, manners and customes of our ancient Progenitors, the worthy Saxons, without either amplying or impairing their glory: who being of all the Germans so much deuoted to warre, as that their only fame therein was many times sufficient to daunt the Enemy, were thought vpon by the downe-cast Brittaines as the fittest to support their ruined Estate, of whose Entrance Conquests, and Kingdomes, wee are now next addrested to speake.

Tacit. in d. script. Germ.

The gouernment of the Saxons.

Lawes of Woden.

Chist Sax.

Witkeind King. cap. 1.





THE SAXONS ARRIVALL
INTO BRITAIN VNDER
THE CONDVCT OF HENGIST
AND HORSA.

CHAPTER III.

Am. Do. 450.



Then the state of Brittain
 was miserable torn by
 the calamities of civil
Disunion, Famine, Death,
and Robbery, the Romans
 returned, and their own
Strength decayed, and their
Afflictions daily augmented
 by their wanted Enemies
 the *Saxs and Picts,*
 despairing hearts, that
 to defend themselves: and
 they called to their
 great and valorous, who to
 aid, under the Conduct of
 brethren, entered Brittain
 in the reign of *Theodosius*
 the second, three *Emperors*
 of the year of Grace 401: Re-
 ceived as Angels from Hea-
 vens after the accustomed
 way appointed them the
 situation.

(2) *Their Sacoes* in short time made proof of their Manhood. For overcoming the Enemy even in *Sealand* it left, feared chemifurians in some part thereof so that their Conquest freened absolute, and the *Britains* freed from their former afflictions. Peace thus feded, and the Inhabitants freed, a friendly *Composition* was made betwix these Nations, wherein the *Sacoes* undertook to maintain the *Field*, and the *Britains* to *sustain* the *Charge*. In which league they abode long certain time, faith *Witbesniden*, making *view* of a civil sort of the *Brits* *fraternizing* but so some as they perceived the Country large, the *Soile* fertile, and the hands of the *Inhabitants* slow to praise *stiles* of *Armes*; and further considering with themselves, that themfelves and the greatest part of the *Sacoes* had no certain place of abode, they found fault with their *poor* and want of ornaments, making that their quarrell, as both too mean, and too little for their high deserts, threatening withall, as unkind *Gheils*, that shortly they would reckon without their *Hofts*; and thereupon finding more for more of their Nation, entered peace with the *Scots* & *Picts*, who all together rose against the *Heute Brits*.

(3) And *Herself*, that by the gift of *Wisdom* had got the whole possession of *Knowledge*, lent for more supply of *Science* unto his ayde, proceeding inplements of their service in other parts, but indeede to make through his owne designs: and these swarming daylie over into *Wisdom* got the strength of munition and command of military affairs without impeach: For the King holding himselfe now free from all interceptions, gave his immoderate senses scope to nourish more freely their sensuall pleasures, and committed more audaciously those vices, unto which his owne corrupt nature was naturally addicted. This *Herself* soone perceived, and to adde more matter fit for blame, fed still the humors of this vicious King, outwardly shewing his care and readinesse for the *Land's defence*, his counsell and love to the *Nobles*

estate, and his courteous carriage to the Commons in generally, but to the King an overperforming diligence, and servile obedience: by all which, ere it was long, he gave fire to the traine, that blew vp the foundations of the *British* policie.

(A) For feasting the *King* in the Castle of *Tanger*, commanded his daughter, a Lady of passing beauty, to attend the banquet, whose excellent feature and feebly behaviour, blew the sparks of desire forth into *Vorigens* wanton eye, that they precluded kindled a flame in his lascivious heart : for in the midst of his cups, *Arwena* (so was the damoisell called) with a low reverence and pleasing grace, lured the *King* with a cup of gold full of sweet wine, incharming it with these words in her language : *Wien heal blaggo Cyng*, which is in our English, *Be health Lord King* : he demading the meaning, would be taught to anlyve to her owne understanding, and said, *Dynch heal*, that is, *Drinke health* ; whereof when hee had pledged her (as we speake) this bowle infected his senses with no selfe thoughtlesse, then that of *Belus* is said to doe *Dido*, when *Cupid* played the child of *Aeneas* betwixt *Eris* and her. And brought more hale to the Land, then afterwards did that which was presented to *King Iohn* at *Switzfeld Abbey* by *Simon* the poisoning Monk : for notwithstanding that hee had a *Reverent* living, (himselfe not young, having sinned as many estates, in profession a Christian, whose Religion alloweth neither polygamie nor adulterie) did importunate *Hensell* that *Arwena* might be his wife : which at first with some tere of excuse and unworthinesse of person, was denied, but lastly consented unto, and the Nuptials performed. And now Fortune calling occasion daily into *Ensign* lap, hee gave his aspiring thoughts no rest, till hee had got the Crowne from *Vorigens* head, and seized all vnder the *Saxons* power.

(1) *Heags* and *Heags* in their Language, as also in the ancient *Teutonic Tongue*, doe both of them signify a *Heafe*, who which beaſt the *Saxons* had great regard, and whose neighings (ſaith *Tacitus*) were their *preſages*, and being *white*, were implor'd in their ſacreligious ceremonies. *Virgil* alſo maketh the *Heafe* to bee a *luckie Oſſe* or foretolden ſucceſſe in *Battle*, as in this line verſe he doth intimate and write :

And *Cranium* telies vs, that it was a viual thing with the *Pagan Germans*, especially of their Noble-men, to take the names of *Beasts*, some from the *Lion*, some from the *Beare*, some from the *Wolfe*, and some from the *Horse*, as heere *Hengist* and *Horsa* are said to signify.

(6) Which beast they bare in their shields of *Armes* at their entrance of *Brittaine*, and was blazed, such as *Verfeylen*, in this manner: *A Horse Argent Rampant in a Field Gules*: which was the ancient *Armes*, as hee affirmeth, of the *Princes* and *Dukes* of *Saxony*. And albeit those *Dukes* have of latter yeeres changed that *Crest* by doth *Henry Julius*, now *Duke of Brunfwicke*; amongst ancient *Saxon Princes*, who sometimes bore the *White Horse* in a *Red Field*, beare the *White Horse* for his *Crest*, hauing for his chief *Crest* of *Armes*, the two

Früh Sommer.
Morgens feuchtsch
im Ring.

The King is loved
with Love.

In the Follies of
New York, 1891.

Cassius Clavin.

Mark. 10.
Pariter would
needs have Es-
timate an wife. a
W. E. at Church,
de Recibus.

Verfassen Sie:

Tacit. de firi. Ger
cap. 3.

Crabapple.

Родна Останина
останина од суга
нова бела.

Naught and Hye/

The Duke of
Angouleme his
Army.

Leopards, which by *Richard Cordell* King of England was given vnto his ancestor *Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony*, who had married *Matilda* the said Kings sister, and by the *Emperour Frederic Barbarossa* had been benefitted of his Armes, and Titles of honour. Moreover, *Charles Emmanuel* the now Duke of *Savoy*, who is lineally descended from the ancient Princes of the chiefe house of *Saxony*, by Prince *Bera*, who came out of *Saxony* into *Savoy* in the yeere of our Lord 993. and was the third sonne of *Hugh Duke of Saxony*, which *Hugh* was brother vnto the *Emperour Otter* the Third, doth yet beare for one of his Coats the said *Leaping Horse*.

(7) This *Hengist* was doubtlesse a Prince of the chieft bloud and Nobilitie of the *Saxons*, and by birth, of *Angria in westphale*, wherein vnto this day a place retaineth the name of *Hengist-holt*. Hee with his brother were the sonnes of one *Wibgisl*, whose father was *Witta*, and his father *Fella* the eldest sonne of *Fedra*, as *Beda* writes him, of whose illuse many *Kings of sundry Princes* (saith he) had their originall.

Hee growne now into high fauour with the King, by the marriage of *Rowena*, and feared of the Nobility for his strength and policie, bare himselfe great among all, and his supplies daily arriuing, peised (if it not plagued) most parts of this *Iland*. For such *Nimian* and *Beda*, the riches of *Britaine*, and the ferilitie of the soyle, were such motives to their enuie and offering, that where they got footing, there they kept standing, and picked occasions where they were too strong. Among the that were sent for, by the aduise of *Hengist*, two principall Captaines, *Otha* and *Kliffa* were chiefe, who being embarked in forty Pinnaces, sailed about the *Fildes* Coasts, waiting the *Isles* that were called the *Oradeis*, and got many Countries from them beyond the *Friish*, whereby a further terrour was stricken into the *Britaines* hearts.

(8) The Nobilitie perceiving what was in working, and the marke whereto *Hengist* set his eye to come, complained to the King of their dangerous estate, shewing themselves agreed to bee dispossessed of Offices and Charge, (as *Gunning* the Earle or Lieutenant of *Kent*, by *Hengist* had bene) the Land pestred with strangers, that fought their subuersion; reprooing him much for his match with that *Infidel Rowena*, his owne carelesse government and adulterous life, and in such manner, that *Padoe* Archbishop of *London* a man of great sanctitie, feared not to tell him that thereby he had endangered both his soule and Crowne, which words by *Foringer* were so digested, that shortly it cost the good Archbishop his life. But hee still continuing in his lasciuious and carelesse idlenesse, was lastly taught by his wofull experience, what miserie wilfull rashnesse and neglected government do bring, for the *Britaines* his subjects no longer would be thus abused, to see themselves wouen into greater danger by shew of defense, then they formerly had bene by the hostilitie of the enemy; but forthwith disclaimed their obedience to the King, when he had raigned the space of six yeeres, and chose for their Governour his sonne *Foringer*.

(9) His Sonne hee was indeed by nature, but not his in conditions, who (besides the quarrell of his Queene mother for *Rowena* like reuiled) bare an inward looe to his native Country, and an outward hate to the strangers that daily fought the subuersion thereof, and presently encountered with them in a pitched Battell neere vnto *Ailsford* in *Kent*, wherein *Catigern* and *Horsa*, brethren to *Foringer* and *Hengist*, in single fight hand to hand slew each other.

In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected: the stones wherof to this day appeare, and stand vpon a great plaine in the Parish of *Ailsford*, and from *Catigern* as yet is corruptly called *Catichurche*. The like Monument the *Saxons* vsed for *Horsa*, which time hath now defaced, and wherof *Beda* maketh mention, who saith, that a towne bearing his name was in his daies to bee seene in the East part of *Kent*. The credit wherof is conti-

nued to this day, where the Village *Horsed* is reported to haue received that name from him, which standeth in the very same place where that Battell was fought, as the Inhabitants report.

(10) Three other Battles after this with variable success were fought betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Saxons*, one at *Craford*, another at *Weppe*-fleet, and the third vpon *Casmore* in which last the *Britaines* bare themselves so valiantly, that the *Saxons* were driuen into the *Ile of Tauer* (if not out of the seas) so that (small hope rested for them so long as this valiant *Foringer* lived, who had dispossessed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often assailed them in *Tauer*, as *Felgen* saith. After this Victorie long hee liued not, but was made away by poison through the means of *Rowena* the mother of all this mischief, when he had late King the space of foure yeeres; and the father againe reestablished.

(11) *Foringer* now was no sooner restored, but that *Hengist* had notice thereof, who was then in building a Castle at *Leiden* in *Holland*, as their *Annals* doe witness, and *Iohn Dausa* in his verities specifie: where leauing all (as it were) at runtime, returned to follow his fortunes further in *Britaine*, and with a mighty Armie of his *Saxons* thought to land without impeachment: but the *Britaines* growne bold by their former victories, and their blood not cooled since it was heat in fight, admonished their reestablished King, who with them went to withstand his arriue. When *Hengist* therefore perceived their courage, and knew their hatreds to him and his *Saxons*, hee fought by smooth words to gaine the flower; and by some stratagem, his wiued desired: therefore pretending only to visit his daughter, yea and to rid the Land of her, if so he might haue leaue of the King and them; and therefore desired a conference in friendly manner: after which, his *Saxons* should depart the Land, and rest the like friends to the *Britaines* as they were when first they came in.

(12) This motion seemed reasonable to the Nobilitie, and the place and time appointed, which was the first of *May*, and vpon the *Plaine of Ambry*, now called *Salisbury*: whither vpon equal termes (as was thought) each partie repaired, and a while conferred with friendly semblances, but in the end the *Saxons* vrging their wrongs, fel from words vnto blowes, the watch-word first giuen by *Hengist* their Leader. The *Britaine* meant simply, and as no weapons, according to covenants; but the *Saxons* vnder their long Callocks had short Skines hid, with which, an sooner the words, *Nem owt Saxons*, were pronounced, but that each slew him with whom hee conferred, by which treason the *Britaines* lost three hundred of their diuine Nobilitie, onely *Eldel* Duke of *Gloucester*, as *Randolph Higden* declareth, with a Stake gotten from the hedge, slew *seuenteene Saxons*. The King they tooke prisoner; for whose ransom, the Countiees of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolke*, and *Northfolke*, were deliuered vnto these *Infidels*, who shortly defiled the beauty of Christianity with their Paganisme and heathenlike cruelties. Then (saith *Beda*) the first day vengeance was kindled by these wicked Conquerors, and rayed flit vpon those Countries next adioyning, and afterwards from the East Sea vnto the West, without resistance made to quench the same, publicke and private houses were overthrown and laid low with the ground, *Prasies* were plaine standing at the Altars, and *Bishops* with their flocks were murdered; neither was there any to bury the dead. And these are the things wherof we spake, and wherein the miserable *Britaines* abandoned the Land or hid themselves in caves, wherein they either perished for hunger, or redeemed their liues with perpetual slavery.

(13) Neither were their calamities greater in outward afflictions then their soules, polluted with the heresie of the *Pelagian*, brought by *Agricola*, the Son of *Suetonius* a *Pelagian Bishop*, that did foulesly corrupt the faith of the *Britaines*: to redresse which, *Germanus* *Apostolicall*, and *Leolin Bishop* of *Treua* in *France*, were by the brethren desired, and sent vnto their

to see the place of *Horsa* his monument.

The Battell betwixt the *Britaines* and *Saxons*.

The *Saxons* driuen out of *Sax*.

Foringer poisoned by *Rowena*.

Leiden Castle in *Holland*, besieged by *Hengist*.

John Dausa.

Hengist landing refused by the *Britaine*.

Martham, *Sam*.

Hengist with treachery.

Ailsbury Plain the *Britaine* and *Saxons* fought a great battle, and the *Saxons* were victorious.

The *Saxons* suddenly murdered the *Britaine*.

Randolph Higden, *Polygraph. l. 2.*

Dicers countries deliuered to the *Infidels*.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 15.

Green *Isle* and *deliuered* once all the *Land*.

The *Britaine* abandoned the *Land*.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 15.

Pelagius was brought into *Britaine* by *Agricola*.

The Duke of *Saxony* Armes.

Chon *Eza*, *Hengist*, his Country and passage.

Plow, *W* *Coro* *Beda* hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 15.

Arrog, his *Isle* *King*.

Nimian.

Otha and *Kliffa* a return to the *Poles*.

The Nobilitie complaint.

Padoe was reproved by the Bishop of *London*.

Hee encountered in his *Isle*.

His subjects did, and thus obeyed.

They chose *Foringer*.

Catigern and *Horsa* their single fight.

John *Stowe*, *Critica*, *Catigern* his Monument.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 15.

The Merkin
continued.

The principall
cause of the
Britains miserie.

For everie
South
Wales.

Merlin the Welsh
Wizard.
Hee builded a Ca-
stle there.

The desolating
opinion where
this Castle was
build.

For everie
South
Wales.

Arthurs
Arthurs
Arthurs
Arthurs
Arthurs

Arthurs
Arthurs
Arthurs
Arthurs
Arthurs

A battle at
Marston, &c.
Merch
Goffrey
Arthurs
Arthurs

Merch
Goffrey
Arthurs
Arthurs

their thus troubled and declining estate. These pillars of Gods truth, after they had poured forth prayers, and convicted the Hereticks, lead an Armie of Britains against the Picts and Saxons, and gained the victorie; after which (like unto people that drew on Gods vengeance and their owne destructions) they fell to robberies and rapine, one Clide banding against another, and all kind walley by the Saxons and themselves. These miseries doth Gildas impute to have hapned to his Britains, because they tooke no care to preach the Gospel of Christ unto the Infidels the English-Saxons, that in their heathen cruelties fought the Lands destruction.

(14) For everie thus dispossessed, for his further securitie betooke himselfe into Wales, where among those vast Mountaines hee built a strong Castle; of whose foundation, Merlin the Welsh Wizard, with the future successe that should afterward follow the Britains, hane by way of prophesie vainly spoken. This Castle most of our Writers have said to bee in South-Wales, vpon a rockie and solitary mountaine called *Bregh*, or after others *Clairie*, in the West of that Province, not farre from *Radnor*, and neere vnto the River *Gnana*; but the inhabitants of North-Wales report (by the reports of their ancestors) that an old *Bricklayer* was that Castle, which *Forrigern* built, and is yet called *Embris*, from *Merlin Embris*, as they ascribe. And surely (besides the craggy and solitarynesse of the place, which seemed to mee rather an entrance into the shadow of death, then to be the Palace or Court of a King) the River *Lymere* runneth much, by which *Forrigern* his sonne, begotten of his owne daughter *Reuma*, is said to spend his life in continual priers.

(15) But whilest *Forrigern* was busied in building this Castle, and the Saxons making spoiles wherefoever they came, the Britains vnder the conduct of *Arthurs* *Arthurs*, began to receive some breath of hopes, and to free themselves out of their Caves. This *Arthurs* (saith *Beda*) was a gentle natured man, which only of all the band of the Romans remained then alive, his parents being *Rome*, which had borne the name of the King of the Country. Hee with his brother *Pier*, commonly called *Pendragon*, returning out of Britian *Arthurs*, where they had remained from the Tyranny of *Forrigern*, landed at *Canterbury* in the West of this land; vnto whom resorted great Troopes of Britains.

His first Expedition was against *Forrigern* the seuerge of his Country, and murderer of his King: whose Castle straightwaies bee besieged, and hye the inst reuenging hand of God, with wilde fire consumed, wherein those adulterous and incestuous persons were burnt to ashes.

(16) Next, following the common Enemie, hee gaue battle to the Saxons on the North of *Humber*, at a place called *Atatwell*, wherein *Henry* was discomfited, and in flight taken by *Earle Edal* of *Gloucester*, and beheld at *Canterbury*, saith he of *Arthurs*. Howbeit, *Atatwell* of *Westminster* maketh him fight another battle vpon the River *Dan*, in Anno 489, wherein, saith he, *Henry* was taken. And *Polydore* saith, that in the same battle *Henry* as the first anse was *Rome*, with many of his Germans: the fame of whose victorie (saith he) is had in memorie with the Inhabitants of these parts even unto this day. Yet *Gildas*, *Beda*, and *Ethelward*, Writers of those ancient times, and two of them Saxons, mention not the death of *Henry*, neither this great victorie of the Britains. And *Arthurs* the Scottish Monke seemeth to ascribe the contrarie, where he saith, that *Henry* reigned thirty yeeres in great glorie, and died peaceably, leaving his sonne *Eike* to succeed him in the Kingdome of *Rome*. With whom also *Florentius* the Monke of *Worcester* agreeth. Howsoever, sure it is, had not the diuine power of God otherwise determined, the waning estate of Britaine

doubleles had recouered her former strength, both by the prayers of *Bishop German*, the prowess of this last spoken of *Arthurs*, the valorous attempts of *Pier Pendragon*, and the worthy industrius of the Christian King *Arthur*. The famous rebellances of this last mentioned *Arthur*, the Monke of *Monmouth* with such fables hath augmented, that his Acts and Trauels may bee compared to those of *Heracles*, or with the Conquests of *Cesar* himselfe; inso much that he hath bene accounted and ranged in the Catalogue of the worlds nine Worthies. And surely (hy the testimony of *Arthurs*) hee was a Prince of great worth, and did often adventure with his small power to meet the Saxons in the face and in Field.

But the Britains through daily decreasing, and new supplies of these Saxons daily arriving, brought the one in despair to enioy their owne right, and the other to triumph in their intrusions of wrongs. For continually inroaching forward, and enlarging their limits wherefoever they came, those the inhabitants before them from their wonned possessions, & flint themselves in the southern and best part of the Land, laying the stones (as it were) of those foundations, whereupon in short time they raised their most glorious buildings.

(17) For every severall Captaine or Commander accounting that part his owne, wherein he first entered or made conquest of, with full resolution determined to keepe what he had got, and (as an absolute King) commanded his Province, wherehy the Land became burdened with seven of them at the first: as *Henry* of *Kent*, *Eda*, of those parts now called *Staffe* and *Surrey*; *Cherdit*, of the *West*; *Ethelmer*, of the *East*; *Ida* of the North; *Crida*, of the Middle-land; *Vffa*, the parts now *Middlesex* and *Essex*; which Kingdomes thus beganne and erected, stood not long withouten by euill dissensions among themselves, each King enuying his equals greatness, and seeking to enlarge his owne Dominions vpon the next. In which conuulsions, few or none of them came to the graue in due time, but were either flaine in warres, or treacherously murdered in peace, or else enforced to leave their life a Monke, and resigne his Crowne to another. To speake of all these together, I bold would bring too great a confusion to our Historie, and a needlesse surcharge to the Readers memorie: To auoid which, I will briefly fit downe the Conquests, Circuits, Acts, and Descents, that in every severall Kingdome happened while they stood in their *Heptarchie*, before they were united to an absolute *Monarchie*; and then (according to my prefixed purpose) I continue the Succession of GREAT BRITAINES Monarchs.

(18) For albeit the Land was diuided into 7. severall Kingdomes, and each of them carrying a fouraine command within his owne limits, yet one of them cuer seemed to be supreme of the rehand that Prince who had the greatest power or successe in his warres, was cuer accounted and called *The King of the English*, as *Venerable Beda* in the fifth Chapter of his second Booke, and Histotie of England, euer termeth them.

(19) Such therefore as held the rest vnder, either by Armes or alliance, in amitie or subjection, forsooke the whole *Monarchy*, and were acknowledged as *Supremes* in power ouer therof, which succeeded no cuer in the same Familie, neither continued in one and the same Kingdome without reuerfement, but were carried vpon the Floods and Ebbs of variable successe, or as desime pleased to alter the chance: whereof each of them (saith the *Engl-Saxons* only) did attaine to the height of that gouernment, as to the haufen of their wished desires. See therefore (if you please) a general view of the whole, and afterwards the severall Histories of every Kingdome apart, before wee enter into the Succession of the English-Saxons Monarchs.

Goffrey Arthurs
Arthurs and a
Arthurs with
Arthurs.

The seven
Arthurs
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Arthurs
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The mightie
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Only the
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Arthurs

| Heptarchy. | Kingdoms. | Counties. | Kings Successors. | Kingdoms Continuance. | Kings first Christians. | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|--|---|------------|
| | The Kingdom of Kent contained Counties, | Kent. | Kings reigning, <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Hengist, 11.2. Eke, 24.3. Ofa, 28.4. Ymerick, 29.5. Ethelbert, 56.6. Eabald, 24.7. Ercmberg, 24.8. Egbert, 9.9. Lother, 12. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">10. Edrik, 6.11. Withred, 31.12. Ealbert, 23.13. Edebert, 11.14. Alist, 34.15. Ethelbert, 3.16. Canberd, 8.17. Baldred, 18. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">Beganne in An. 455.Continued years 172.Ended in Anno 827. | Ethelbert. |
| | The Kingdom of South-Saxons contained Counties, | Suffex. Surrey. | Kings reigning, <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Ella, 32.2. Cisse, 75.3. Eadmarck, alias Ethelwulf, 25. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">4. Berthom.5. Antiom. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">Beganne in An. 458.Continued years 111.Ended in Anno 601. | Ethelwulf. |
| | The Kingdom of West-Saxons contained Counties, | Cornwall. Devon-shire. Dorset-shire. Somerset-sh. Wilt-shire. West-shire. Barb-shire. | Kings reigning, <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Cherdū, 31.2. Kewake, 26.3. Cherdū, 31.4. Ceatuk, 5.5. Chetwald, 12.6. Kingde, 32.7. Quithwin, 1.8. Kewald, 30.9. Kewin, 2. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">9. Kewin, 9.10. Ceatwald, 7.11. Inan, 37.12. Ethelred, 14.13. Canberd, 16.14. Sigebert, 2.15. Kewin, 29.16. Erikerik, 16.17. Egbert, 19. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">Beganne in An. 519.Continued years 561.Ended in An. 1066. | Kingde. |
| | The Kingdom of East-Saxons contained Counties, | Essex. Middlesex. | Kings reigning, <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Ercherwin, 34.2. Sledde, 10.3. Sebert, 21.4. Sexred.5. Seward.6. Sigebert, 23.7. Sigebert, 13. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">7. Swithelme, 14.8. Sigberz.9. Sebbu, 30.10. Sigberd, 2.11. Sefrid, 4.12. Offa, 30.13. Seled, 30.14. Suthred, 32. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">Beganne in An. 527.Continued years 581.Ended in Anno 827. | Sebert. |
| The Saxons Heptarchy. | The Kingdom of Northumberland contained Counties, | York-shire. Durham. Leuca-shire. Westmorland. Cumberland. Northumber. | Kings reigning, <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Ella, 12.2. Ida, 11.3. Adda, 7.4. Elappa, 5.5. Thredwald, 1.6. Freshwile, 7.7. Thredrik, 7.8. Ethelric, 5.9. Ethelfrid, 21.10. Edarwe, 17.11. Ofwald, 9.12. Ofry, 28.13. Alfryd, 15. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">12. Alfryd, 20.13. Ofred, 11.14. Kured, 2.15. Ofurik, 11.16. Columpho, 8.17. Egbert, 20.18. Ofurwald, 11.20. Alared, 1.21. Ethelred, 1.22. Alfwald, 11.23. Ofred, 1. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">Beganne in An. 547.Continued years 579.Ended in Anno 926. | Edwin. |
| | The Kingdom of Mercia contained Counties, | Huntington. Rutland. Leicestershire. Northampton. Leicestershire. Derby-shire. Nottingham. Oxford-shire. Cheshire-shire. Shrop-shire. Gloucestershire. Worcester-shire. Stafford-shire. Warwick-shire. Buckingham-shire. Bedford-shire. Hertford-shire. | Kings reigning, <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Creda, 6.2. Wibba, 3.3. Chet, 34.4. Penda, 30.5. Penda, 4.6. Wulfere, 17.7. Ethelred, 30.8. Kured, 4.9. Chetred, 7.10. Ethelwald, 42. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">11. Offa, 40.12. Egfrid A monck, 22.13. Kewin, 22.14. Kewin, 1.15. Chetwale, 1.16. Bernwile, 3.17. Ludeica, 2.18. Whistole, 11.19. Bernwile, 21.20. Burdred, 22. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">Beganne in An. 582.Continued years 602.Ended in Anno 886. | Penda. |
| | The Kingdom of East-Angles contained Counties, | Suffolke. Norfolk. Cambridgeshire. Ely-land. | Kings reigning, <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Wffa, 7.2. Trudun, 10.3. Redwald, 44.4. Erpenwald, 22.5. Sigebert, 23.6. Egrik, 14.7. Anna, 23.8. Ethelbert, 16. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">9. Ethwald, 9.10. Aldwulf, 19.11. Afwald, 7.12. Bern, 24.13. Ethelred, 52.14. Ethelbert, 5.15. Edmund, 16. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">Beganne in An. 575.Continued years 583.Ended in Anno 914. | Redwald. |



THE KINGDOME OF KENT BEGUN BY HENGIST THE SAXON, WITH THE SUCCESSION OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSUES AND RAIGNES.



CHAPTER V.



KENT, the first Dominion of the Saxons Hephtharchie, was formerly in the daies of Julius Cæsar, the Seat of foure severall petty Kings, yet never called a Kingdome, before that Hengist, the first Saxon Captaine, in favour of his

Daughter *Bruna*, got it by the gift of King *Vortigern*, about the yeere of Grace 455. and in the leuenth yeere after his first arriuage, heere he first laid the foundation of those fortresses which the Saxons his Nation in this Land afterwards attained vnto: for haniing possessed the same with *Vitorie* and *Wealth* the space of thirty one yeeres, (some adde three more) he left it in peace to his sonne *Esk*; and the rest of the Land so weakened by his meanes, that others of his Nation were shortly planted in other parts thereof. It contained the Continent that lieth betwixt our *East-Sea* and the *Riuer Thames*, being bounded vpon the West with *Suffolke* and *Surrey*.

Esk, the second King of *Kent*, is reported to bee the second sonne of King *Hengist*, who accompanying his fither into this Land, made proofe of his great valour in all his Battles fought against the *Britaines*, and in one of them (as *Geffrey of Monmouth* reporteth) being taken prisoner, was for a time retained in *Turke*, but thence escaping, hee aided his fither in the Battle of *Crynsford*; and after his decease, succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, from whom those Inhabitantes (saith *Beda*) were called *Eskings*, amongst whom he peaceably reigned about twentie yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord 512.

Otha the sonne of *Esk* began his reigne ouer his Fathers Dominions, the yeere of Christs Incarnation 512. and reigned twenty two yeeres, without mention of any memorable Act.

Merth, the sonne of *Esk*, and the fourth King of *Kent*, reigned twenty five yeeres, saith *Steu*; twentie nine, saith *Saul* in his Table collected from our English Writers. He had issue, *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Kent*, and a daughter named *Rekell*, married to *Shedda* the second King of the *East-Saxons*, the mother of *Selbert* and *Seegbold*.

Ethelbert, the sonne of *Merth*, in the yeere of grace 561. succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, who by reason of his young yeeres, was fore molested by his neighbour Princes, that sought to enlarge their Provinces vpon him for now the *Saxons* hauing made full Conquest of the *Britaines*, fell at variance among themselues, taking all occasions to supplant each other,

as Conquerours commonly can endure no equals, and prosperitie euer is looked at with an enuious eye; wherevpon *Chlotin* King of the *West-Saxons*, proud of his victorious successes ouer the *Britaines*, beganne to disdain all amitie with his owne neighbour *Saxons*, invaded the Territories of this young Prince, and in a first Battle slew *Oslaur* and *Carleban*, two of his Dukes, discomfited the King, and wonne the day. This field was fought at *Wiphandun*, in the yeere of our Redemption 567. and is noted to bee the first Battle betwixt the *Saxons* themselues since their first entrance into *Britaine*.

But young *Ethelbert* growne vnto yeeres; repaired his losses with the enlargement of his Kingdome to the banks of *Humber*, and was the fifth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as after we shall heare. His first Wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chelperic*, King of *France*, by whom he had *Edibald*, *Ethelburg*, and *Edburg*: a second Wife he had vaworthy of name, for her incestuous and abominable act, in marrying her selfe in marriage with her Husbands *Sonne*, a *finer* (saith the *Apollie*) was to be named among the *Gentiles*. Of this King, as also of all the rest that attaiued vnto the glorie, to bee entituled (*per excellenciam*) the *Soternaigne* Kings of the *Englishmen*, I purpose to bee sparing in their particular Kingdomes, and to referre the larger relation of their Acts, Matches, Issues, and continuance, to the times of their severall Monarchies, whereby a more historical course may be carried, through the successions of the *English-Saxon* Monarches, and a needlesse repetition of the same things avoided, which otherwise of necessity would follow. Hee reigned in great glory fiftie six yeeres, and was the first *Saxon* King that received and established the *Gospel*. He died the foure and twentieth day of *February*, the yeere of Christ 616. after he had reigned 56. yeeres, and was buried at *Canterbury*, with this inscription vpon his Tombe:

*Rex Ethelbertus hic claudius in Polindora,
Fana pians Christo meat adhuc Meandre.*

Ethelbert, the sonne of King *Ethelbert*, in the yeere of Christ 617. assumed the Government of *Kent*; who no sooner, saith *Beda*, had gotten from vnder the awe of his father, but he refused to entertaine the Doctrine of *Christ*, and so polluted himselfe with the foule sinne of fornication, as that hee married his Mother in Law, the late Wife to his owne Father: which two heinous faults gaue his subjects both occasion and impunity to returne to their former idolatry, who vnder his Father, for sinour, or for feare, had yielded to the Lawes of the Christian Faith. But the

1.
An. Do. 455.

Kent in the daies of Julius Cæsar the Seat of foure Kings.

Hengist his reign and death.

Of Hengist see more in the Description of the English Monarchy, cap. 12.

2.
An. Do. 488.
Petron Africanus. Edg the second King of Kent. Retained prisoner in Turkey.

His reign and death. Bede lib. 4. cap. 5.

3.
An. Do. 512.
Otha his reign.

4.
An. Do. 532.
Merth King of Kent. His reign and death. Bede lib. 4. cap. 5.

5.
An. Do. 561.
Ethelbert the first Christian King of Kent.

Chelperic King of France his Territories.

Ethelbert the fifth Monarch of the Englishmen. His first wife, and children by her. In the life of Saint Witeburg. His second wife.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

Perpetration imputed in this History.

6.
An. Do. 617.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 5. Ethelbert, his father, did not believe the doctrine of Christ. He married his Mother in Law.

Ethelbold
reigned.

Plagued from
Idolatry by the
Archbishop.

His Wife.

His Daughter.

His Sonnes, and
their issue.

Ethelbold his libe-
ration to the
Church.
Rede left *Angl.*
his cap &
his raigne and
buriall.

7.
An. Do. 641.

His cure of Gods
worship.
Rede left *Angl.* & a
his Wife and
issue.

Rede divided
into Parishes.

His raigne and
death.

8.
An. Do. 665.

He left his mon-
astery.

The East re-
covered.
Rede returned
to the mon-
astery.

Their bodies fu-
nely buried.
Rede was their
buriall.

His religiousness.

Rede his raigne
and death.
Rede left *Angl.*
Angl. 4. cap. 9.

9.
An. Do. 673.

Rede returned
to the
kingdome.

the scourge of God & vengeance from Heaven wanted not to the punishment of this vassallfull King: for he was plagued for a season with often phrensic of minde, and raging fury of an vncleane Spirit; but by *Laurence Archbishop of Cantuarby*, he was at length converted from his Idolatry and incestuous Marri-
mony, and being baptized, endeavoured to maintaine the state of the Gospell. He married *Emme*, the daughter of *Thredbert*, King of *Asstru*, now *Lorraine*, by whom he had issue a Daughter named *Enfrith*, who died a Virgin at *Falkesbur*, a Religious House in *Kent* of her Fathers foundation; and two Sonnes, whereof *Ermenred* the elder died before his Father, and left issue *Dunpuna*, who was married to a *Mercian Prince* *Ermenberg* that died a vailliant Virgin, *Ermenberg* a mention; and *Ethelbert*, both murdered by their Cousin-german, King *Egbert*. His younger Sonne was *Dreombert* that succeeded him in the Kingdome. This *Ethelbold* built a Chapel within the Monastery of *Saint Peter and Paul at Cantuarby*, in honour of *Mary* the blessed Mother of God, endowing that Church with sufficient maintenance; wherein, after the continuance of twentyfour yeeres raigne, he was buried nere to King *Ethelbert* his Father, Anno 640.

Ercreombert, the Son of *Ethelbold* by *Emme* his Wife, succeeded his Father in the Kingdome of *Kent*, in the yeere of grace 641. He was a vertuous, religious, and Christian King: for the *Temples of the Heathen Idols* he suppressed, and commanded the fall of *Kent* to be observed. His Wife was *Seaxburg*, the daughter of *Aena* King of the *East-Angles*, by whom he had issue *Egbert* and *Lathare*, both Kings of *Kent* after him; *Ermenald*, Wife to *Wulfere* King of *Mercia*, and *Ethengode* a pious Nanne in the Monastery of *Saint Brigets in France*, where she died, and was interred in the Church of *Saint Stephen*. In his daies the state of the Church growing to a well settled forme of government, the Prouince of *Kent* was diuided into Parishes by *Maurice* the Archbishop, as testifie the Records of *Christ Church in Cantuarby*. This King having reigned twentyfour yeeres and odde moneths, died in the yeere of our Lord 664.

Egbert, the elder Sonne of King *Dreombert*, in the monage of his yong Nephewes, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, (the Sonnes of his Vncle *Ermenred*) obtained the Rule of *Kent*, and had not their murder much blamed his peaceable Governement, hee might well have held place with the worthiest of those Kings: but thirsting after an absolute soveraigne, and fearing lest his owne power should diminish by their groweth and rightfull successions, he set his mind on that bloody, traitorous, and vnusurall attempt, and with the assistance of one *Thurme*, found fit place and opportunite to worke that diabolish designe, calling their bodies into a Riner, that so their Murthers might not be knowne. But God (saith *Malmebury*) that searcheth the heart, revealed the act, by casting vp their bodies on the shore, and to the open view of the next Inhabitants, who with great reverence there buried them, and built a small Chapel over their Moniment, whose bones afterwards were removed, and new interred in the Abby of *Ramsay in Huntingdon*. The Lady *Dunpuna* their Sister, and next Heire to the Crowne, that was married to *Merwald*, a Prince of *West-Mercia*, and bore him foure Children, founded the Abby of *Mauler in Kent*: Wherein, saith *Stowe*, she became the first Abbess her selfe, and Mildred her daughter succeeded her therein, saith *Capgrave*. This King in great quietnesse reigned nine yeeres, and died in the yeere of grace 673. in the month of Iuly: leaving issue *Edric* and *Wigred*, both Kings of *Kent*, succeeding after *Lathare*.

Lathare the brother of *Egbert*, by strong hand obtained the government of *Kent*. For now withstanding *Egbert* left issue *Edric* and *Wigred*, (as is said) yet *Lathare* taking the advantage of their minorities, and the example of his brothers intrusions, made himselfe King against his, as he had done against the

Sonnes of *Ermenred*, but did not enjoy the same with the like peace as he had done. For not onely *Ethelred* the *Mercian* warred strongly against him, but also *Edric* by the assistance of the *South-Saxons* continually fought to recover his right, whereby the peace of the *Kentish* was much molested: and lastly, in a bloody battell was *Lathare* thorow with a dart, whereof he died, vnder his Thurgesson hand, the sixth day of February, in the yeere of Christ 685. after hee had reigned eleuen yeeres and seuen moneths. The punishment of the Murder committed by his brother *Egbert*, was on him repaid, saith *Malmebury*, who deluded and made icits at the lamentations for yong *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, that were by the people held and accounted *Martyrs*. His body was buried with his Predecessors, Kings of *Kent*, in the Monastery of *S. Peter and Paul in Cantuarby*, Anno 685.

Edric, the Sonne of King *Egbert*, having slain his Vncle *Lathare* in battell, succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, wherein he reace only two yeeres, and those in continuall wages with his subiects; in which ciuill broiles lastly hee was slain, leaving the *Kentish* Kingdome so torne with dissensions, that it became a pray to many Vsurpers, and gave occasion to *Ceadwalla the West-Saxon*, to seek the annexation thereof to his owne Kingdome, who with his brother *Melle* entered *Kent*, and with fire and sword made waste where they came. To meet the, the *Kentish* assembled, and getting the advantage, burned *Melle* to death: in whose reuenge *Ceadwalla* perished, and waited the most part of that Prouince before he departed: so that after for six yeeres continuance no King reigned in *Kent*, but the Country lay exposed to the tyrannies of oppressors.

Wigred or *Wihred*, seven yeeres after the death of his Brother, tooke vpon him the government of *Kent*, which he purchased with the good opinion that his subiects conceived, and with a great summe of money paid to King *Ina* for his peace. He entered his Kingdome the yeere of Mans Redemption 693. the eleuenth of *November*, and two hundred and five yeeres, after the death of *Hengist* the first *Saxon*. With him reigned one *Swiborda*, in *Rede* declared; but without mention from whom, or vpon what occasion. He founded the Priore of *S. Martin at Dover*, and behauid himselfe worthily both in Warre and Peace: his raigne was thirty yeeres; thirty three, saith *Rede*; and death in Anno 725. leaving issue *Edbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Alrick*, all three succeeding successively in the Kingdome.

Egbert, the first Sonne of *Wihred*, succeeded his Father in his Kingdome, vertues, & valours, whereby a peaceable government is allotted him by all Writers of these affaires, for the continuance of twentie three yeeres, without relation of any notable accident peculiar to himselfe and Kingdome: besides the appearances of two fearefull Comets, in Anno 729. and fourth of his raigne: the one arising immediately before the Sonne in the morning, and the other shewing his fierie beames presently vpon the Sonnes left, both of the m striking their gleames into the North, and by West, foretelling (it may be) the scourge and desolation that the Pagans intended, who were at that instant entered into *France* and *Spain*.

Ethelbert, the second Sonne of King *Wihred*, and Brother to the last King *Egbert*, began his Raigne over the Kingdome of *Kent*, the yeere of Mans Salvation 749. and reigned without any memorable act either of his, or of his Kingdomes affaires, the space of eleuen yeeres, leaving this life in Anno 759. and was buried, say some, in the Monastery of *Peter and Paul in Cantuarby*, without issue of his body to succeed him: bowbeit the *Annales of Cantuarby* affirms him to be buried at *Reambers*, in the Ile of *Tant*, whose Moniment is shewed at the vpper end of the South Ile in the Church, and is mounted with two Spires, if there be nota mistaking of him for *Ethelbert* his Successor.

Alrick, the third Sonne of King *Wihred*, by the

Matt. Westsax.

Lathare slain.

Rede left *Angl.*
Rede left *Angl.* 5. cap. 10.
His raigne.

Lathare was slain
with a dart
of his.

His buriall.

10.
An. Do. 686.

Rede left *Angl.*
his cap. 10.
His raigne.
His death.

Ceadwalla and
his brother
killed.

Melle burned to
death.

11.
An. Do. 693.

Wigred began
his raigne of
the
Kingdome.

His bowney to
the Church.
Rede left *Angl.*
Rede left *Angl.* 5. cap. 10.
His raigne and
death.

12.
An. Do. 726.

Edric a vertuous
prince.
His raigne.

Two fearefull
Comets.

His buriall.

13.
An. Do. 749.

Ethelbert his
raigne.

His death.

His buriall.

14.

divid the last of
lineall successi-
on.

All the Kings of
Kent after this
viurpase.

15.
An. Do. 794

This impri-
sonment.

Hardnessment.

death of his brother *Ethelbert*, obtained the kingdom of *Kent*, the yeere of Christs Incarnation 760. no other glory attending his affaires (saith *Malmebury*) besides his vnfortunate fight at *Osteford* against *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, wherein it seemed some honor (though with his overthrow) to withstand so puissant and impugnable anemie. Hee is the last King of *Kent* that held the scepter in a lineall succession: the rest that followed, both got and enioied it by tyranny and viurpation. This King is said to reigne thurty foure yeeres, and to die in the yeere of grace, seven hundred ninety three.

Ethelbert, surnamed *Frea*, viurped the Title and Authoritie over the *Kentish Dominions*, when that *Province* was fore oppressed with the inuasion of the *Mercian Kenulfe*, whole warres against *Kent*, by succession from *Offa*, were continued with such rigour and valour, that the Countrey lay desolate where hee had bene, and the people distressed whither he came. This *Frea*, *Kenulfe* tooke prisoner, and lead away with him into *Mercia*: but at the dedication of a Church that be had then founded at *Wincheombe*, in presence of ten *Dukes* and thirteene *Bishops*, hereleased him at the *High Altar*, without euer inreatie or ranfome of redemption. The King returning againe into *Kent*, could not there bee received, his place either being supplied by another, or himselfe so disliked, as not worthy any longer to reigne: and having had experience of the worlds mutabilitie, is left againe to his pri-

uate fortunes, from whence hee had stepped, having held his estate but for three yeeres continuance.

Cuthred, saith *Malmebury*, was made King of *Kent* by *Kenulfe* King of *Mercia*, when hee had overcome and captivated *Ethelbert*: notwithstanding hee is accounted for an *usurper*, and bare the title of King the tearme of eight yeeres, without any other act worthy of remembrance; inheriting his predecessors euill happe and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discords.

Baldred, after the death of this *Cuthred*, tooke vpon him the princely dignitie of *Kent*, about the yeere of Christs Natuaitie 805. But now the heauenlie providence determining to bring againe together that which the *Saxons* had diuided, raised from exile little *Egbert*, to make him the Great Monarch of the *English-men*. His first wars were against *Bernulfe* King of *Mercia*, and his second against this *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, whom in Battle he vanquished, and forced him out of his Kingdom, after he had late on that princelie Throne the space of eighteen yeeres. This *Baldred* is said to haue fled ouer *Thames*, and to leaue *Kent* to the will of his Conquerour, whither againe he neuer returned, neither yet was heard of after his ouertrow. This Kingdom then that was erected by *Hengst*, the yeere of mans happinesse 455. continued her government 372. and ended her glorie in the yeere 827. being made a *Province* vnto the *West-Saxons*.

His reign.

16.
An. Do. 797

His reign.

17.
An. Do. 805.
Baldred rising
upon him the
Kingdom of
Kent.

Egbert, Monarch
of the English-
men.

This kingdom
becoming con-
tinuance, and
end.



SOUTH SAXONS KINGDOME. THE CIRCVIT AND CONTIN- VANCE, THEIR KINGS, SVCCES- SIONS, ISSVES AND RAIGNES.



CHAPTER VI.



THE Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, containing the Countreies of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, had on the East side *Kent*; on the South, the *Sea* and *Ile of Wight*; vpon the West, *Hants-shire*, and the North side inuerged with the riuer *Thames*. This King-

dome was erected by *Elia* a *Saxon-Captaine*, that in the second yeere of *Hengsts* entrance, as some lay, brought a supply of his *Saxons* into *Britaine*, with whom came his three sonnes, *Kymen*, *Plenehog*, and *Cissa*, these landing at a place which from *Kymen* was afterwards called *Kymen-shore*, and discomfiting the Inhabitantes, that made resistance, became himselfe King of those Southerne parts. But doubtlesse there are many opinions of this mans first entrance and new erected estate: for some (as *M. Sautie* in his Table) set it in the second yeere of *Hengsts* first arrivall, Anno 452.

Others in the second of *Aurelius*, and no less then thirty yeeres after that, Anno 482. *Harrison* will haue it forty three yeeres after the *Saxons* first entrance, and fourth yeere after *King Hengst* his death, Anno 492. And *M. Ferris* in his *Succession of the English Monarches*, placeth it in the three and twentieth yeere of *King Hengsts* Kingdom, and in the fifth after his owne arrivall, the yeere of our Redemption 488. Of such vncertaintie is the beginning of this *South-Saxons Kingdom*, whole Continuance and Successions are nothing clearer; inasmuch that *Malmebury* making severall Chapters vpon the other six, omitteth only this of the *South-Saxons*: and therefore as wee finde them, let vs haue leave to relate them, and for the present to leaue *Elia* as hee was King, till wee come to a fit place where more shall be spoken of him as he was *Monarch*; whose raigne is set by *Stow* to bee thirty six yeeres; by *Sir Henry Sautie*, twenty foure; and by *M. Henry Ferris*, thirty two, and to haue died in the yeere 514.

Cissa the third and youngest sonne of *King Elia*,
Ggg 2 then

The limits of this
kingdome.

An. D. 488.

The Inhabitantes
that led was a
wood.

The diuers opi-
nions of it. See
in the entrance.

Malmebury
omitteth this
Kingdome.

Elia his raigne
and death.

An. Do. 549.
Cf. succeeded.

then onely living at his fathers death, succeeded him in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, (leaving the Monarchie to *Cherdik* king of the *West-Saxons*, who had planted his kingdome between him and the *Brittains*, having taken the charge of warre against them, for maintenance whereof, *Cissa* yielded him a yearly contribution) and living himselfe in long rest and peace, founded *Chichester* and *Chisbury*, the one a Citie for relief of his people, the other a place of repose for himselfe; which last he fortified about with a strong Trench, for a further defense against all dangers. Of any other his actions, little is recorded by Writers: onely in this they concur, that hee was a man of great age and small acts, some affirming that hee reigned the space of seventy six yeeres.

Chichester and
Chisbury founded
by Cissa.

Stow.

Cissa Raignes.

3.

Eadwarch (by some called *Ethelwulf* and *Athelwold*) succeeded *King Cissa* in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, and was the first *Christian* of that Nation converted by *Bishop Wulfred*, as some conceive out of *Beda*: yet *Beda* saith expressly, that the *King* was baptized before *Wulfred*s coming. And the History of *S. Southsaur* saith, it was done by *S. Berinus*, *Bishop* of *Durchester*, who usually preaching the Gospel in the kingdome of the *Mercians*, in the Citie of *Oxford*, and presence of *Walperus* King of *Mercia*, it happened that *King Athelwold*, then a *Pagan*, was present, who by the inducement of *Walperus*, and instruction of *Berinus* received the lawes of *Christianisme*, whom also *Walperus* received at the Font for his God-father, and in signe of that adoption gave unto him two Provinces, to be annexed to his former kingdome, that is to say, the Isle of *Wight*, and the Province of *Manures* in the West of *England*; at which time also *Berinus* by *King Athelwold*s permission, baptized the chiefe Dukes and Nobles of that Province. His Queene *Etha* was baptized in her owne Re, the Province of the *Pictians*, being the daughter of *Eanfride*, who was brother to *Eanbert*, and both of them *Christians*. But

Like Wulfred
S. Southsaur
P. 11. 11.

Beda lib. 4. c. 13.

Walperus lib. 1.
Berinus Good-
father.

Etha the wife of
Wulfred.

It is generally held, that *King Eadwarch* gave unto *Wulfred* the Peninsula (so the Latines speake) of *Souther*, now *Selsey* in the West, with the demaynes of eightie seven Tenements, wherein he built the Monastery, that bare the same name, and was his owne *Episcopall* See. Against this *Eadwarch*, *Ceadwold* a valiant young Prince, of the Blood-royall of the *West-Saxons*, being banished his Countrey, making head with the assistance of friends and followers, recovered his Territories with an impetuous incursion, and slew the *King* as he made resistance, when hee had reigned twentie five yeeres: in whose raigne and Countrey raged such an extreme Famine, that both men and women in great flocks and companies cast themselves from the Rockes into the Sea.

(4) *Berinus* and *Anthus*, two Dukes of the *South-Saxons*, maintained the Warres and defence of their Countrey against *Ceadwold*, and by manly valour forced him to retire. These Captaines bewixt them held the dominion of that Province, untill such time as *Ceadwold* had gotten the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; who bearing in mind the remembrance of his former proceedings, and thinking to enlarge his owne Kingdome with the subjection of the *South-Saxons*, entered againe that Province, and in Battell slew Duke *Berinus*, harrying the Countrey miserably before him. Which State, vnable to withstand the *West-Saxons* puissance, was by *Juc*, the next *King* succeeding, made a subiected Province, their Government thence forward resting vnder his Successors; after it had stood one hundred and thirteene yeeres: and ended in the yeere of *Christ* 601. by ordinary computation. But whosoever shall compare the times of the foresaid Kings, *Walperus* and *Athelwold* together, will easily finde, that it is not easie to finde the certaine concurrence of times, in affaires so clouded in obscurity, and so farre remote from our present times.

Beda lib. 4. c. 13.
Selsey in Sussex.

Cap. 15.

His valour and
death.

Beda lib. 4. c. 13.

Ceadwold drives
Berinus.

Beda lib. 4. c. 13.
Angl. lib. 4. c. 13.

The continuance
and end of their
Kingdome.



THE KINGDOME OF THE WEST-SAXONS, THE CIRCVIT THEREOF, AND SVCCESION OF THEIR KINGS VNTO EGBERT, WITH THEIR ISSVES AND RAIGNES.



CHAPTER VII.

The 17th of Sec-
on the left that
involves the
invasion by
Monarchy.



these their severall Diadems, more glorious then they

He Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, though in time later then the two former, yet in circuit and fame surpassed them both; whose *Monarchy* was the Maill that first brake the Scepters of the other six Kingdoms inunder, and made one Crowne of these their severall Diadems, more glorious then they

all, and that first borne vpon *Egbert* the *West-Saxons* heads, and the Scepter swayed in his Imperiall hand, untill whose time and person wee will continue the succession of their Kings, beginning with *Cherdik* that first made it a Kingdome, and briefly shew their Acts, whilst it so stood in the *Saxons* Hierarchy.

This *Cherdik* is said to have brought a second supply of *Saxons* forces into *Britaine*, in the yeere of our Lord 495. and fifth of the Monarchy of *King Ethel*: his landing being at a place on that occasion called *Cherdesh-floere*, who with his sonne *Eccert*, was en-
countred

Florus. 2. c. 10.

2.
An. Do. 495.
The name wher
Cherd is taken of
from Britaine.

An. Do. 508.

The eldest of this kingdom.

The first Kings reign, since, and death.

An. Do. 535.
Kings his battle.

Battle in Oxford.

His first, then, and death.

Carle the son of Canute, who he had against his Will.

Canute, the son of Canute, the King of the West-Saxons.

An. Do. 561.
Canute the time when he began to reign.

An. Do. 561.
Canute the time when he began to reign.

An. Do. 561.
Canute the time when he began to reign.

An. Do. 561.
Canute the time when he began to reign.

An. Do. 561.
Canute the time when he began to reign.

An. Do. 561.
Canute the time when he began to reign.

conquered by the Britanes, under the conduct of *Natanlanda* *Brigis* *Prince*, whose Country was then called after his name, whom he slew in Battle, with five thousand more of his Britanes: the fortune of which field gave resolutions and hopes of better success; it was fought there unto a Brooke upon that event called *Cherdels-ford*, now by contraction *Cherd-ford*. Hereupon establishing his new erected Kingdom, (which contained *Cornwall*, *Dorsetshire*, *Dorchester*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hants*, *Berkshire*, &c.) he enlarged the same with the conquest of the *Isle of Wight*, the government whereof was by him given to *Staffe* and *Wihiger* his Nephewes, which later slew the Britanes there inhabiting, and named the place of his victory *Wihigerburg*, assuming the name of King, and was buried at his City *Wihiger*, in the time of *Albion*. About seven yeeres after *Cherdels* entrance, *Portia* *Saxon*, with his two Sonnes, *Megla* and *Teda*, landed in the West, at the place from him called *Portsmouth*, whole and with *Kent* and *Wessex*, assisted *Cherd* in his Conquests. His reign is let to be thirty three yeeres, and his death in the yeere of grace five hundred thirtie five: having had two Sonnes, *Canut* and *Chelwulf*, the one of which died before his Father; and the other succeeded him in his Kingdom. *Chelwulf* had issue *Cuthbert*, whose sonne was *Kenfrida*, and his sonne *Kenly*, the Father of King *Ethelric*, who was the Successor of King *Kenwulf* and predecessor of King *Kentwin*, in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons.

Kentwin, the eldest Sonne of King *Cherd*, having formerly made proofe of his prowess in the assistance of his Father, was after his death also verie fortunate in obtaining two victories over the Britanes, the one at *Searesberge*, and the other at *Brennberg*, whose reigns beginning Anno 534, continued twenty six yeeres ending in the yeere of our Redemption five hundred fifty. He had issue three Sonnes, of which *Chelwin* the eldest succeeded him in his Kingdom, *Cuthwulf* the second assisted his Brother in his Warres, and was partner with him of his victories, who died Anno 672, leaving issue one only Sonne, named *Chell*, or *Ceorbe*, who proved nothing so vertuous and dutifull a Subject as his Father had bene: for he rose in rebellion against his Vncle, and by strong hand expelled him his Kingdom.

The third Son of King *Kentwin* was *Cuth*, famous in his issue, though mentionlesse for action in himselfe: for hee had three Sonnes, of which *Chelwulf* the eldest, was King of the West-Saxons (as shall be declared) *Chell* the second, was father to *Kingly* the first (and last *Christian*) King of the West-Saxons, and Grandfather to *Kenwulf* and *Kentwin*, the seventh and ninth Kings of that Kingdom: and *Chel* the youngest, was father of *Kentbert*, Grandfather to *Chelwulf* the most renowned King of the West-Saxons, of whom we are presently to speake, and of them all in the succession of the English Saxons *Memorials*: and now to returne againe to the issue of King *Kentwin*.

Chelwin his first King, entered upon the government over the West-Saxons Anno 561. and even at the first began to disturb the quiet peace of his neighbour Princes, taking advantage at the young yeeres of *Ethelbert*, who was made King of *Kent* in the same yeere that *Chelwin* was, whom he discomfited, and slew his two Captaines, *Duke Osulf* and *Duke Cuthbert*, at *Widdan*, as we have said. Other Victories he obtained over the Britanes, both at *Bedford*, *Derham*, *Gleesford*, *Cirencester*, and *Bathnesser*. But the fortunes of warres being always variable, at length his success altered, and at *Winton* he was overthrowne, and dispossessed of his kingdom by *Canute* his brother *Cuthwulf*'s sonne, when he had reigned thirty three yeeres. Hee had issue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*: the former served valiantly in the warres under his father at *Winton* in Surrey, where King *Ethelbert* of *Kent* was chafed, and his soldiers slaine: and with the like valour and victorie hee fought at *Ferthungh* against the Britanes, notwithstanding that therein he lost his life, the yeere of our

Lord 585, and the five and twentieth of his fathers reign. *Cuthwin* his younger brother survived his father, but succeeded not in his Kingdom, being then (by reason of his young yeeres) vnable to recover his right. He had two Sonnes, *Kenwald* and *Cuth*, the latter of which was father to *Chelwulf*, whose son *Kenwald* had issue, the eleventh King of the West-Saxons, and *Ingulf* his brother, whose sonne was *Eppa* the father of *Rafa*, whose sonne was *Alenwald*, the father of *Egbert* the eighteenth King of the West-Saxons, who reduced the Saxons divided *Heptarchy* into an absolute Monarchie.

Canute the sonne of *Cuthwulf*, who was brother to this last King, succeeded in the kingdom by the election of his People, and was the fourth King of the West-Saxons. He began his reign in the yeere of our Redemption 592, and continued it the terme of six yeeres, without any memorable act by him achieved besides his Treason spoken of before.

Chelwulf the sonne of *Cuth*, the sonne of *Kentwin*, and *Colen* german to *Canute* the preceding King, began his reign over the West-Saxons the yeere 598, on whose first entrance, this province of the West-Saxons was invaded both by the Britanes, and also by the *Saxons* and *Picts*: and the *East-Angles* likewise molested his peace, under the conduct of *Redwald* at that time Monarch of the Englishmen. But hee wading thorow these troubles, learned the Promise of the South-Saxons with insinuations and calamities, in the prosecution whereof he died, leaving the pursuit of his warres and possession of his kingdom to *Kingly* his Nephew, that immediately succeeded him, after he had reigned the space of fourteen yeeres.

Kingly the Sonne of *Chelwulf*, who was Brother to King *Chelwulf*, succeeding his Vncle in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, in the yeere six hundred and twelve, in his third yeere associated unto him in his Government *Quinchine* his Sonne, who jointly managed the West-Saxons affaires both of warre and peace. And fighting with victorie against the Britanes at *Beandone*, they there slew of them one thousand forty six persons, and after that against *Penda* King of *Mercia*, nere unto *Cornwall*, about the fifth yeere of his reign, where lastly they came to a conclusion of peace. This King at the preaching of *Bertram* (an Italian Divine) altered and repared for a *Saxons* and by the persuasions of *Osward* the most Christian King of *Northumberland*, (who was a sister to become his Son in Law, by the marriage of *Kentwin*'s daughter, and was made his Godfather by receiving him at the Font) received the Word of Life, and became the first Christian King of all the West-Saxons: in witness whereof, he gave the City *Dorchester*, nere unto *Oxford*, to his Converter, who therein erected his Episcopall See. He reigned the space of thirty one yeeres, some say but seven and twenty and had issue (besides *Quinchine*, who reigned with him, and died before him) *Kentwin* and *Kenwulf*, that succeeded him, and *Kentwin* his Daughter married to *Osward*, as is said. *Quinchine* had a Sonne named *Cuthbert*, that was baptizd with his Father at *Dorchester*, and is said by *Stowe*, to have reigned after the death of *Kingly*: but I take it rather to be *Kentwin*, whom some suppose to be his Fathers Associate the terme of foure yeeres, but never sole King himselfe.

Kenwald, whom *Beda* calleth *Sennwald*, succeeded his Father *Kingly* in the kingdom of the West-Saxons. His beginnings by *Matthew* of *Westminster* are compared to be with the worst, and his endings with the best of those Kings. At his first entrance he fought with victorie against the Britanes at *Penmon*, whereof he became most insolate, and refused not only to receive the Christian Faith, but also put from him his law full wife *Seaxburg*, the sister of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, whereby hee became hateful to his owne Subjects, and sore assaulted by the *Mercian* King, who followed the reuenge so farre, that he forced *Kenwald* out of his kingdom, who being driven to extremity, sought succour at the mercie of *Anna* the Christian King

5.
An. Do. 592.
Canute the fourth King of the West-Saxons.

His reigns continuance.

6.
Chelwulf when he began to reign.

West-Saxons invaded by three Saxon Monarchs. The first King. His death.

7.
An. Do. 611.
Kingly his coming to the Kingdom.

Quinchine his assistance. His death. His sonne. His death.

Kingly converted to Christianity. The first of all the West-Saxons King. His death. His sonne. His death.

8.
An. Do. 643.
Beda the first King of the West-Saxons.

His death.

He is driven out of his Kingdom.

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| <p><i>Kenwald wasne crowned at Bath Ch. ch.</i></p> <p><i>His words of devotion.</i>
 <i>Pr. A. Malmesbury.</i>
 <i>His raigne and death.</i>
 <i>Wise. 46.</i>
 <i>His W. G. governeth the long-dome.</i>
 <i>An. Do. 674.</i></p> | <p><i>King of the East-Angles, where he was both courtouslie entertained, and at last (wonne to the Christian Faith) was baptised by Bishop Felix, whereupon hee did recall his wife, according to precept of Christianitie, and recovered againe his former Maistie, which he much advanced by his pious workes. He founded the Cathedral of Worcester, and the Abby of Malmesbury; and when he had raigned thirty one yeeres gave place unto nature in the yeere 673. leaving no issue of his body to succede him: whereupon Seigburg his wife tooke upon her the government of the West-Saxons, the same yeere that Lathair was made King of Kent, there being a woman of great spirit and vnderstanding, and sufficiently worthy to haue managed the Kingdome, had not bene prevented by death, or rather (as some write) by a religious deuotion, that the affaires of this present life might not hinder her zealous meditations of the future, in desire whereof, she abandoned her Regence, and built a house of deuotion in the Ile of Shepey, wherein her selfe became a Nunne, and a cloister Abbess of 40.</i></p> | <p>nature her selfe was thereon offered, and hee at last as much lamented: in repentance whereof, after hee had raigned in great stoutnes the space of two yeeres, in a zealous deuotion went to Rome, where of Pope Sergius he was baptized vpon Easter Euen (saith Bede, the yeere of our Redemption 689.) by the name of Peter, and wearing as yet the white Robes of innocencie, put (as the rite then was) vpon him at his last of Napsines, fell sick, and the twentieth day of April following died, having had neither wife nor childe that we read of. He was buried in Saint Peters Church in Rome, vnder a faire Monument, with this inscription thereon engrauen: <i>Henric Cedual, otherwise named Peter, King of the West-Saxons, is buried, who died the twentieth of April, in the second Indiction, and liued thirty yeeres or thereabouts, when that noble and mighty Prince Iustinian was Emperour of Rome, and had reigned foure yeeres in the Emperour, and Sergius a true pastore of the Apostles, had sat two yeeres in Peters Seat. What hath bene written of this Cedual, King of the West-Saxons, by Bede the Saxon and his followers, hath bene attributed to Cedualder King of the Brittaines, by Geoffrey of Monmouth the Britaine, John Caster, and Mory, affirming him to be the same man, and that vpon the admonition of an Angel hee went to Rome, tooke penance of an Angel hee went to Rome, there died in the twelfth Kalends of May, and was there buried with the same Epitaph, and after the same manner. But the Writer of the History of Cantuari, of Cedualders going to Rome, and the other appendances, seemeth to be doubtful, and such that it differed from the assertion of Bernardus Guidonis, the acerence of the names being the very cause of the like relations, and confidently affirmeth that it was Edward the sonne of Cedualder, who in such deuotion went to Rome, and there made such religious end, about the yeere of our Lord 720.</i></p> | <p><i>His repentance.</i></p> <p><i>His baptizing.</i></p> <p><i>His death.</i></p> <p><i>His buriall.</i></p> <p><i>And his, Bede. Angl. lib. 5. ca. 7.</i></p> |
| <p><i>She becomes a Nunne, and a cloister Abbess of 40.</i></p> <p><i>8.</i>
 <i>An. Do. 675.</i></p> <p><i>Seigburg his raigne not long.</i>
 <i>Mory. Malmesbury.</i>
 <i>His buriall with Peter.</i></p> <p><i>He died without issue.</i></p> | <p><i>Ennin after the departure of Quene Seigburg, succeeded in the kingdome of the West-Saxons. Hee was the sonne of Kenulf, the sonne of Kenulf, the sonne of Canahild, the sonne of Chelmoffe, the sonne of Cherdik, the first King of that Prouince: his raigne lasted but two yeeres, in which time he fought a great Battle with Wulfere King of the Mercians, at the place then called <i>Stanhurstford</i>, and wherein many of the Saxons on both sides perished, leauing neither issue to succede him, nor other matters to be spoken of him, though (as it seemeth) hee had disposited Kenwin, who had more right to the Crowne then himselfe, for (as Bede and Malmesbury auer) he raigned with him the space of two yeeres, and Kenwin alone for fuen yeeres more.</i></p> | <p><i>What hath bene written of this Cedual, King of the West-Saxons, by Bede the Saxon and his followers, hath bene attributed to Cedualder King of the Brittaines, by Geoffrey of Monmouth the Britaine, John Caster, and Mory, affirming him to be the same man, and that vpon the admonition of an Angel hee went to Rome, tooke penance of an Angel hee went to Rome, there died in the twelfth Kalends of May, and was there buried with the same Epitaph, and after the same manner. But the Writer of the History of Cantuari, of Cedualders going to Rome, and the other appendances, seemeth to be doubtful, and such that it differed from the assertion of Bernardus Guidonis, the acerence of the names being the very cause of the like relations, and confidently affirmeth that it was Edward the sonne of Cedualder, who in such deuotion went to Rome, and there made such religious end, about the yeere of our Lord 720.</i></p> | <p><i>The history of Cedualder attributed to Cedualder by Geoffrey.</i></p> |
| <p><i>A great strange to the north-west Britaine.</i></p> <p><i>9.</i>
 <i>An. Do. 677.</i></p> <p><i>Kenwin, when he began to raigne.</i></p> | <p><i>Kenwin the brother of Kenwald, and sonne to King Kingis, in the yeere 677, became the ninth King of the West-Saxons, and raigned the space of nine yeeres. Hee was a great scourge vnto the weak and over-borne Brittaines, making Conquests of their possessions, and forcing them euen to the Sea-shore, being a people allotted vnto miserie, and by these strangers pursued so vehemently, that lally they were driven into the West-Angle of this Island, and their liues defended and maintained among those waste Mountaines and hard Rокkes, which therein were more propitious and gentle then the stonie hearts of their Oppressors.</i></p> | <p><i>INe, whom Bede calles Hnu, others Ina (the sonne of Kenred, the sonne of Cuth, the sonne of Cuthbert, the sonne of Chelmis the third King of the West-Saxons, the sonne of Kenrit the second, and heeth the sonne of Cherdik the first King in that Prouince) after Cedualders departure to Rome, tooke vpon him the government of that Kingdome, which hee managed with continual Victories the terme of thirty eight yeeres. His first attempts were against the Kentish-Saxons, in reuenge of his coles Malmes death, whose wrath Wulfere pacified by the payment of thirty thousand Markes, with William of Malmesbury. In the yeere of Grace seven hundred and eight, and twenty one of his owne raigne (as Matthew of Westminster hath obserued) he fought with the Brittaines vnder their Capitaine Gerast, whom he victoriously subdued: and in his twenty sixth yeere, against Cherdik King of Mercia, with a doubtful victorie, at the place then called <i>Waldenbury</i> and in his thirty sixth, invaded the South-Saxons with such successe, that hee reduced the same Kingdome into a Prouince, and annexed it in subiection to the West-Saxons: and manifesting his good desires both to the administration of Justice, and the aduancement of Diuine Piety, hee ordained many good Lawes for the amendment of manners in his people, which are yet extant written in the Saxon Tongue, and translated into Latine by the learned M. William Lumbard.</i></p> | <p><i>Books of S. Alford, part 5. cap. 41. D. Pryn History Cantuari.</i></p> |
| <p><i>Ceduald a valiant young man, and of the blood-Royal of the Gewisses, both Bede, being banished from his Country through the enuie of others, who maligned him only for his vertues and worthinesse, succeeded Kenwin his kinsman in the kingdome of the West-Saxons, and with greater glory raigned there any other in that Prouince before him had done. He was the Sonne of Almer, whose Father was Cherd, the Second Sonne of Cuth, and Cuth was the third Sonne of Kenrit, who was the eldest Sonne of Cherdik, that laid the first stone of this kingdome founded. His first brunt of furie was against Eadwald, King of the South-Saxons, whom in fight he slew: and in another battell Berthun, that had made himselfe King of that State, The Ile of Wight also he almost quite wasted, and though hee was unbaptized, yet did hee binde himselfe by vow to giue the fourth part of the spoile vnto Gods vs, and performed it accordingly vnto Bishop Wifrid, who with Bernwene and Hildilce conuerted the people from their Idolatrous superstition, vnto the true seruice of Christ, it being the last part of the Saxons possessions that was turned from their Pagan manners. Of which his specious deuotion, Malmesbury giueth this eulogium: <i>although wee praise his affection, (saith hee) yet allow wee not the examples for it written, that who se offend vnto God the goods of the poore, death as it were sacrificeth the same in the sight of the Father. Kenwald with greivous warres hee twice afflicted, and therein spilt so much Christian blood, that</i></i></p> | <p><i>Kenwald a valiant young man, and of the blood-Royal of the Gewisses, both Bede, being banished from his Country through the enuie of others, who maligned him only for his vertues and worthinesse, succeeded Kenwin his kinsman in the kingdome of the West-Saxons, and with greater glory raigned there any other in that Prouince before him had done. He was the Sonne of Almer, whose Father was Cherd, the Second Sonne of Cuth, and Cuth was the third Sonne of Kenrit, who was the eldest Sonne of Cherdik, that laid the first stone of this kingdome founded. His first brunt of furie was against Eadwald, King of the South-Saxons, whom in fight he slew: and in another battell Berthun, that had made himselfe King of that State, The Ile of Wight also he almost quite wasted, and though hee was unbaptized, yet did hee binde himselfe by vow to giue the fourth part of the spoile vnto Gods vs, and performed it accordingly vnto Bishop Wifrid, who with Bernwene and Hildilce conuerted the people from their Idolatrous superstition, vnto the true seruice of Christ, it being the last part of the Saxons possessions that was turned from their Pagan manners. Of which his specious deuotion, Malmesbury giueth this eulogium: <i>although wee praise his affection, (saith hee) yet allow wee not the examples for it written, that who se offend vnto God the goods of the poore, death as it were sacrificeth the same in the sight of the Father. Kenwald with greivous warres hee twice afflicted, and therein spilt so much Christian blood, that</i></i></p> | <p><i>He built as yet a Colledge dedicated vnto God, and bearing the name of S. Andrewes: which afterwards Kenulph, King of the West-Saxons made an Episcopall See. The renowned Abbey of Glasburyrie most likely hee built to the honour of Christ, Peter and Paul (whereof Malmesbury maketh mention in his booke of Glasburyrie Antiquities) in a fennie place sequestered frō the road way, where formerly had stood the old Cell of Ioseph of Arimathea, and that being decayed Deuot Bishop of S. Davids had thereon erected a new; which time also having ruined, twelve men well affected in the North parts of Britaine had repaired, but now by this Ina was quite pulled down, and after a most sumptuous manner new built; the Chapel whereof hee garnished with gold and silver, and</i></p> | <p><i>His conquest of the South-Saxons.</i></p> |
| <p><i>His death.</i></p> <p><i>His warres against the South-Saxons.</i></p> <p><i>His vow to God.</i></p> <p><i>The last of the Saxons that were conuerted to Christ.</i></p> <p><i>An enuieous Lucrifer to God.</i></p> <p><i>His great blood-shed in Kent.</i></p> | <p><i>Hee was the Sonne of Almer, whose Father was Cherd, the Second Sonne of Cuth, and Cuth was the third Sonne of Kenrit, who was the eldest Sonne of Cherdik, that laid the first stone of this kingdome founded. His first brunt of furie was against Eadwald, King of the South-Saxons, whom in fight he slew: and in another battell Berthun, that had made himselfe King of that State, The Ile of Wight also he almost quite wasted, and though hee was unbaptized, yet did hee binde himselfe by vow to giue the fourth part of the spoile vnto Gods vs, and performed it accordingly vnto Bishop Wifrid, who with Bernwene and Hildilce conuerted the people from their Idolatrous superstition, vnto the true seruice of Christ, it being the last part of the Saxons possessions that was turned from their Pagan manners. Of which his specious deuotion, Malmesbury giueth this eulogium: <i>although wee praise his affection, (saith hee) yet allow wee not the examples for it written, that who se offend vnto God the goods of the poore, death as it were sacrificeth the same in the sight of the Father. Kenwald with greivous warres hee twice afflicted, and therein spilt so much Christian blood, that</i></i></p> | <p><i>He built as yet a Colledge dedicated vnto God, and bearing the name of S. Andrewes: which afterwards Kenulph, King of the West-Saxons made an Episcopall See. The renowned Abbey of Glasburyrie most likely hee built to the honour of Christ, Peter and Paul (whereof Malmesbury maketh mention in his booke of Glasburyrie Antiquities) in a fennie place sequestered frō the road way, where formerly had stood the old Cell of Ioseph of Arimathea, and that being decayed Deuot Bishop of S. Davids had thereon erected a new; which time also having ruined, twelve men well affected in the North parts of Britaine had repaired, but now by this Ina was quite pulled down, and after a most sumptuous manner new built; the Chapel whereof hee garnished with gold and silver, and</i></p> | <p><i>His conquest of the South-Saxons.</i></p> <p><i>His sum of In-Blood.</i></p> <p><i>His maletoe poore.</i></p> |

gave rich ornaments thereto, as *Altar, Chalice, Censer, Candlesticks, Basin and holy water, Buckets, Images, and Pale for the Altar*, of an incredible value: for the gold trechupon belov'd, amounted to three hundred thirty three pound weight, and the silver to two thousand eight hundred thirty five pound, beside precious Gemmes, embroch'd in the *Celebrating Vestures*. Hee instructed also a certaine yeerly payment to the See of *Exeter*, assigning every one of his subjects that possided in his house of one kinde of goods to the value of twenty pence, that he should pay a penny to the *Pope* yeerly upon *Lemmas day*: which at first was contributed vnder the name of *The Kings Almes*, but afterwards was called and challenged by the name of *Peter-pence*. At length, by the insigation and earnest perswasion of *Ethelburga his Queene*, hee renounced the glittering glorie of his present and princely estate, wherein hee had in great prosperitie reigned thirty seven yeeres and odder moneths; and professing a voluntarie penitencie, (so great was the zeale, and so little the knowledge of that age) went to *Rome*, where in the habit of a *Religious Man* he ended his life in poore estate; and *Ethelburga his wife* became a veiled Nunne, and was made *Abbesse of Barking nexe London*, wherein she ended her life. The brethren of this *line*, were *Kent*, whose sonne was *Adelme* Abbot of *Malmesbury* and Bishop of *Sherborne*, and *Inge* that was the progenitor of *Egbert* the first *Saxon Monarch* of the whole land; and his sister *Cuthberga*, married into *Northumberland*, sued a divorce against *Offa* her King and husband, and in the habit of a Nunne ended her daies at *Winchester* in the Countie of *Dorset*.

Ethelard the kinsman of King *Ina* (whom hee ordained his successour at his departure to *Alfred*) was the sonne of *Offa*, and he of *Ethelwald* the sonne of *Kinbold*, the brother of *Cuth*, and both of them the sonnes of *Cuthwin*, the sonne of *Cheswin*, the sonne of King *Kennil*, the sonne of *Cherdik*, the first *West-Saxon* King. He began his reign the same yeere that King *Edgar* did his ower the Kingdome of *Kent*, and with him was terrified by the dreadfull appearance of two *Blazing Starres*: of whole Acts, no other mention is recorded, saving that at his entrance into regal estate, *Offa* a *Norman* of the *West-Saxon* blood, emulated his glorie, and troubled the quiet peace of his prosperous beginning: but not able to winne fortune to favour his proceedings, hee quite abandoned his native Country, and so left *Ethelard* to rule the Kingdome in peace, who therein quietly reigned the space of fourteene yeeres, without any mention of wife or issue.

Cuthred, cozen to King *Ethelard*, succeeded him in his Dominions, and was much disquised by *Edith* the King of *Merca*, both by open warre and priuie practices: but these two Kings coming to a conclusion of peace, ioined both their Powers against the over-borne *Brittaines*, and in a bloody battle gaue them a great overthrow. In this time, faith *Beda*, the bodies of the dead were permitted to be buried within the walles of their Cities, which thing before was not lawfull, but their corpes were interred without in the Fields; many of whose Tombes as yet are witness to vs, that daily find them in the digging of the grounds adjoining, and refferre them for sight, or other necessarie vse.

The peace of this King was molested by his owne subject, an Earle named *Adelme*, who boldly encountered his Soueraigne in Battle, and fought it out euen to the point of victorie, but failing thereof, and forced to flee, his life was pardoned. And hee made *General* against the *Mercians* & *Danish*, *Cuthreds* ancient foe, wherein by his valiant prowesse, with the flight and discomfure of the Enemie, hee made a wortheu amends for guerdon of his life, and was euer after held in great fauour and honour. This King reigned in great fame and victorie the space of fourteene yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lords Passion 751. Hee had issue one onely son, whose name was *Kennil*, a valiant young Prince, who in the ninth yeere of his Fathers reign was kildiously slaine in his Armie, for

bearing himselfe (as it may seeme) over-rigorous towards the Souldiers.

Sigbert obtaining the Principallie of the *West-Saxons*, reigned therein no long time, and that without all honour or fame. His parentage is obscure and vnkowne, but his vices were made apparant and manifest; for hee wallowing in all sensuall pleasures, added exactions and cruelties vpon his Subjects, setting aside all lawes and rules of true pietie; from which vicious life, when hee was loudly admonished by his most faithfull Counsellor a worthy Earle called *Cuthberga*, so farre was his minde from abandoning his impious courses, as that hee caused that Noble Personage to be cruelly slaine; whereupon the rest of the Peeres seeing their State and liues were every day in danger, and the common subjects, whose Lawes were thus violated, being incited into furie, they rebelliously rose vp in Armes against him, and would acknowledge him no longer their Soueraigne. *Sigbert* by nature so fearefull as hee was audacious vnto vice, fledde into the woods as his only safegard, where like a forlorne person he wandered in the day, and in caves and denes lodged in the night, till lastly hee was met with by a *Swine-herd* that was seruant to *Cuthberga*, and of him knowne to be *Sigbert*, was presently slaine in reuenge of his matters death, in the wood that was then called *Andreds Wald*, when hee had reigned not fully two yeeres.

Kennilse, sprung from the blood-Royall of the *West-Saxons*, after the death of wicked *Sigbert* was made King of that Prouince, and a peeling some tumults that were stirred for *Sigbert*, obtained many victories against the overmailed *Brittaines*: but hee did not the like success against *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, who at *Benningham* gaue him a great overthrow. He founded the Cathedral Church of *S. Andrewes* at *Wells*, which afterwards was an Episcopall See, and in great honour reigned for the space of twenty foure yeeres; but then Fortune turning her face away from him, the rest of his reign did not fare to that which was spent: for hee giuing himselfe to pleasure and securitie, banished *Kennil*, the brother of his Predecessor *Sigbert*, who dissembling his wrong, gaue place vnto time, and occasion being offered, made his vengeance. For *Kennilse* coming to *Merton* to visit his Paramour, was there vpon and slaine, and his body conuieyed and buried at *Winchester*, after hee had reigned twenty nine yeeres, leaving no memorial either of Wife or Children.

Dunelm, lineally descended from *Cherdik* the first King of the *West-Saxons*, a man of a soft and quiet disposition, succeeded *Kennilse* in that Principallie, in the yeere of Christs Incarnation 754. He married *Ethelburga*, the daughter of great *Offa* the *Mercian* King, by whose power he expelled *Egbert* that ruled a Lordship in his Prouince vnder him, whose fame increasing through his feares of wayes, draue many iacobines into King *Brutarchs* head, and the more by the instigation of *Ethelburga* his Queene, who bearing her selfe great, because of her parentage, practised the downfall and destruction of them whom she hated, and by her suggestions thus *Egbert* was banished on suspicion of conspiracie. It afterward chanced, that these preparing poison to make an end of one of the Kings Mitions, wrought thereby (though without intending) the Kings death: for he by taking the confection, ended his life, after hee had reigned the space of firsteene yeeres. Wherein, the fearing the iust reuenge of his subjects, fled into *France*, by *Charles* then King, was so countrously entertained, as that for her great beauty there was offered her the choice of him or his sonne. But in her youthfull and lustfull humor, choosing the sonne, was debarred from boile, and thrust into a Monastery, in the habit (not the affection) of a Nunne, where not long after she abused her body by committing of adultery, and was shortly expelled, and in beggerly misery ended her life as by *German* that *so farre hee was heard reported*, *Cuth* a *German* mine Author. For this her most heinous crime,

His last estate
wherein hee died.

His Wife.

12.
An. Do. 726.



13.
An. Do. 740.



His Marriage.
Adelme a rebel.
Vanquished by
Cuthred.

Refused againe
to marry.
Cuthred his
corps & death.
An. 751.
Age of his sonne.

14.
An. Do. 754.
Sigbert, his
reign without
honour.
Offa at Benning-
ham. German victorie
killed.

His subjects rise
against him.

His death.

His reign.

15.
An. Do. 755.
Kennilse his de-
ceit.
His Mar-
riage. His victorie
against the Bri-
taines.

He founded a
Cathedral
Church.

Hee slaine.
Buried at Win-
chester.
Saxon Date.
16.

An. Do. 784.



His Marriage.
Married to
Ethelburga.
Saxon Date.
An. 754.

His reign and
death.

His Wife.

Egbert Monarch.

A Law against
the Lawe
Queenes.

After.

With, Malmesbury.
The prodigies
that happened
in this Kings
time.

whereby was procured the murder of her Husband, the *West-Saxons* ordained a Law, to the great prejudice of all their *Queenes* succeeding; that none of them should have either title, maiesty, or place of *foi-alitie*; which was severely executed for many yeeres after.

In the daies of this *Brihtberic*, many prodigies appeared, and more perhaps then will be beleecued. For it is reported, that in his third yeere a shower of blood rained from heauen, and bloody gosses fell vpon mens garments as they walked abroad. And in his

teenth yeere were seene fiery Dragons flying in the ayre. Which wonders, sometooke to be preiages of the miseries following, both by the Inuasions of the *Pagan Danes*, that in these times were first seene to arise in this Island, and the extreme Famine that afterwards happened; howloer, sure it is that the Hierarchy now beganne to set in the West, and the rising Monarchy to appeare in King *Egbert*, whose acts and issue shall be further rehearsed, when wee shall come to the time of his succession among the *Kingly Monarchs*.

Math. xxviii.
H. v. H. vi.
The Paper D. one
in the Kings
time.



THE EAST-SAXONS KINGDOME. THE CIRCVIT, SVCCESIONS OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSVES, AND KING- DOMES CONTINVANCE.



CHAPTER VIII.



The site of the *East-Saxon* Kingdom, was the Countrey of *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hertfordshire*, and the Circuit so far as the Diocesse of *London* now extendeth. It was bounded on the East with the *Ocean*; on the South with the *Thames*; on the

West with the *Colne*, and on the North with the River *Stowe*. The Kings thereof claime their descent from *Prince Woden*, not as all the rest of the *Saxon* Kings, but onely by a collateral line; and *Egbert* became the first King, which notwithstanding he held as *Frederick* to the Kings of *Kent*. For which cause, it seemeth that *Malmesbury* mentioneth him not in the Catalogue of those Kings, but maketh his sonne *Sledda* the first, and tenth in descent from *Woden*.

Egbert, is said to bee the Sonne of *Offa*, the sonne of *Beda*, the sonne of *Sigefrid*, the son of *Snoepa*, the sonne of *Ampas*, the sonne of *Sapi*, the sonne of *Seaxond*, from whom all these Kings feuch their original: His Kingdome began about the yeere of grace 527, and in the fifteenth of *Eke* the second King of *Kent*; and his raigne long, but yet without any memorable acts; dying in the yeere 586. and leauing his sonne to succede in his place.

Sledda the sonne of *Egbert*, succeeding in the *East-Saxon* Kingdome, raigned peaceable without mention of any warres; for having married *Ricula* the daughter of *Imetrik* King of *Kent*, was thereby the more fauoured of them, and feared of others; and nothing left (besides his quiet raigne) to be recorded to posterities; neither are many yeeres of successions numbred, but as they are gathered from the Computations of other princes, with whom they either li-

ued, or were linked in action. This *Sledda* died about the yeere of our Redemption 596. and left issue by his wife *Reorne Ricula*, *Sebert*, who succeeded him in the Kingdome, and *Sigebald* his brother whole Sons afterward were Kings of that *Prouince*.

Sebert the sonne of *Sledda* and of *Reorne Ricula*, beganne his Raigne in the yeere of *Christi* Incarnation 596. and in the thirte six yeere of the raigne of King *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, his mothers brother, at that time *Monarch* of the *Englissh-men*; who in *Seberts* chiefe citie *London*, a *Princetie Mart Towne*, (saith *Beda*) of many people arising thither both by sea and land; so built a Church, making it the Cathedral of *Essex* *Miletr*, and so wrought with King *Sebert*, that hee conuerted him to *Christianitie*; and assisted him in that *Foundation*, where formerly (say some) had stood the Temple of *Diana*. This Church these new Conuersers and *Saxon King*, but new reared or enlarged for the honour and seruice of God, and dedicated vnder the name of *Saint Paul*: which worke *Ethelbert* further confirmed with sufficient maintenance, as by this his Charter is seene, containing these words: *Ethelbert Rex. Deo iussu ante pro anima sua remedio dedit Episcopus Athleta totum quo appellatur Tillingham, ad Monasterium sine solutione seruitus S. Pauli. Et ego Rex Ethelbert ita foimter concedo tibi Praefato Monasterio possessionem cum hominibus et possessionibus, ut in perpetuum in Monasterio quiete permaneat, &c.* And that this was the Temple of *Diana*, some haue further confirmed vnto vs by the incredible number of Ox-heads there digged vp in the daies of King *Edward* the First, when the east-end of that Church was enlarged; which were supposed to be of those Beasts that were there sacrificed to this *Goddess Diana*. These Kings likewise founded the Church of *S. Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where sometimes stood the Temple of *Apollo*, as *Salsardus* affirmeth; which being overthrowne

his death.

his issue.

3. An. Do. 596.
Sebert the sonne
whom hee beganne
to raigne.

Paul. Hist. Eccl. Es-
sex. lib. i. cap. 3.

Sebert conuerted
to Christianity
by Ethelbert.

5. Pauls Church
built.

2. Pauls Church
wherein the
Temple of
Diana.

3. Peter Church
in Cornhill built
where once the
Temple of
Apollo.

The site of this
Kingdome.

The descent
of these Kings.

An. Do. 527.

Malmesbury. de Gest.
Angl. lib. i. cap. 4.

1. Egbert
the first King of the
East-Saxons.

his descent.

his death.

2. An. Do. 587.
Sledda the second
King.
his marriage.

thrown by an Earthquake, King *Loth* new built for the celebration of Gods service; and that again being decayed, those Kings restored it to a greater beauty, where *Sigbert*, after thirteen yeeres raigne, (as some write) with *Wulfegode* his Queene were buried: whose bodies in the daies of *Richard* the Second (saith *Wulfegode*) were translated from the old Church to the new, and there interred. Hee had issue by the said Queene, *Seread*, *Seward*, and *Sigebert*, whose issues and deaths were as followeth.

Seread, *Seward*, and *Sigebert*, the sonnes of King *Sigbert*, raigne as it seemeth together in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, all three wicked irreligious men, and deadly enemies to the Christian Religion. These conculmously prefuming to the *Lords Table*, and holy Sacrament of his Body and Blood, were prohibited by *Bishop Miletus*, because they were Idolaters and voluptuaries: which repulse they tooke so offensively, that they expelled *Miletus*, who thereupon fled into France. But their impiety was not long unrewarded for fighting against King *Ed*, and *Sigebertus* his sonne, (Kings of the *West-Saxons*) were by them overcome, and in battle slain about the yeere of Grace 621. as by the learned *Sir Henry Spelman* is calculated, whose account for these times I altogether follow.

Sigebert the little, the sonne of *Seward*, the second sonne of King *Sigbert*, entred his raigne over the kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of Christ 621, of whose affaires, little manner is left vs to relate, sining that hee having both a Brother and a Sonne, yet his Kingdome was succeeded by neither, but by one *Sigebert*, his *Cousin-German* once removed.

Sigebert, the sonne of *Segebold*, the brother of *Sigbert*, the sonne of King *Sheldra*, and of *Reada* his Queene, succeeded his kinsman in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*. This *Sigebert* reduced againe his Province vnto the embracing of the Christian Faith, being daily inhabited thereunto by *Osfric* King of *Northumberland*, and received Baptisme himselfe at the hands of *Bishop Finan*, and at the place called *The Wall*, procured vertuous Celibacy to be his sinister for the plantation of the Gospel in his Kingdome. He was murdered by two of his kinsmen, who, as *Reada* saith, were Brethren, no other cause mouing them, but his overmuch lenitie and clemencie. He raigne by the foresaid account, thirtene yeeres, leauing issue a young sonne named *Seread*, that succeeded *Sigebert* in that Kingdome.

Wulfhelm succeeded his brother in the Province of the *East-Saxons*, nothing being mentioned of his life or raigne, besides his Baptisme by *Bishop Cedd*, and that his God-father at the *Fort-Bane* was *Eadwald* King of the *East-Angles*.

Sigebert, the sonne of *Sigebert* the little, entred his raigne over the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of our Lord 664. and was the eighth King of that Province, in part whereof *Seldra* his nephew raigne, with better commendations then *Sigebert* at his beginning had done; for *Reada* reporteth, that vpon a great mortallitie and plague, to scape the wrath of his Gods, *Sigebert* became an *Aspeticke*, and forsooke the faith of Christ, whereas *Seldra* continued constant with those in that Province vnder his Iurisdiction: yet by the diligent care of *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, *Sigebert* and his people were reclaimed, throwing downe the Temples and Altars erected to Idolatry, and opening againe the Christian Churches for the Saints assemblies, that so (saith hee) they might rather die in hope of the Resurrection, then wallow in sinne, and live in Idolatry. His wife was *Ofenith* the daughter of *Eadfrith*, King of *Northumberland*, whom *Coppe* maketh a Saint, and *Abbot of Werke* decease London, even in the daies of her husband.

Seldra, the Brother of *Sigebert* the little, and Sonne of *Seward*, (as we haue said) succeeded as sole King in the Province of the *East-Saxons*, and with much

equitie and administration of Iustice raigne therein thirty yeeres: towards the end whereof, the better to prepare his mind for contemplation, hee relinquished his Princely Robes, and put on the Habie of Religious Profecion in the Monastery of *S. Pauls in London*; as *Radolphus de Diceto*, with others affirmeth. Wherein this penitent King bruing a while in fasting and prayers, died the yeere of Christ 693; whose body was intombd in a Coffin of Gray Marble the Couer copped, and lay standing in the North wall of the Chancel of the same Church.

A miracle thereof *Reada* reporteth, needlesse either then to be wrought, or now of vs repeated, were it not to point at the blindness wherein men good men then led; and thus it is: They hauing prepared a Tombe-stone, to lay his body in, found it too short by the quantitie of an hands breadth, and heauing it longer, yet would not serue: therefore they minding to bowe vp the knees, laid the body therein, and suddenly it lengthened of its selfe with more then was sufficient. But surely howeuer this tombe was then set on this Monkish tenter, it is now fine shrunke againe in the standing, and exceeds now in measure five foot in length. His wife (but vnnamed) hee likewise intligated to leaue the momentanie pleasures of princely State, for that which is permanent: which thing with much adoe hee lastly obtained, leauing her to follow him in his vertuous deuotions, and his two sonnes to succeed him in his kingdome.

Sigebert, the Sonne of King *Seldra*, whom *Reada* maketh a Monke with his Father, followed him also in the succession of the *East-Saxons* Kingdome; the time of whose entrance is set in the yeere of Christ Incarnation 694. and his death in 701. no other mention being made either of Acts, Wife, or Issue.

Seread, the Sonne of King *Seldra*, and Brother to King *Sigebert*, either ioyntly raigne with him, or successiually after him, of whom I finde nothing mentioned worthy inferring, hauing had neither Wife nor issue that are recorded.

Ofenith, the Sonne of *Sigebert*, and of Queene *Ofenith* his Wife, a man noted for his comely feature and sweet countenance, succeeded King *Seread* in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of grace 701. He both enlarged with buildings, and enriched with lands the goodly and beautiful Church of *Winton*, but after hee had ruled eight yeeres, being moued with a supposed religious deuotion, hee abandoned King with his wife (the daughter of *Penda* the *Mercian* King) his lands, kinne, and Country, and with *Kenred* King of *Mercia*, and *Eadwine* Bishop of *Worcester*, went to *Rome*, where hee was thorne a Monke, and in that habit died, leauing his Cousen *Seread* to succeed in his kingdome. His wife King with after his departure, (with the like penance) vowed her selfe a vailed Nunne in the Abbey of *Kewburg*, whereof his father was *Abbe*, who had beene wife to *Afrith* King of *Northumberland*.

Seread, the Sonne of *Sigebert* the Good, who was murdered for his overmuch clemencie, attained to the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, in the yeere of grace 709. His raigne was long, though his acts are little spoken of, either that others worther affaires filled the pens of those Story-writers, or that his time was so peaceable and vniuersally spent, that his misdeeds not matter whereof to indite. Hee raigne 38. yeeres, and died Anno 746. without relation either of Wife or Children.

Seread, after the slaughter of *Seread*, was made King of the *East-Saxons*, which title hee retained, untill that *Robert* King of the *West-Saxons*, taking Armes against him, expelled him out of that Kingdome as also the same yeere hee did *Eadred* of *Kent*, which was in the yeere of Christ Incarnation 827. and made it a Province annexed vnto the *West-Saxons*, after it had stood in state of a Kingdome 281. yeeres.

Write his raigne in story pages

Reada de Diceto.

His issues and death.

Seldra his Coffin in Pauls

Reada by Angles his wife, and outside.

His Wife. An. Lo. 694.



THE KINGDOME OF NORTHVMBERLAND, CIRCVIT AND CONTINVANCE, WITH THE SVCCESIONS AND ISSVES OF THOSE KINGS, VNTO THE LAST SVBVERSION THEREOF

By KING EGERT.



CHAPTER IX.



His Kingdome of Northumberland consisted at first of two distinct Provinces; whereof the one was called *Deira*, and the other *Bernicia*, and were governed sometimes by their Kings severally, and sometimes vnder one, as successe of warre, or other casualties incident did afford. The royall descentes of whole Kinns are brought by *Florentius* both from the Fourth and Fifth Sonnes of Prince *Woden*, after this manner. *Ella*, vnder whom the Kingdome of *Deira* beganne, was the sonne of *Jiff*, who was the sonne of *Wastfrea*, the sonne of *Wulfis*, the sonne of *Wefur-welone*, the sonne of *Strome*, the sonne of *Sucaris*, the sonne of *Sapere*, the sonne of *Seabald*, the sonne of *Siggeat*, the sonne of *Sandley*, the sonne of *Siggar*, the sonne of *Wialey*, the fourth sonne of *Woden*. And the descent of *Ida*, the raier of the *Bernician* kingdome, is brought from *Bealdag* the fifth sonne of *Woden*; for *Bealdag* was father to *Brand*, whose sonnes were *Bern* and *Frederick*, the latter of which twaine was the progenitor of *Cherdit* the first *West-Saxon King*: and his brother *Bern* begat another *Bern* also, and hee *veigbrand* the father of *Ingerland*, whose sonne was *Algis*, the father of *Augengrat*, and this mans sonne *Ingerat* the father of *Athelbryht*, whose sonne *Osf* begat *Eappa* the father of this *Ida*, the first King of *Bernicia*.

The six Saxon Captaines *Ella* and *Ida*, about sixtie yeeres after the death of King *Hengist*, changed the title of this Province from a Dukedome to a Kingdome. For *Hengist* having given the possession of those North parts vnto *Oluf* his Brother, and to *Ethelstan* his sonne, their Successors held it, with many hostile irruptions the space of 92. yeeres. But now the Brittaines subyaged, and no resistance made, those Captaines diuide the Province into two parts, intitling either by the name of a Kingdome, the first *Deira*, was possessed by *Ella*, which stretcheth from *Tyne*, to the River *Humber*; and the second *Bernicia*, enjoyed by *Ida*, whose Countie lay betwixt the *Tyne* and the Frith of *Eldonburgh*. These together contained the Counties of *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, *Torkshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Durham*, and was bounded on the West with the Irish Seas, on the North with the Wall of *Souern*, on the East with the German Ocean, and on the South with the Rivers *Mersey* and *Humber*. *Ida*, saith *Malmesbury*, reigned

fourteene yeeres: and *Ella* by *Matthew of Westmster*, is said to succeed him for thirty yeeres. The issue of *Ida* legitimate, as *Matting* in recordeth, were *Adda*, *Beadrik*, *Theodrik*, *Ethelrik*, *Osmar*, and *Theodred*; illegitimate, *Oga*, *Ecca*, *Oswald*, *Adrik*, *Sagar*, and *Sagatier*. These (saith *Matthew of Westmster*) arrived at *Flemish* with forty Ships, and assisted their father in manie of his enterprises. The issue of *Ella*, by *Florentius* has record, were *Acce*, Wife of *Ethelfrid*, King of *Bernicia*, and mother to the most Christian *Oswald*, Monarch of the *Englishmen*, and *Eadwine* the Monarch and first Christian King of Northumberland. *Ida* is said to beginne his reign Anno 547. And *Ella* in the yeere 559. No other particulars ascribed vnto either, besides the building of *Bamburgh Castle*.

With *Ella* reigned the two sonnes of *Ida*, namely *Adda* and *Theodrik*, with three others, *Elaepas*, *Theodwald*, and *Frestulf*, sprung from *Eappa* the father of *Ida*, all five his subliques over the *Bernicians*; but because there is no other mention of them besides their names and reignes, I will leaue as I finde them, and proceed to the more worthy of recital.

2. *Adda* reigned 7. yeeres
3. *Elaepas* reigned 5. yeeres
4. *Theodwald* reigned 1. yeere
5. *Frestulf* reigned 7. yeeres
6. *Theodrik* reigned 7. yeeres

Ethelrik the sonne of King *Ida*, hauing outrun his youth in pernicious obduracy, attained in his old yeeres to the government of both the *Provinces*, and whole *Kingdome* of Northumberland, where in his time was so spent (saith *Malmesbury*) that had not his sonne in the glasse of his owne worth shewed the face of his fathers remembrance, his acts and reign might easily haue beene forgotten. His issue were *Ethelred* that succeeded him, and *Theobald* slaine in Battle against the *Scots*. He reigned five yeeres, and died, An. 591.

Ethelfrid, a man very valiant, and thirstie for renowne, succeeded his father in the *Northumberland Kingdome*. Him *Beda* compares to King *Saul* in *Israel*, excepting only in the knowledge of Gods true Religion: to whom (saith he) might be applied the saying of *Isaiah* touching *Beniamin*, that like a rauening Wolfe he deuoured his prey in the morning, and diuided the spoile thereof in the evening. For he made greater Conquests ouer the daily afflicted *Brittaines*, then all the *Kings* of the *Angles* had done; and compelling their possessions with his Saxons, held the right owners vnder subiection and tribute. This his prospérité, *Eadweden King* of the *Scots* greatly enuied, and attempting to crosse it, and to plant himselfe vpon the

Ida his reign.
Malmesbury.
Ida his reign.
Ida has also begunne and side
guinece.

They arrive at
Flemish with
forty ships.
Ida has also.

Bamburgh Castle
built by Ida and
Ella.

6. An. Do. 589.
Ethelric reigns
obscurely spent.

Beda lib. 2. c. 17.
His reigns and
death.

7. An. Do. 593.
Beda lib. 2. c. 17.
Ethelric 1. cap. 1.
Ethelric very
thirstie for
renowne.

A greater Con-
questers then all
the rest.

Or, Eadweden,
Eadweden King
of the Scots
Ethelfrid.

Northumberland
here divided at
last.

Florent. Wigorn.
The pedigree of
these Kings.

The time when
this Province be-
came a King-
dome,
viz. Malmesbury.

This Province
divided into two
Kingdomes.

Deira & Bernicia.

Adrianus vocat. Iohann.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

The description of the Monastery of Thetford.

Adrianus Car-

tholus.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

Theroldus Iulian.

Editha fides pueri

de rebus.

et reg. abbas.

the root of like honour, hee assembled a great and strong Armie against him, and at the place called *Deffeld* brooke Battle with him, wherein notwithstanding he was overthrowne, and his *seats* discomfited, yet with such loose to *King Ethelfrid*, that *Therold* his brother, with the part of the Armie whereof he was *General*, were all vanquished and destroyed. This battle went so King against the *Seath Britains*, that (saith *Beda*) no King of that Nation durst attempt to meet the English in the field for a long time after. And the Fortune of the day did so much augment both his fame, and also his haughty spirit, that presently hee reconfirmed his power against the Britains, that were at *Caerlegun*, where of them hee made a most lamentable slaughter, and that not only of the Souldiers prepared for fight, but also of those religious and harmless *Monks*, there assembled for prayer.

These *Monks* were of the Monastery of *Batter* in *North-wales*, famous for antiquity, forme of discipline and spacious circuit. It was situated in the fruitful valley now called the *English Meadows* upon the Banckes of the *River Don*, where it extend it selfe as in the circuit of a walled Citie, containing within it the quantitie of a mile and a halfe of ground: two of whose Gates may at this day easilie be discerned, the one of them called *Port Hagen*, lying by North, and the other *Port Clais*, situate on the South; the *River Don* having now changed his Channell, runneth thorough the middle betwixt both the Gates, which stand asunder five hundred paces. This Monastery, saith *Cheremonius*, was the Mother of all others in the World; who in memory of the *Seven Churches of Asia*, did distribute into seven portions their *Monks*, every one numbering three hundred soules, and all of them (as *Beda* saith) lazing by the labour of their own hands. Many of these assembling at *Caerlegun*, to assist their Brethren Britains with their supplications unto God against this *Ethelfrid*, furnished the *Wilde*, and his fierce Souldiers the Infidell Saxons with three daies fast spent their time in continual prayers. But King *Ethelfrid* beholding their manner, demanded the cause; and understanding that they called for assistance of their God against him and his Army, set first upon their *Guarder Brimwal*, a man of Armes, who to save his own life, left all theirs to the sword, where in perished one thousand and two hundred Christian *Monks*, besides the discomfiture of the Britains Host. Many of these were interred in their owne Monasteries, whose bodies, saith *Englad*, have been found in the memory of man, in the rotten weeds wherein they were slaine. But as his fame increased daily abroad, so were his feares augmented continually at home. For *Edwine* the sonne of *Ella*, and third King of *Deira*, a gallant young Prince, and newly seated in his Fathers Kingdom, wrought many suspicions in *Ethelfrid* his head; and though he was brother to his Wife *Acce*, yet the neerenesse of that alliance, no whit diminished his zealous conceits, whom therefore by private conspiracies and apparent pursuits hee so daily molested, that he was forced to save his life by avoiding the Country, and rosted in exile from place to place, was lastly received and succoured by *Redwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, who in his quarrell forthwith assembled his forces, and meeting *Ethelfrid* in the field, slew him neere the *River Idle*, after hee had reigned twenty three yeeres, in the yeere of Christ his Incarnation 617. He had issue by his Wife *Acce*, (the daughter of *Ella*) *Ethelfrith* King of *Berwicke*, *Offa*, and *Offald* King of *Northumberland*, *Offa*, and *Offa*, with two Daughters canonized for Saints, *Ofenb* and *Ella* the Nunne; as also by his Concubine, *Ofenb*, the tenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

Edwine thus assisted by the helpe of King *Redwald*, returned to his Country, and was of the Inhabitantes made King of *Northumberland*, and afterward Monarch of the *Englishmen*; as in their succession shall be declared. *Beda* (somewhat too much addicted to fabulous miracles) of him reporteth this storie: That whilst hee lay banished in King *Redwalds* Court,

Ethelfrid indigested his recovery, by promises to take away his life; if he refused, threatened him wailes: for feare whereof, *Redwald*, partly inclining to his wicked purpose, revealed the time to the Quene his wife, which a friend of *Edwine* hearing, told him of his danger, and witheld him to die. *Edwine* thus perplexed, with troubled thoughts in the dead of the night, late solitary vnder a tree in dumps, musing what was best to be done to succure it, and fix from *Redwald*, that had honoured him so much, he held it a wrong, and to thinke himselfe life in other Provinces against so powerful pursuers, he thought it was vaine. Thus distracted in casting what way might be safest, suddenly approached a nite unto him, vterly unknowne, who after salutation, demanded the cause why hee late at so vnseasonable a time, in so vncomforth a place, and penurie manner? *Edwine* thinking him to be his death-man, resolutely answered; It nothing concerned him at all, either to aske, or to know his estate. Oh *Edwine* (saith he) thinke not but that I know thy sorrow, and the cause of thy sitting thus upon that stone; thy death is pretended, and caught by hand: but what wouldst thou give to rid thee of that danger, and to make King *Redwald* thy assured persecutor? Any thing, quoth *Edwine*, which is in my power. But what shall be his reward (saith the other) that shall see thee vpon the throne of thy Kingdom, and that with such glory, as none of thy Progenitors euer attained vnto? I would be thankful to that man, said *Edwine*, in all things, and at all times; as reason required, and of right I ought. But tell me *Edwine*, saith he, what if the same man shew thee a more safe way to preserve the life of thy Soule, then either thou at this present knowest, or any of thy Parents euer heard of, wilt thou consent and embrace his counsell? Yea, said *Edwine*, God forbid that I should not be ruled by him, that hath so kindly free me from this present danger, let me vpon the throne of a Kingdom, and after these great fauours, should also teach mee the way to an eternall life. Vpon this answer, laying his right hand on *Edwine* head, he said vnto him; When these things shall in order come to passe, then call to minde this time, and what thou hast promised, and so vanished from his presence. The young Prince thus left betwixt hope and despair, his friends that had forewarned him of his death, came hastily to him with a more cheerfull countenance, Come in *Edwine* (quoth he) and successe thy cares, for the Quene hath not onely changed *Redwalds* mind to save thy life, but hee also hath granted to maine line thy right against *Ethelfrid* thine enemy. Which shortly hee did, and slew him, as we haue said.

Edwine thus placed vpon the Princely Throne, his first Wife *Queenburg* being dead in his exile, received in marriage *Ethelburga*, furnished *Tara*, (a fit name for a woman) the Daughter of King *Ethelbert*, and Sister to *Redwald* King of *Kent*, a most chaste and vertuous Christian Lady, whose teacher was *Paulinus* and both of them Gods instruments for the Couergion of the *Northumbrians* to the imbracement of Christian Religion. But because we shall haue occasion to speake of this *Edwine* as he was Monarch of the *Englishmen*, we will reuerse his *Alfreds*, and *Ragnes*, to bee further related in the course of his Succession. Hee was slaine in battell against *Cadwall* King of the *Britaines* and *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, when he had prosperously reigned fiftene yeeres, the twelfth of *October*, Anno 633; and was buried in *Saint Peters* Church at *Streatham*, after called *Wharfe*. Vpon whose death, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* was againe diuided.

Strike the Sonne of *Affrid* (*Edwine* Vnde) succeeding in the Province of *Deira*, and *Ethelfrid* the Sonne of *Ethelfrid* the *Wilde*, in the Province of the *Berwicenses*; theiue, with the rest of *Ethelfrids* Children, for the continuance of *Edwine* Raigne, had in banishment beene persecuted among the *Seats* and *Redbanks*, and there had received the Sacrament of Baptisme: but after the death of their Enemy, these

His is in danger.

Edwine is in danger what to do.

One voluntarily came to him, and among the friends of his friends.

Edwine is in danger.

The man sheweth him his great wealth.

He demandeth what he would give to be saved.

Edwine is in danger.

He presenteth to him his wealth.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Edwine is in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Edwine is in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

Hee suddenly was in danger.

An. Do. 617. *Beda* & *Cheremonius* say it. The Ruine of *Edwine* was then.

An. Do. 633. *Edwine* King of *Deira*.

Edwine King of the *Northmen*.

They renounce
the worship
of Christ.
Redd. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Cedric 1. 1. 1. 1.
John 1. 1. 1. 1.
John 1. 1. 1. 1.

1. Cedric.

The British Kings
tyranny.

9.
An. Do. 64.
Cedric.

His conquest of
the Britons.

Of the death
of King.

His death.
The death
of King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

King.

Princes returned to their owne Countrey, and former superstitions, renouncing againe the profession of Christ. Yet this their Apostasie (saith Beda) remained not long unpunished: For Cadwallader King of the Brittaines, with wicked force, but with worthy vengeance slew them both the next Summer ensuing. Of which vengeance, and his whole Army perished in the suburbs of their owne Citie, he miserably starved, and possessing the Province of the Northumbrians, not as a King or Conqueror, but rather like an outrageous Tyrant, delirious and rent in tragical manner, all things before him. Eanfirth unadvisedly with twelve chosen persons comming to Cadwallader to impart upon peace, were cruelly put to death. This yeere (saith he) continueth unhappy and hateful even unto this day, as will for thougthfulnes of these English Kings, as also for the Brittaines furious tyranny. Wherefore the Historiographers of that time have thought it best, that the memory of these Apostate Kings being utterly forgotten, the successive yeere should be assigned to the Empire of the next following King, Oswald, a man dearly beloved of God.

Oswald, the sonne of Wild Ethelfrid, and brother to King Eanfirth, begane his reigne over the Northumbrians Anno 642. having first embraced Christianity, and received Baptisme in Scotland, wherein hee was secured all the reigne of King Eadwold, and had withall learned some experience in warre. Hee comming unlooked for with a small Armie, hee fensed (saith Beda) with the Faith of Christ, obtained against Cedwald King of the Brittaines a great victory: the manner whereof, with his other acts achieved, wee will further declare in his succession among the Monarchs of the English-men, whereof hee was the ninth from Christ.

He sent for Aidan, a Scottish Divine, to teach his people the Doctrine of Christ, enlarged his Kingdome, and reconciled the Deirians and Bernicians, who were at mortall enmities. Hee was faine, and cruelly rent in peeces by the unmercifull Pagan Penda the Mercian, at Oswaldsire in Sherburne, quints August, the yeere of our Lord 642. when hee had reigned nine yeeres, and was buried at Bardsey in Lancashire. His wife was Kenelme, the daughter of Kinga King of the West-Saxons, and his sonne Ethelwald, young at his death, and therefore defaced of his Kingdome by Osfrith his Uncle, the Natural Sonne of King Ethelfrid the Wild. Notwithstanding when Osfrith King of Deira was murdered by this Osfrith of Mercia, and he not past sixteen yeeres of age, entred by force vpon Deira, and kept the same Province by strong hand so long as hee lived; and dying, left it to his sonne Alfrith, the Natural Sonne of the last King Osfrith.

Osfrith the illegitimate sonne of Ethelfrid the Wild, at thirty yeeres of age succeeded King Oswald his brother in the Kingdome of the Bernicians; at whose entrance, Osfrith the sonne of Osfrith, that had denied the Faith, and was slaine of King Cedwald, reigned in Deira. This Osfrith was slaine by King Osfrith: after whose death, kizing all Northumberland, he spread his terror further into other parts, and was the tenth Monarch of the English-men, as in his succession we will further speak. His wife was Eanfirth, daughter to Edwin King of Northumberland, by whom hee had many children. His reigne was 28. yeeres, and death the fiftieth day of February, in the yeere of grace 670. and of his age 58.

Eofrid, the eldest sonne of King Osfrith by Queene Eanfirth, had bene Hegele in the Kingdome of Mercia, and after his father was made King of Northumberland, in the yeere of Christ 671. Hee wanted, but with great losse, against Edred King of Mercia, nere unto the River of Trent, wherein his younger brother Elfrith was unfortunately slaine, to the great griefe of both the Kings, the one being his owne brother, and the other his brother in law by marriage: whereupon peace and reconciliation was made. But Eofrid being by nature of a disquiet disposition, incensed the Irish, and destroyed those himselfe and filly people, which (as Beda saith) had bene great friends to the English. Their resistance consisted chiefly in cur-

res and imprecations for revenge, which though they could not open heaven, yet (saith hee) it is to be believed, that for their cause he was cut off the next yeere ensuing by the Pict or Red-Bushes, against whom he prepared, contrary to the advice of his Counsell, and by them was slaine among the firs and welle mountains, 20. May of the yeere of mans felicitie 685. and of his age fortye, after hee had reigned fiftene yeeres. His wife was Ethelred the daughter of Anna King of the East-Angles: shee was both Wise and pious; first married to Tostig a Noble man that ruled the Gyrns, a people inhabiting the Fenny Countreys of Norfolk, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridgeshire; and after him also in virginique continued twelve yeeres with her husband King Eofrid, contrary to his minde, and the Apostles precept, that forbiddeth such defrauding either man or woman, except it be with consent for a time; and to the preparation of priesterflaming elsewhere, that Marriage is honourable, and the bed thereof sanctified, wherein the woman doth redeem her transgression, through faith, love, holmesse, and modestie, by bearing of children: This notwithstanding, shee obtained licence to depart his Court, and got her to Coldingham Abby, where shee was professed a Nunne under Ebbas the daughter of King Ethelfrid. Then went shee to Ely, and new built a Monastery, whereof shee was made Abbess, and wherein with great reverence shee was intombd: whole vertues and remembrance remaind to posterities by the name of S. Andrew, she being canonized among the Catalogue of English Saints.

Alfrith, the legitimate sonne of King Osfrith, in the reigne of his halfe-brother King Eofrid, whether willingly, or by violence constrained, lived like a banished man in Ireland, where applying himselfe to studie, hee became an excellent Philosopher, and (as Beda saith) was very courteous and learned in the Holy Scriptures, and therefore was made King over the Northumbrians: where with great wilidome, though not with so large bounds as others had enioied, hee worthily did recover the decayed estate of that Province, ruling the same twenty yeeres and odd months, and departed this life, Anno 705. His Wife was Kenelme, the daughter of Penda King of the Mercians, and by her hee had issue only one sonne, that succeeded him in his Kingdome.

Oswald, a child of eight yeeres in age, for the hopes conceived from the vertues of his father, was made King over the Northumbrians; whose steps hee so wayes trod in, but rather in filthie abuse of his person and place, wallowed in all voluptuous pleasures and sensuall delight, violating the bodie of veiled Nunnas, and other religious holy women: wherein when hee had spent eleven yeeres more to his age, his kinsmen Eofred and Osfrith conspired against him, and in battell by his daughter made an end of this impious life. His wife was Kenelme, the sister of Ines King of the West-Saxons, as by the time may be gathered, from the computation of Marston, and the Angles of the English-Saxons; who vpon a loathing wastefull wedlocke, sued out a divorce from her husband, and built a Nunnery at Winchester in Dorsetshire, where in a religious habit shee ended her life, and hee by Eofred and Osfrith, leaving his Kingdome to them that wrought his death.

Kenelme, the sonne of Cuthbert, whose father was Eadwald the sonne of Egrwald, and his father Adelm, the sonne of Oga, the natural sonne of Ida, the first King of Deira, after the death of Osfrith reigned two yeeres, no other remembrance left of him, besides the murder of his Soueraigne Lord and King.

Osfrith, after the death of Kenelme, obtained the Kingdome of Northumberland, and reigned therein the space of eleven yeeres, leaving to the world his name slained with blood in the murder of young Osfrith, no other mention of parentage, wife, or issue of him remaining; for want whereof, hee adopted Crelmolph, brother to his predecessor Eofred, and died unlamented the yeere of Grace seven hundred twentie nine.

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Crelmolph,

16.
An. Do. 729.
Julius 9.
His reign.
A Monk.
His time.

Cenwalph, the brother of **Kenned**, after the death of **King Eboric**, was made King of the *Northumbrians*; which Province hee governed with great peace and victorie the space of eight yeeres: but then forsaking the Royall Estate and Robes of Maistie, put on the habit of a *Monke* in the Ile of *Londesey* or *Holy Island*.

These were the daies (*saith Bede*) wherein the acceptable time of grace and quietnes was embraced among the *Northumbrians*, who now laid their armies aside, and applied themselves to the reading of holy Scriptures; more desirous to be professed in religious busines, then to exercise feats of warre, or of armes. For not only Priests and Lay men vowed and performed Pilgrimages to *Rome*, but *Kings, Queens and Bishops* also did the like: so great (so blind was their light) a devotion was in their hearts, and so long a patience held they of the place. Vnto this King **Cenwalph**, the said *Venerable Bede* (a Priest in the *Monastery of Peter and Paul at Weremouth* neer vnto *Darham*) a great Clerke, and Writer of the English Historie, dedicated the same his Worke, which he continued till the yeere *four hundred thirty one*, and from the first entrance of the *Saxons*, containing: 87. yeeres, according to his owne account.

17.
An. Do. 738.
Egbert.
His reign.
His time.

Egbert, the sonne of *Eata*, who was brother to King **Kenned**, succeeded his vnckle **Cenwalph** in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, and ruled the same with the like peace and quietnes, the time of twenty yeeres; and then following his example, also forsooke the world, and shrou himselfe a *Monke*, as diders other Kings in those daies had done, whereof *Some Deuout men* writers, and next their number to bee eight: as *Iuas King of the West-Saxons, Ethelred and Kenned Kings of Mercas, Segebert King of the East-Angles, Sebbi and Offa Kings of the East-Saxons, and Cenwalph and this Egbert Kings of the Northumbrians*. These forsaking the world (as they tooke it) left the Charge that God vpon them had imposed, whose authoritie in earth they forgoe, and wherein they might much more haue aduanced Gods glory and Christs Gospell, then for a more euill and priuate life, not warranted by his word, but rather dullicked, and perhaps forswere by those heavenly creatures the Sonne and Moone, which in those daies were fearfully darkened, and for a time seemed to haue lost their light: for Anno 733.

18.
An. Do. 738.
Egbert.
His reign.
His time.

18. *Calend. Septemb.* the Sonne suffered so great an Eclipse, that the earth seemed to bee ouer-shadowed as with black-cloth. And Anno 756. 3. *Calend. Decemb.* the Moone being in her full, appeared both darke and bloody; for a Scarre (though there be none lower then the Moone) seemed to follow her, and to deprime her of light: but passing before her, shee againe recovered her former brightness. This King **Egbert** had a brother that bore the same name, and was installed *Arch-bishop of York*, where he erected a beautiful Librerie (a worke well befitting a Noble Prelate) and plentifully stored it with an infinite number of learned bookes. His sonne was **Offawalpe**, that succeeded in the Kingdom.

19.
An. Do. 759.
Eadwald.
His reign.
His death.

Offawalpe, when his father **Egbert** had put off the Robes of Maistie, and clad himselfe with a *Monkes Cowe*, ascended the Throne of *Northumberland*, and late therein only one yeere: for before hee had made attempt of any memorable act, he was traitorously murdered by his own seruantes at *Milbvingtan*, the ninth Kalends of August, leaving the Crown vndisposed of vntill the Nones of the same month in the next yeere.

20.
An. Do. 767.
Eadwald.
His reign.
His death.

Eadwald on *Melle* was then made King of *Northumberland*, and with great valiance defended his Subjects. Some say, that at the end of six yeeres hee resigned his government; yet others affirme his reign to be eleven yeeres, and lastly that hee was slaine by **Alfred** his Successor.

Alfred, the murderer of his Lord and Master, beganne his raigne ouer the kingdom of *Northumberland*, the yeere of Christs Incarnation seven hundred thirty five, and continued the same with such dislikes, that hee lastly was expelled out of the Province by his own Subjects, & enforced to abandon the same. He was the son of *Tanwin*, the son of *Bambert*, the son of *Asa*, the son of *Adricke*, the natural son of *Ida*, the full King of *Bernicia*. And the sonnes of this **Alfred** were **Ofred**, afterwards King of *Northumberland*, and **Almund**, slaine by the *Danes*, and canonized a *Saint*.

Ethelred, the sonne of *Melle*, was advanced to the Regiment of *Northumberland*, and in the fifth yeere of his raigne, was driven out of the same by **Edelwald** and **Hercbert**, two Dukes that warred against him; who hauing overcome and slaine his Generall and souldiers in a fierce battell, so weakened the hopes of King **Ethelred**, that he fled his Country, and left the Kingdom in a miserable estate, through the dissension of those ambitious Princes.

Alfred the brother of the foresaid King **Alfred**, aspiring to the Souerainety of the *Northumbrians*, ruled the same in great Justice, to his worthy commendations: notwithstanding the wickedness of his people was such, that without all guilt he was traitorously murdered by the conspircie of *Siga*, 23. Sept. the yeere of Christs Incarnation, seven hundred eighty eight, after hee had reigned eleven yeeres, and his body buried at *Hesbam*. His sonnes were **Alfius** and **Alfrin**, both slaine by King **Ethelred**.

Ofred the sonne of King **Alfred**, tooke vpon him the Rule of *Northumberland*, the yeere of grace seven hundred eighty nine, and the same yeere finished his government thereof, being expelled by his Subjects, and deposed of all kingly authority.

Ethelred the sonne of *Melle*, reuenged from exile wherein hee had liued the space of twelue yeeres, was againe restored to the Crowne; but hee finding the injuries that his Lords had formerly done him, sought the reuenge by their deaths, as also to establish his Throne the surer, slew **Alfius** and **Alfrin**, the sons of **Alfred**, as wee haue said, the right heires to the Crowne, and inticing **Ofred** the former deposed King into his danger, commanded him to be put to death at *Caulbage*, the fourteenth of September, and yeere of Christs Incarnation eighty two. And to strengthen himselfe the more against all his opposites, the same yeere he married Lady **Eldfa**, the second Daughter to great **Offa** King of *Merca*, forsaking his former Wife without any iust cause giuen on her part.

These things done to appease the hearts of his Subjects, that after seven yeeres from his second establishment, they rebelliously rose in Armes, and at *Colce* miserably slew him the eighteenth day of April, the yeere of Christs Iesus 794.

After whose death, the *Northumbrians* were sore molested with many intruders, or rather Tyrants, that bandied for the soverainety the space of thirty yeeres. The first whereof was **Ofwald**, that held the title of *King* only twenty eight daies, & then was forced to saue his life by flight vnto the King of the *Picts*. Next, **Alfius** a Duke, renoked from exile: then **Alfred**, **Eadwald**, **Ethelred**, **Redulph**, **Osbert**, and **Ellie**, slaine by the *Danes* in *Turke* as a place, for **Ellie** his slaughter called to the day *Ellie-Croffe*, and the Kingdom yielded to the protection of **Egbert** King of the *West-Saxons*, who was now become *Englands* first absolute Monarch, (as holding all the rest of the Kings no longer for his Associates, but his Subjects) in the yeere nine hundred twentie six, after it had stood in forme of a Kingdom three hundred leuenty nine yeeres, and was made a Province and ioined with the rest vnto the English Monarchie.

20.
An. Do. 767.
Alfred.
His reign.
His death.

21.
An. Do. 774.
Alfred.
His reign.

22.
An. Do. 778.
Alfred.
His reign.

23.
An. Do. 789.
Ofred.
His reign.

24.
An. Do. 794.
Ethelred.
His reign.

25.
An. Do. 794.
Ethelred.
His reign.

26.
An. Do. 794.
Ethelred.
His reign.

27.
An. Do. 794.
Ethelred.
His reign.



The coronation of the King.



THE CIRCVIT AND SVCCESSORS OF THE MERCIAN KINGDOME, VN- TILL IT WAS SVBIECTED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.



CHAPTER X.



His Kingdom of Mercia contained more Counties, and the parts of that royall Reigne were spread with a wider compasse then any of the rest in the Saxons Heptarchie: for in the middelt of the Island that Kingdome was seated, and from the verge of

Northumberland touched some part of Middlesex, which was the possession of the East-Saxons: the North thereof was bounded with Humber and Mersey; the East was inclosed with the German Ocean; the West extended to Severne and Dee; and the South part neerly touched the River of Thames, containing the Counties now known by these names, of Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottingham, Stafford, and Shropshire, Northampton, Leicestershire, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Rutland-shires; Warwick, Worcester, Oxford, and Gloucestershire; Buckingham, Bedford, and part of Hertfordshire. The first ruler of that Title and name of a Kingdome, was Crida, the sonne of Kennald, who was the sonne of Cutha, the sonne of Icel, the sonne of Eomer, the sonne of Eugegaur, the sonne of Offa, the sonne of Wergund, the sonne of Wubbe, the sonne of Waga, the sonne of Werhelgote, the third of the five sonnes of Prince Eden. This man, without more fame of his further acts, is said to have reigned the space of ten yeeres, and to have died Anno 594. His issue was Wende that succeeded him in his Kingdome, and a daughter named Seaburge, matched in marriage with Edwa afterwards King of Northumberland, with whom he lived in the Court of King Redwald in the time of his troubles, and died before him in that his banishment. She bore him two sonnes, Eofrid and Eadwige, as in the succession of Saxon Monarchy shall be shewed: notwithstanding Bede reporteth this Seaburge to be daughter of Conlethe third King of Mercia, and grand-child to this first Crida.

Wende the sonne of King Crida, not onely held his dominions by intrusion upon the weak Britanes. His issue was Wende, Kennald, and Eoppa, all three Progenitors of Kings afterwards in that kingdome, with a daughter named Seaburge, married to Kennald, King of the West-Saxons, whom he without just cause divorced from him; for which cause great troubles afterwards ensued, as in the reigns of those Kings we have said. He in great honour reigned twenty yeeres, and giving place vnto nature, left his kingdome to be inioined by another.

But, not the son, but the Nephew of King Wende, succeeded in the dominions of the Mercians, about the yeere of grace six hundred and fourteenth. He was sonne to Kennald, the brother of Wende, the younger sonne of King Crida, who was the first King of that kingdome. His reign is set to be ten yeeres, without mention either of Act or Issue.

Penda, the sonne of Wende, beganne his reign over the Mercians the yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred twenty six, & continued the same the space of thirty yeeres. He was a man violeat in action, and mercuritic in condition, cruel and variat in blood: he shooke the Cities, and disturbed the borders of the Saxon-Kings, more then any other in that Heptarchie before him had done. Against Kings and Quenebeline, King together of the West-Saxons, he joined battell neere vnto the Citie Eboraceshire, where both the parties fought it out to the vrmolt, with the effusion of much Saxon blood: but those coming to concord, he with Cadwalla King of the Britanes, slew in battell Edwine and Oswald, Kings of Northumberland, Sigbert, Egfrid, and Anna, Kings of the East-Angles, and forced Kennald King of the West-Saxons out of his Country, in quarrell of his Sister. Of these his properties he became so proud, that hee thought nothing impossible for his achievements; and therefore threatening the destruction of the Northumbrians, prepared his Army for that expedition. Oswy then reigning King of that Country, profited great summes of money, and most precious Jewels to purchase his peace: which being refused, and the battell joined, more by the hand of God, then power of man, this Tyrant was slaine, and his whole Army discomfined.

His Wife was Kimfrith, and issue by her Penda, who after him was King: Ylfere and Egbert, both Monarchs of the English; Eadric, a man famous for his great holinesse, and Meruold that gouerned some part of Mercia, whose Wife was Edwige, the foundresse of Minster in Taunt, and daughter to Egbert King of Kent, by whom he had issue Meruold, a man of noted deuotion, Althar, and Mildred, both holy Virgins, and Mildred also Abbess of Taunt, all foure canonized for Saints. The daughters of King Penda, were Kimburg, the Wife of Althar, King of Northumberland, afterward a Votarie in Kimerburg Abbey, and Kimfrith, who married Offa King of the East-Angles, and became also a Nunne with her sister Kimburg.

Penda, the sonne of King Penda, in the daies of his father, and with his permission, had gouerned the middle part of Mercia, and after his death, by the gift of Oswy of Northumberland, all the South of that kingdome

Mercia.

The limits of it.

An. Do. 582.

Crith.

The Wife.

His reign.

His issue.

An. Do. 593.

Wende.

His Wife.

His death.

Cap. 3. 5. 6.

His reign.

His death.

An. Do. 614.

Crith.

His reign.

An. Do. 626.

Penda.

His reign.

His Wife.

His issue.

His Wife.

His issue.

His death.

Wife.

Issue.

Josephus.

An. Do. 656.

Penda.

kingdome from the River Trent, upon copolition to marrie his daughter, and to embrace Christianity, which thing this *Penda* performed, and was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*. His Baptisme received to himselfe the first fruits of his profession, hee laid the foundation of a faire Church at *Medeshamsted*, now called *Peterborough*, but lined not to finish the same, for that he was slaine by the treason of *Aldred* his wife in the celebration of *Edith*, (as *Beda* saith) having had no issue by her. But *Robert de Swinhom* (an Author of good antiquity, who law the stones of that foundation to be so huge, as that eight yoke of Oxen could hardly draw one of them) saith, that *Penda* was brought to his end by the practise of his Mother, and not of his Wife; as in these his times is manifest. *Penda* (saith he) laid the foundation of a Monastery at *Medeshamsted*, in the *Girvants* or *Fen-Country*, which he could not finish, for that by the wicked practise of his Mother, hee was made away. Whereby this blot is taken from this Christian Lady, and brands the face of her that most detructu at. This King reigning as his successor to King *Offa* of *Northumberland* aforesaid, by some is not accounted for a *Mercian* King, his regiment resting under the command of another.

Vulfhere, the Brother of murthered *Penda*, set up by the *Mercians* against King *Offa*, proved a Prince most valiant and fortunate. For hee expelled the *Northumbrians* Lieutenants forth of those dominions; fought victoriously against *Kennel* King of the *West-Saxons*; conquered the *Isle of Wight*; and attained to be sole Monarch of the *Englismen*: whereof more shall be laid when we come to the times and successions of their reignes.

This *Vulfhere* is said to reign in great honour for seventene yeeres, and his body to bee horied in the Monastierie of *Peterborough*, which he had founded. His Queene *Ermenschild* after his death, became a Nunne at *Ely*; under her Mother *Saxburg* and there died. His children were *Kenned*, *Wulfald*, and *Egfrin*, with a daughter, named *Werburga* Nunne in the Monastierie of *Ely*.

Ethelred the third sonne of King *Penda*, in the charge of young *Kenned* the sonne of *Vulfhere*, (who in his tender yeeres rather desired a private life then any publike authority in the Common-weale) succeeded his brother both in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, and Monarchy of the *Englismen*. But when hee had reigned thrie yeeres, gave over the Crowne to his Nephew the said *Kenned*, and became a Monke in the Monastierie of *Braiden-Pin* *Lincolne-shire*, where hee died Anno 716. His Wife was *Offgyde*, Daughter to *Offgyr* King of *Northumberland*; and issue, *Chalred*, that succeeded *Kenned* in the *Mercian* kingdome.

Kenned the sonne of *Vulfhere*, (his Uncle *Ethelred* changing his Princely Crowne for a Monks Coule) beganne his Raigne over the *Mercians*, and his Monarchy over the *Engliss*, Anno 704. wherein he reigned the space of foure yeeres, and then with like deuotion of those times, addicted to an easie and quiet Religion, abandoned both Crowne and Country, and went to *Rome*, where of Pope *Constatine* hee receiued the tooillure and habit of a Monke at the *Apples-Tower*, and entering a Monastierie, therio spent other foure yeeres of his life to the day of his death, which was Anno 708. having had neither wife nor issue to reuise his name, or to rule his kingdome.

Chalred receiuing the resignation of *Kenned* his Colingerman when he went to *Rome*, and of sufficient yeeres and discretion to haue succeeded *Ethelred* his Father, what time the said *Kenned* was ordained King, reigned with great valour over the *Mercians*, and was likewise Monarch over the *Englismen*. His peace was disquieted by *Ina* & his *West-Saxons*, who for seven yeeres continuance invaded his kingdome. His Wife was *Werburga*, faith *Marianus* and *Florantius* the Monke, who ascribe to her a long life, and to die without Children. This *Chalred* reigned the space of eight yeeres, and died the yeere of grace seven hundred and fiftenth: whose body was horied in the Cathedral Church of *Lichfield*.

Ethelred, after the death of *Chalred*, was made King of the *Mercians*, and Monarch of the *Engliss*, the yeere of Christs Incarnation seven hundred sixtenth. He was a Prince giuen to peace, but withall a most inlicitious Adulterer: in somuch that *Bosface* Archbishop of *Metz* wrote his Epistle vnto him in reprehension of the same, which tooke such effect, that in repentance of his foule faults, hee founded the Monastierie of *Croiland*, dringing in mighty Piles of Oake into that moonish ground, whereon hee had a great and goodly building of stone. He was the son of *Alay*, the elder sonne of *Egga*, the second sonne of King *Wihha*, the brother of King *Penda*: and reigned forie two yeeres, in the end whereof he was slaine in a battell fought against *Cuthred* King of the *West-Saxons*, at *Secundane*, three miles from *Tamworth*, the yeere of Christ, seven hundred fiftie six, and was buried at *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, having had neither Wife nor Children.

Offa slaying *Repton* the murtherer of King *Ethelred*, eured upon the government of the *Mercians*, and the Monarchy of the *Saxons*, An. 718. He enlarged his dominion vpon the *Britains*, overcame the *Kraeths* in a battell, put to flight the *Northumbrians*, and vanquished the *West-Saxons*: the *East-Angles* also hee scised vpon, after he had murthered *Ethelbert* their King. He reigned thirti nine yeeres, and did at *Offy*, the nine and twenty day of *July*, the yeere of our Lord seven hundred ninetie foure, and was buried without the Town of *Bedford*, in a Chappell, now swallowed vp by the River *Ouse*. He was the son of *Thangfyrd*, the sonne of *Eamulf*, whose Father *Ofmund* was the sonne of *Egga*, the brother of King *Penda*, and loo of King *Wihha*, whose Father was *Craide*, the first King of the *Mercians*. His Wife was *Quendred*, and children many, of whom, and of them we will further speake when we come to the time of his Monarchy.

Offgyde, the sonne of great *Offa*, was by him made King at his returne from *Rome*, being the only ioy of his paternes, and heire apparant to the *Saxons* Monarchy, vpon which hee eured the day after his fathers death, and liued himselfe but a hundred and foure daies after, deceasing the thirteenth of *December*, in the yeere of our Lord God seven hundred ninetie six, having had neither wife nor issue that wee read of, and his body honourably interred in the Church of the Monastierie of *Saint Albans*, founded by *Offa*.

Kennulf, the colen (as farre off) to King *Ethelred* deceased, and both of them remoued in blood no lesse then six descents from *Wihha* the second *Mercian* King, was the sonne of *Cuthbert*, (as the Monke of *Winchester* deriues him) the sonne of *Bassa*, the sonne of *Kennard*, the sonne of *Kennard*, the sonne of *Kennard*, the sonne of *Kennard* aforesaid, and succeeded King *Egfrid* in his Dominions. But of this *Mercian* Monarch more shall be written in the succession and time of that his government. Hee reigned two and twentie yeeres, and deceased the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and nineteen, and his bodie interred in the Monastierie of *Winchcombe* in the Countie of *Gloucester*, being of his owne foundation. His wife was *Queene Elfyde*, the daughter (as some suppose) of *Offa*, who had beene betrothed to *Ethelbert* King of the *Engliss*, slaine by her father: by whom hee had issue, *Kennel*, *Quendred*, and *Burgenchild*, of whom more followeth.

Kennel, the sonne of King *Kennulf*, a childe of seven yeeres old, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, but not in the *Marches*, as his fathers had done, *Rebert* the *West-Saxon* at that time being grown great in his fortunes. This young King *Kennel* reigned only five moneths, and then by the ambitious desire of *Quendred* his sister, who seeking the government by the shedding of his guiltlesse blood, insigated one *Aethelric* his instructor, by promises of great preferments and rich rewards, to make him away, who only stood (as he thought) in her way to the Crowne. This wicked practise was forthwith as impiously performed: for having him forth vnder pretence of hun-

10.
An. Do. 716.
Ethelred.

His reign.

11.
An. Do. 718.
Offa.

His reign.

His wife.

His issue.

12.
An. Do. 796.
Ethelred,
Flaccard,
Flaccard,
Flaccard.

13.
An. Do. 797.
Kennulf.

His reign.

His wife.

His issue.

14.
An. Do. 819.
Kennel.

His reign.

Wynne,
Wynne,
Wynne.

His death.

Legend. Annot.
16171.

ting, he slew the innocent King, whose virtuous inclination promised great hopes, and whose harmless yeeres had not attained to any worldly guile. His bodie here secretly buried under a bush, and (if we will believe the *Golden Legend*, where his life is described) was thus found out: A white Dove (which belike had seen the deed done) and had got it ingroffed in a scrole of parchment, posted therewith to *S. Peter in Rome*, and upon the *High Altar* laid it to bee read, where in the *Saxon* characters thus it was found: In *Cheneles* had *Kenselme* *Kinsgar* his wifes thorne, becomen becomen: that is, *At Cheneles* in a *Cave* pasture *Kenselme* the *King's* childer both beheaded under a thorne. But most true it is, that an obscure sepulcher the body had at the first, and howsoever found out, was afterwards with great honour and ceremony translated to the *Monasterie* of *Winchester*, which his father had founded. The marvellous *Quembridge*, for griefe and shame of so wicked a snail, ended her life, without the attaining of her ambitious desire, and hath left her name indelible stained with his innocent blood.

Centulwulf, the brother of *Kenselwulf*, and vncle to this murdered young King, as his neere in blood was elected their *Gouernour* by the *Mercians*: but his glory was not great, nor his raigne long, being still disquieted by *Bernulf*, that sought his Crowne; and after some yeeres Regiment was expelled by his people, and left the flame to his purtier, abandoning the Countrey for the safety of his life. One daughter hee had, named *Ethelfleda*, who was the wife of *Ingward*, the sonne of *Witthke*, the substitute King of *Mercia*, and himselfe the last that held the *Mercian* Kingdome in a lineall succession.

Bernulf obtaining what hee so long desired, made himselfe King when *Centulwulf* was gone, and was the more approved for his valour in Armes, and the lesse resisted for his ancient descent, being sprung from *Offa*, a man reputed to be of the *Mercian* royall blood. But *Bernulf* perceiving the fortunes of *Eghert*, accounted those his happy successes to bee his owne shame, and by defiance challenged the *West-Saxons* to the field: which *Eghert* accepted, and upon *Ellendun* joined Battle with the *Mercians*, which was fought to the much losse of both their bloods. Notwithstanding at last the *West-Saxons* prevailed, *Bernulf* being forced to flee with shame. The *Raſt-Angles* that then had yielded to *Eghert*, and but lately before had felt the fury of *Bernulf*, thought the time fit to repay him againe, and therefore in warlike manner assaulted his Territories, where hee, in defending his Countrey against their attempts, was in a skirmish slaine, after he had reigned not fully three yeeres.

Ludecan then was chosen King of the *Mercians*, whose blood was not downe since their last losse, neither reuenge forgotten against the *Raſt-Angles*; and therefore the yeere following made strength (sufficient to their seeming) to meet these their enemies. But the State of *Heptarchie* now drawne to the period, and the supporters thereof weakened by their own diuisions, the fland declined to a present alteration, and gave place to a more absolute kind of Monarchy, that in *Eghert* the *West-Saxon* was now begun: who aiding the *Raſt-Angles* against the *Mercians*, *Ludecan* their King fought with no better successe then *Bernulf* before him had done; whose raigne lasted not fully 2. yeeres, nor his memoriall retained either in wife or issue.

Witthke, the sonne of *Offa*, the sonne of *Offa*, of the *Mercian* blood-royall, intruding himselfe (as it seemeth) into the gouernment of *Mercia*, was unexpectedly vanquished by *Eghert* the *Mercian* that had assumed from *Bernulf* that Kingdome before: him hee made his *Substitute* and *Tributarie*, who so continued to *Eghert* and his sonne the time of thirteene yeeres, leauing no other relation of his acts. His issue was *Wegmund*, the husband of Lady *Ethelfleda*, the daughter of *Centulwulf* King of *Mercia*, the parents of *Wulfstan* the Martyr, and of Lady *Ethelburg*, married to one *Ethelred* an Earle in the Province of *Lincolne*.

Bernulf upon the like composition of Tribute, and in the like termes of subjection to the *West-Saxon* soveraigntie, held the Kingdome of *Mercia* as a *Substitute*, and without any notable reports of his Acts, so reigned the space of thirteene yeeres. At this time the Sea rovers out of *Denmarke*, that had often infested this fland with their many lursions, got the head so strong, and wing so farre, euen to the middle part thereof, (as this of *Mercia* was) that they filled with terror the hearts of the Inhabitants, and stained the soile with the blood of their sides, which in a most barbarous crueltie daily they shed; whose rage was so great, and murders so vninfinite, that *Bernulf* was enforced to forsake the Countrey, and in a more private estate to secure his owne life. He had a sonne named *Berfred*, who was the cause of *Saet Wyllam* martyrdome.

Berfred, the last *Mercian* King, was thereunto deputed by *Ethelwulf* the *West-Saxon* Monarch, as a shield of defence against the raging *Danes*, that made desolations where they came. In continuall implemments against them he spent his time, and that with such noble resolutions and manhood, that *Ethelwulf* held him worthy of his alliance, and made him his sonne in law, by giving him Lady *Ethelfleda* his daughter to wife, the marriage being solemnized at *Chapbam* in *Wiltshire*, with great estate. This *Berfred* with *Ethelwulf*, warred against the *Britannes* with victorie, and he with *Alfred* compelled the *Danes* vnder the conduct of *Hanger* and *Fihla*, to dislodge from *Nottingham*, and depart the Province. Yet lastly after twenty two yeeres raigne, hee was so overlad with their daily importunities, that three of their Kings (as our Writers terme them) whose names were *Gudrun*, *Ethelred*, and *Amund*, winned at *Reignodon*, and fore wasted his Kingdome.

King *Berfred* at that time distressed, and himselfe notable to withstand their rage, with his wife *Queene Ethelfleda* fled the Realme, and the same yeere in *Rome* ended his life, and was buried in the Church of our Lady belonging to the *English College* there erected. His *Queene* in the habit of a *Nunne*, fiftene yeeres after his death, died at *Padua* in *Italie*, and was there honourably buried, the yeere of our Lord eight hundred eightie nine. And now the fallall circle of this Kingdome drawse to the full compassse, staid the hand of all glorious motion from proceeding any further, and with the losse of the rest fell vnder the gouernment of the *West-Saxon* after one yeeres usurpation of the *Danes*, when it had stood in state of a Kingdome the space of two hundred and two yeeres, and ended in title and regall authority, the yeere of *Christi* Incarnation eight hundred eighty six.

18.
An. Do. 826.
n. 49.

1618.
Joh. Saxon.

19.
An. Do. 839.
n. 49.



1618.
Joh. Saxon.
n. 49.

20.
An. Do. 851.



1618.
Joh. Saxon.
n. 49.

1618.
Joh. Saxon.
n. 49.

1618.
Joh. Saxon.
n. 49.

1618.
Joh. Saxon.
n. 49.

1618.
Joh. Saxon.
n. 49.

1618.
Joh. Saxon.
n. 49.

1618.
Joh. Saxon.
n. 49.



THE KINGDOME OF THE EAST-ANGLE, THE CIRCVIT OF THAT PROVINCE, WITH THE SVCCESION AND ACTS OF, THEIR KINGS, SO LONG AS IT STOOD IN THAT REGALL ESTATE, AND VNTILL IT WAS VNITED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.



CHAPTER XI.

The circvit of this Province.



he Counties (as we now call them) that were subiect to this *East-Angles* Kingdome, were *Suffolke*, *Norfoke*, *Cambridge-shire*, and the Ile of *Ely*. The bounds wherof were limited in this manner: the East and North sides were confined by the Ocean, the West, with Saint *Edmonds Ditch*, and the South altogether with *Essex*, and some part of *Hertfordshire*.

An. Do. 575. The first King of this East-Angles. A.D. 575. Chap. 11.

East-Angles called *Pfissa*.

Pfissa his genealogie.

An. Do. 583. The second King of the East-Angles. His reign.

Edwald, *Warre*.

An. Do. 593. The third King of this Kingdom. Chap. 11.

The first ruler of the title and State of this Kingdome, was a *Saxon* Captaine named *Pfissa*, about the yeere of Christs incarnation five hundred threentie yeere, whose renoume was such, that he gaue name not onely to that his aspired Dominion, but also from him, the Subiects thereof were a long time after called *Pfissians*: though lastly, it was reduced into the name and Kingdome of the *East-Angles*. This *Pfissa* (as *Florentius* the Monke of *Worcester* hath laid downe) was the sonne of *Witelm*, and he the sonne of *Hripin*, the sonne of *Retimund*, the sonne of *Trigilt*, the sonne of *Tithen*, the sonne of *Cafer*, the second sonne of Prince *Woden*. His reign is accounted only seven yeeres, without any mention of further matter, worthy the recording, and his death to haue hapned in the yeere five hundred eighty one.

Titalus, the second King of the *East-Angles*, and onely sonne of *Pfissa* that is read of, beganne his reign the yeere of Christs Incarnation, five hundred eighty three, & continued the same for the space of twenty yeeres. And although the Writers of these times haue made no further mention of his Acts, yet may we well suppose that his daies were not altogether so quietly spent, both in the infancy of that newly erected kingdom, and when such wars were commenced for the obtaining the whole land. His issue was *Redwald*, that immediately succeeded him, & from whom other Kings of that kingdom were lineally descended.

Redwald, the greatest of all the *East-Angles* Kings, succeeded his father *Titalus* in the Dominions of the *East-Angles*, and *Ethelbert* of *Kent* in the Monarchie of the *Saxons*. He received and favoured in his Court *Edwyn* with his wife in their Exiles, and assisted him against *Relisfrid* King of *Northumberland*, that sought his life, as before we haue shewed, and

hereafter in the succession of his Monarchy wee shall haue further occasion. He reigned Monarch eight yeeres, and King of the *East-Angles* thirty one (by the account and computation of the Table annexed to *Adamsbury*, and others of our *English* Writers) and died the yeere of our Saluation six hundred twenty three.

Egbert, the younger sonne of King *Redwald*, (whereby his elder brother being slaine in battell by *Relisfrid*, in the quarrell of distressed *Edwine*) succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of our Lord God six hundred twenty foure. He was the first King of that Province, that publickly professed the Christian Faith, which hee received at the friendly motion and zealous exhortation of King *Edwine* of *Northumberland*; but so much to the discontentment & grudge of the people, as thereupon they secretly entred into conspiracy to practise his death, which a Pagan Ruffian named *Richenbert*, not long after most traitorously executed. His reign is placed in the foresaid Table of our Writers, (as it is compared with the other Kings of those times) to extend twelue yeeres; after whose death, those people returned to their woored *Idolatry*, and for three yeeres continuance embraced their former *Gostly*, from which they were reclaimed by *Sigbert* his brother in law, who succeeded him in his Throne, hee hauing no issue, to whom it might be left.

Sigbert, the sonne of the second wife to *Redwald*, and by her born to a former husband, whose name is vnkowne, was greatly mistrusted by his Father in law, King *Redwald*, that he went about to aspire his Crowne: the motives of which suspicion, notwithstanding all the endeauours of innocent *Sigbert*, were still followed with an enuious eye, and his subiective semblances, as noyes of popularity, were euer conceiued to aime at the supreme authority: which blot of ielousie, when it could no otherwise bee wiped out, he abandoned the Court of the King, and Country of his birth, and in *France* as an exile, at the time of *Redwald* the Father, and likewise the reign of *Egbert*, the sonne, spent his time in study of good Literature, & contemplative exercises, where learning the truth of Christs Doctrine, and hauing received the lauer of *Baptisme*, after the death of this said *Egbert*, his allied Brother, returned, and was made King of the *East-Angles*.

This man (which *Adams* following the examples of

See more of him in Chap. 12. His reign.

An. Do. 624. The fourth King of this Kingdom.

The first of this Province that publickly professed Christ. *Adams* 593. *Adams* 593. *Adams* 593. The people turned Christ.

The King Ruled by a Traitor, His reign.

John Law.

The Subjects reclaimed by Sigbert.

An. Do. 636. The fifth King.

Sigbert succeeded at London & gained *Redwald*.

He spent more exile.

Adams 593. *Adams* 593.

Sigbert with the assistance of a Bishop, doth promote religion and learning.

Will. Lambert, in *Paroch. of Kent*.

St. Edmund and *St. Ecgfrid*.

Ethelred, *Angl.* *Edgfrid*.

Græstæfer.

Edelweith mention of *Græstæfer*, but not of a Schoole there.

The *Prætor* of *England*, known all other in *Europe*.

Sigbert referred to *Epist.* and *Life* in a *Monastery*.

He is contradicted to *Edmund* again, and is slain in *battle*.

Histog.

6. *An. Do. 638.* The first King *Penda* a cruel King of *Merca*, *Egfrid* and *Sigbert* both slain by *Penda*. His reign.

7. *An. D. 642.* The fourth King. *Edelweith*, *Angl.* *Edgfrid*, *Edgfrid* slain by *Penda*. His reign.

France, brought the light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and by the assistance of *Edelweith* Bishop of *Dunwich*, for a more firme plantation thereof, built a Schoole for the education of children, appointing them Schoole-masters and Teachers after the manner of the *Kentish-men*, who are supposed to have at that time the Liberal Sciences professed among them, in their *Metropolitane City Canterbury*, which was the pattern (saith that Countryes *Perambulator*) that this *Sigbert* followed in the erection of his; but whether at *Cambridge* or elsewhere, he leameth for *Doctor Caim* of *Cambridge*, and *M. Key* of *Oxford*, to be dispersed of. And indeed *Edelweith* notwithstanding the place for this foundation, nor once nameth *Cambridge*, unless you will say, that out of the ruins of *Græstæfer*, an ancient Cite decayed in his daies, the same arose, and whereof he maketh mention in his fourth Booke, upon this occasion as followeth.

Queene *Ethelred* (saith he) that had been a Virgin, wife to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland* the twelfth of twelve yeeres, and *Abbesse* of *Ely* for sixteen more, for her reputed holinesse after her death and buriall, was thought worthy by *Queen Seckburg* her sister (who had beene wife to *Egbert* King of *Kent*, and succeeded her *Abbesse* in the same Monastery) to be removed out of her wooden Tombe & meane place of buriall, into the Church and richer Moniment: but for want of stone, which was scarce in those parts, certaine brethren were sent to find some for that use, who coming to *Winton*, a little City left desolate and uninhabited, found by the walls a Tombe of white marble vaine faire, and covered with a like stone. This they thought to be found not without miracle, and therefore mooved to iourne the corps, which accordingly they did. But that this had beene the place of *Sigbert* Schoole, he mentioneth not. But whether by him or no, we know it now the other *University* of *England*, a feed-plot of all divine and humane *Literature*, and one of those Springs whence issue the wholesome waters that doe bedewe both the Church & Common-wealth, both, famous for the *Artis for Building*, and *Reverences*, as their like is not to be found in *Europe* (saith *Peter Martyr*) and that most truly. But to returne: *Sigbert* being wearied with the weighty affairs of this world, laid the burden thereof upon *Egfrid* his kinsman, and thore himselfe a Monk in the Abby of *Canterbury*, which himselfe had built, & wherein he lived, until that wicked *Penda*, the *Mercean* King, with his heathenish cruelty molested the peace of the *East-Angles* so long, that resistance, finding themselves too weak, besought *Sigbert*, for the better encouragement of their soldiers, to leue himselfe in field; which when he refused, by constraint (saith *Beda*) they drew him forth, where in the midst of them hee was slain in battle, vining no other weapon for defence, saving only a white wand; when hee had raigned only three yeeres, and left no issue to suruiue him, that is any where recorded.

Egbert, cousin to King *Sigbert*, and by him made King, as we have said, was fore molested by the continual inuasions of *Penda*, the cruell King of *Merca*, who laist in a few battles slew him with *Sigbert*, about the yeere of Christ his incarnation six hundred fifty two. And when himselfe had raigned 4. yeeres, deceased, without mentio either of wife or child, that is read of, further to reume his memory to posterities.

Anna succeeded King *Egbert* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of grace six hundred fortie two, as the next in blood to *Egbert*, being the sonne of *Guada*, saith *Beda*, the sonne of *Euf*, saith *Malmsbury*, who was brother to great *Redwald*; and both of them the sons of *Witow*, the second King of that Province. This King, as the other two former had done, felt the fury of raging *Penda*, with his mercelless *Mercean*, that fore assaulted his Territories with rapine and spoile. To withstand whose further proceedings, King *Anna* drew the strength of his *East-Angles* against them, and encountered *Penda* in a great and mortall battle, wherein they were all diucom-

ted and himselfe among them slain, when hee had raigned in continual trouble the space of thirteene yeeres. His issue were many, and those of great holinesse or sanctity of life. Whereof *Ferment* the eldest, and heire apparent, was slain by *Penda* in the same battle with his Father, and was with him buried in *Bildirburgh*, now *Bildirburgh*, but afterwards removed to *S. Edmundsbury*. His other sonne was *Erkmund*, Abbot of *Chertside*, and Bishoppe of *London*, that lieth buried in the South Ile, about the Quire in *S. Pauls* Church, where to this day remaineth a memoriall of him. His daughters were three; *Ethelred* the eldest, was first married to a Nobleman, whom *Beda* nameth *Tumbert*, Governor of the Fenny Countreies of *Notthfolke*, *Huntingdon*, *Lincolne*, and *Cambridge-shires*; and after his death remaining a virgin, she was married to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, with whom likewise she lived in perfect virginity the space of twelue yeeres, notwithstanding his intreaty and allurement to the contrary. From whom lastly, she was released, and had licence to depart his Coniugate, vnto the Abbey of *Coldingham*, where first she was vailed a Nunne vnder *Abbesse Etha*, and thence departing, she lived at *Ely*, and became her selfe *Abbesse* thereof, wherein lastly she died, and was interred; remembered vnto posterities by the name of *S. Andree*. His second daughter was *Seckburg*, who married *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, vnto whom she bare two sons, and two daughters, as we in that Kingdome succession have said: after whose death, she took the habit of a Nunne, and succeeded her sister *Ethelred*, *Abbesse* of *Ely*, wherein she died and was interred; and their youngest sister *Witwith*, was likewise a *Mercean* with them in the same Monastery, and all of them canonized for *Saintes*. *Ethelburg* his third daughter was made *Abbesse* of *Reyking*, neere *London*, built by her brother Bishop *Erkmund*, wherein she lived, and lastly died. A natural daughter likewise he had, whose name was *Edelweith*, that with *Seckburg* the daughter of his wife, were both of them professed Nunnnes, and succeeded each other *Abbesse* in the Monastery of *S. Briggis* in *France*. Such a reputed holinesse it was held in those daies, not only to be separated from the accompanying with men, wherunto women by God were created, but also to abandon the Country of their nativity, and as strangers in forraigne Lands, to spend the continuance of their liues.

Ethelred, the brother of *Anna*, the yeere of Christ his incarnation six hundred fifty foure, was made King of the *East-Angles*: the which it seemeth hee had attempted in the reign of his brother, for that hee had assisted *Penda* in his warres against him; and was the motive (saith *Beda*) of the warres against *Offa* King of *Northumberland*, in wherin siding with the heathen *Penda*, hee was worthily slain, the fifteenth day of *November*, when hee had raigned only two yeeres, leaving his name to the blot of infamy, and his Crowne to be possessed by his younger brother. His wife was *Herefrith* sister of *Hilda*, the famous learned *Abbesse* of *Streaneshale*, and great grand-child to *Edwyn* King of *Northumberland*, who bare vnto him *Aladulf*, *Ethelweith*, and *Egbert*, all three succeeding *Ethelred* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*.

Edwald the brother of *Ethelred* entered his government of the *East-Angles* the yeere of our Lord six hundred fifty sixe, and continued the same the space of nine yeeres, without either mention of any other memorable act: from whom (as is supposed) issued *Ethelred* that succeeded King after *Thorn*.

Aladulf, the eldest sonne of *Ethelred* and Queene *Herefrith*, after the death of his vncle King *Edwald*, obtained the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and therein raigned without any honour or honourable action by him performed: onely his name and time of his raigne, which was nineteene yeeres, is left of him by Writers: and affordeth no further relation of vs here to be inserted, besides his Coine here set.

Ethelweith the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and brother to this last mentioned *Aladulf*, began his raigne over

Anna slain in battle by *Penda*.

Anna his wife, his daughter, *Forment* being appointed.

Erkmund, Abbot of *Chertside*, and Bishop of *London*.

Ethelred Abbot of *Ely*.

Ethelburg Abbot of *Ely* after her sister.

Witwith a virgin in *Ely* Abbey.

Ethelburg Abbot of *Reyking*, neere *London*.

Ethelburg Abbot of *S. Briggis* in *France*.

8. *An. Do. 654* Ethelred the eighth King.

Edelweith, *Angl.* *Edgfrid*.

His reign.

None with the wife of *Ethelred*.

Three children.

9. *An. Do. 656* 10. *An. Do. 664*



11. *An. Do. 661*

A CATALOGVE OF SVCH BRITISH PRINCES AS WITHSTOOD THE SAXONS IN THEIR CONQUESTS FROM VORTIGERNE THEIR FIRST MAINTAINER, VNTO CADWALLADER THEIR LAST RESISTER.

CHAPTER XII.



Historie the Roman Empire.

The British Opinions.

Refusers of the Saxons.

NOW we have spoken of every fourth *Saxon* King, that assumed vnto, and held possession of any part in the East & South of this Island, vntill such time as their Crowns were worn by their Conquerors, and the tenfold diuided Heptarchy, vnited into an absolute Monarchy: so by order of History it is required, that their opposers (the *Britains*) so long as they kept their ground, and stood in defence of their owne rightful inheritance, should be shewed: who with as great a dilaine, and valorous resistance, vnder-went the yoke of the *Saxons* subiections, as their ancient Ancestors had endeuoured to cleere themselves from the chaines of the *Romans* captivity. And vntill God and destiny withdrew from them the hand of defence, they meted the *Saxons* in all their designs. For albeit that the *Romans* had robbed the Land of her strength, and the aspiring *Vortigern*, called in these Strangers for his defence: yet their purposes being wisely perceived, the execution thereof was as presently practised, and as eagerly pursued, whilst the pillars (that supported the frame of their gouernment) stood vpon their owne *Basis*. But the ground-work failing, and those props not many, the weight of all, fell vpon some few, whose acts and manly resistance (Christ assisting) shall further be related, as time shall bring them to the yeeres of their aduentures, and carry our History throuow the affaires of their times. Meane while, as we haue recorded the names of their Ancestors, and worthy fore-runners, the resisters of the *Romans*: so now if you

please, behold the Catalogue of their Kings, from the forefaid *Vortigern* (the last subdued by their *Saxons*) vnto *Cadwallader* the last of those *British* Princes, who left to them his Land, and went himself to Rome: whose times & stories, according to those Guides that lead vs, wee will declare, referring the credit thereof to our *British* Historians, against whom howsoever some exceptions are, and may be fully taken, yet are they not altogether to be cast off, as the affaires of these ensuing Princes, especially *Osbert* and *Ninian*, who liued in, and presently after the times of those resisters. Neither is it to be doubted, but that many others there were of that Nation, no lesse carefull for transferring the remembrance of their Ancestors actions to posteritie, (no Nation haing being more zealouslly deuoiced in that kinde,) though their writings haue in Times runnes bene buried, and their remembrances preferred onely by perpetuall of traditions, and although wee haue shewed the ancient Councels of the *Brittains*, and obscured a series throuow the *Romans* succession: yet be not offended, that I leaue onely Blanks for these latter Princes, as also the first *Saxons*, wanting the Monies of their owne severall Mintes.

Such therefore as I haue found of any Kings stamp, reigning whilst the Land was diuided and enioied vnto them, I haue in the margent of their remembrances affixed, with the Armes attributed to euerie severall kingdom: and hence will obserue the same order, without any inuention or fained inscription: which howsoever wee want to furnish their successions, yet this am I sure of, no Nation in *Europe* can shew the like, or can come to so true a series of their Soueraignes Coines, as *England* is able at this day to doe.

Vortigern the last and Cadwallader the last resister of the Saxons.

A Succession Series of Great Brittain Coines.

VORTIGERN. I.



Vortigern among the many molestations of the *Saxons* and *Picts*, was ordained the supreme Gouernor of

these affairs; and to that end, with the *Brittains* full consent was elected their King. For as touching that Monkish

Monkith *Constantine*, the sonne of *Constantius*, who is said to be the brother of *Alderman*, King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, sent for and made King by these *Britons*, whose simplicitie this *Portiger* is said to abuse, and lally to cause his murther and death; I rather thinke the storie to be the same that happened about fortie yeeres before, in the daies of *Marinus* the Emperour; wher *Constantine* among other Conspirators, was raised vpon a hopefull expectation conceived in his name.

This *Constantius* indeed had a sonne that bare his name, a man of a lost spirit, and no deepe reach, and therefore in his youth was made a Monk. But his Father risen to his aspiring honour, created him first his *Cesar*, and next *Augustus*, till Fortune turned those smiles into frownes, and stained their purple robes in both their own bloods. For not only the same names is doone this doubt, but the place, which was *Winchester*, and Abbey *Ampleforth*, where this Imperiall Monk was borne, doth not a little confirme the same; the remains of which Colledge, by that strong and thicke wall standing to this day at the West gate of that Cathedral Church, doth not a little confirme. But wanting better directions to our proceedings, we must follow for these times men of later yeeres, and not without some suspight of vncertaintie. The rather, for that the *Saxons* as then the chiefe Actors in this Land, have purposely concealed all Victors and victories against themselves; neither but sparingly have recorded their owne.

This *Portiger*, howeouer attaining the Crowne, was over-awed (with *Ninus*) by the *Pells Or-Sons*, blood-seare of the *Roman* forces, and detrad much the returne of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, with his brother *Pter*, famed *Pendragon*; and therefore wanting strenght of his owne to maintaine his standing, sent for the *Saxons*, as wee have said. He (with the *British Story*) was Earle of *Cornwall*, of an honourable Familie and noble descent, his

Lady every way answerable to both; by whom hee had three sonnes, *Portimer*, *Catigern*, and *Pastentus*. His second wife, or rather Concubine, (having call off this first) was *Armenia*, the daughter of *Blengis*, which Pagan marriage proued not only the bane of the Land, but so ruined the Church of Christianity, that a Prouinciall Councell of the *Britaines* was assembled in Ann. 470, to repaire those things that this marriage had decayed.

By this *Heathen Dumofell* he had a daughter, who (against the law of God and Nature) was his third wife, that *Kings* (as he pretended, so excuse his meell) might be descended from the right issue of *Kings*, vpon whom he begot his sad lamenting sonne *Fangine*, a vertuous Impe of those impious parents, that spent his life in a solitarie place neere to the Riuer *Lhyterrenny*, as wee haue said; who abandoning the companie of men, among those mountains serued God in continual teares and prayers, for remission of the fault committed in his incestuous generation, for the recalling of his parents to a better life, and for the restitution of his Country to her former libertie.

This *Portiger* reigned first sixtene yeeres, and then depouled for his fauours to the *Saxons*, was retained in durance all the raigne of *Portimer* his sonne, after whole death reestablished, but oppressed by his *Saxons* and purified by *Aurelius* he withdrew himselfe into *Wales*, and among those vast mountaines built a Cattle by *Mertion* direction, wherof we haue spoken, and more we would speake, were those fantastick fictions vnderlet with any props of likelihood or truth, which *Rand*, of *Chester* in his daies vicerly reiected.

In this Cattle, *Portiger* with his incestuous wife, after hee had secondly reigned the space of six yeeres, was conlamed to ashet, by the iust reuenging hand of God, by fire from heauen, as some haue written; or else kindled by *Aurelius* and *Pter*, as his Ministers to execute his wrath.

Portiger has
been driven by his
first wife.
Rand, *Anglus* b. 2.
cap. 4.
His second wife a
Heathen.

His third wife
was his owne
daughter.

Fangine the sonne
of *Portiger* by his
third wife.

Portiger how
long he reigned,
Portimer, *Cher*,
Portiger depouled
and supplanted
Gould.

He fled into
Wales.

Polyb b. 4. c. 11.

Portiger and his
wife destroyed by
fire from heauen,
New *York*,
Rand, *Anglus* b. 2.

VORTIMER. 2.



Vortimer, the eldest son of King *Portiger*, through the abuse of his fathers government, for which he was depouled by his owne subjects, was erected King of the *Britaines* the yeere from Christs birth 454. a man of great valour, which altogether bee imployed for the redresse of his Country, according to the testimonie of *William Malmesbury*, whose words are these: *Vortimer* (with hee) thinking not good to dissemble the matter, for that hee saw himselfe and Countrie daily surprisid by the craft of the *English*, for his full purpose to drine them out, and from the fourth yeere after their first entrance, for twenty yeeres continuance fought many Battles with them, and saued of them with great paine. Since in open field, in the first whereof, they departed with like fortune, and losse of the Generalls brethren *Harfa* and

Catigern: in the other three the *Britaines* went away with victorie, and so long until *Vortimer* was taken away by fatal death.

Huntington, *Monmouth*, *Randolph*, and *Falces*, name both the places and success of those Battles: The first was in *Kent*, and vpon the Plaine neere vnto *Aldford*, where the memorall of *Catigern* to this day remaineth, & *Harfa* fled doch as yet reliks of *Harfa* there interred. The second Battle was fought likewise in *Kent* at *Croasford*, now *Craford*, where many perished as well *Britaines* as *Saxons*. The third was at *Weppe's Fleet*, with great losse to the *Britaines*: and the fourth vpon *Calanor*, where many of the *Saxons*, after long and fore fight, were slaine, and more drowned in flight, and lally druen into the Ile of *Taney*, their first

The place of the
first battle.
Rand lib. 2. c. 15.

The place of the
second battle.

The place of the
third battle.
The place of the
fourth battle.

He hath beene
concealed all victo-
ries against
himselfe.

The conflict
Portiger leues,
and his sending
for the *Saxons*.

Rand lib. 2. cap. 14.

An. Do. 454.
Vortimer the
second sonne of
the *Saxons*.

Vortimer how
long he main-
tained warre
against the
Saxons.
Hee a chiefe
leader, and the
leader of the
first.

The *Seaxons* quite
dispossessed.

first assigned habitation, (if not over the Seas) so that
small hope rested for them so long as this valiant *Porti-*
mer lived, who had now dispossessed them of all
their footing in the Continent, and often assailed
them in the *Isle of Taneset* likewise, as *Fabian* con-
fidently affirmeth.

Portimer made
away by *Ravenna*.

Portimer the
consequence
of his valour,
Fabian, *Chon-*
per, & *Capby*.

Portimer re-
built his
King.

Ninias.

But destiny going forward for the downfall of *Brit-*
tain, remooed these rubbes out of her way: for
Ravenna, the mother of the *Brittaines* mischief, and the
maintainer of the *Saxons* residence, found the means
to make this worthy *Portimer* away, and by poison
crossed the end of his life, after hee had valiantly rai-
gned the space of foure yeeres, all which time, by the
testimonie of an old Chronicle that *Fabian* had scene,
Portimer the father remained in durance, and vnder
assigned Keepers to the Cite *Caerlegyn*, now *Chester*,
and so demeaned himselfe towards his sonne (then
his Sonneraigne) in dutifull obedience and faith-
full counsell, that hee worne againe the hearts of
the *Brittaines*, and was againe re-established their
King.

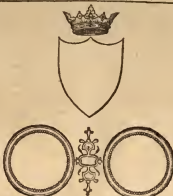
It is recorded by *Ninias*, that after his last victorie
over the *Saxons*, he caused his Monument to be ere-

cted at the entrance into *Taneset*, and in the same place
of that great overthrow, which by the said Author
is called *Lapis Tituli*, of vs the *Stemar*, where for cer-
taine it seemes hath been an haue. In this Monu-
ment hee commanded his body to be buried, to the
further terror of the *Saxons*, that in beholding this his
Trophy, their spirits might bee daunted at the re-
membrance of their great overthrow. As *Scipio Afri-*
cane conceived the like, who commanded his Sepul-
chre to be so fer, that it might overlooke *Africa*, (sup-
posing that his very Tombe would be a terror to the
Carthaginians. But how that desire of *Portimer* was
performed, I finde not, but rather the contrary: for an
old Manuscript I haue, that confidently affirmeth him
to be buried in *London*: yet others from *Ninias* the
disciple of *Elandugus*, hold the place to bee *Lincolne*.
But howsoever his graue is forgotten, yet let this bee
remembered, that *Sigebertus* hath written of him, that
is, after he had vanquished the *Saxons* (saith he) whose
drift was not only to ouer-runne the Land with violence,
but also to erect there some Lawes without clemencie, he re-
flected the Christian Religion then sorely decayed, and new
built the Churches that those enemies had destroyed.

Portimer his
monument the
Stemar.

Portimer suppo-
sed to be buried
in *London*.
Sigebertus.

AVRELIVS AMBROSIVS.



3.
An. Do. 466.
The third edition
of the *Britannica*.

Geoffrey *Ham-*

Isle *hills*, *Isle*, &
cap. 10.

Geoffrey *Ham-*
Isle.

Avrelivus Ambrosius, verily descended of that *Can-*
stantine who in the fourth Consallship of *Theodosius*
the younger, was elected here in *Britaine*, onely in
hope of this lucke name, succeeded *Portimer* the Fa-
ther in the Government of *Britaine*, and *Portimer* the
sonne, in affection and defence of his Country. He
with *Vier* (saith *Geoffrey* *Meremouth*) when their brother
Constantine was murdered by *Vortigern*, fled into
France, where they remained the yeeres of his first
raigne; whose returne (as we haue heard from *Ninias*)
he greatly feared, and whose force in his last he felt
to his limar. For haniog againe resumed his Crowne,
he liued in his old sinnes, and suffered the *Saxons* to
be Lords of his Land: to prevent which (saith *Beda*
from *Gylden*) the *Brittaines* by little and little beganne to
take strength, and with some courage to come forth of their
Cakes, who with one confessement, called to God for his
heavenly help. They had (saith he) for their Captaine a Ro-
man called *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a gentle natured man,
whose moety of all the blood of the *Romans* remained then
alive, his parents being *Slaves*, which bore the name of King
of the Country. This man being their Leader, provoked the
Victors to the fight, and through Gods assistance obtained
the victory. From that day forward now the *Brittaines* now
the *Saxons* did preuaile, until the yeere that *Batho* was be-
sieged, which was fiftie foure yeeres after their first com-
ing into the *Isle*.

His first expedition (as our British Historians re-
port) was against *Vortigern*, and his Caste in *Wales*,
wherein that inscruetious King was confumed to ashes

by lightning from heuena as we haue said: and then
following the *Saxons* made toward *Tyrke*, & at *Mas-*
bel beyond *Humber*, encountering *Hamfrid*, became his
Victor: vnto whose mercy (say they) his sonne *Ossa*
yielded himselfe, and obtained in free gift the Coun-
try in *Galloway* in *Scotland* for him and his *Saxons*. But
these his affaires thus prospering against the common
Enemie, was enuied at by *Pascentius*, the youngest son
of King *Vortigern*, who not able eather to mate the
Saxons, or after his Brethrens deaths to recouer the
Kingdome to himselfe, ambitiously fought to prefer
his base humor before the recovery of his Countries
libertie, which then lay gored in her owne blood. For
hauiog gotten the aid of *Gildmare* King of *Ireland*,
whether hee had fled vpon the death of his Father,
and now returned into the west of *Wales*, first dam-
aged the Cite of *S. Davids*, and thence proceeded
with fire and sword. *Aurelius* then sicke in the Cite
of *Winchester*, lent his brother *Vier* to withstand his
force, who slew both *Pascentius* and the Irish King his
partner, in a fer & fore battell fought betwix them.
But before this battell, *Pascentius* had sent a *Saxon*,
whose name was *Epa*, in shew a *Britaine*, and in habit
a Physician, to minister poison in stead of phylicke,
which according was effected with *Ambrosius* his
death.

Vnto this *Aurelius Ambrosius* is ascribed the cressi-
on of that rare and admirable monumene, now called
Stanhenge, in the same place where the *Brittaines* had
been treacherously slaughtered and iscerred, whose
manner

British *Isles*.

Aurelius *Amb-*
Isle.

The description
of the Monu-
ment of Stan-
bury.

manner and forme in our draught of *Wiltshire* wee have inferred. The matter being Stones of a great and huge bignesse, so that some of them continue twelve tunne in waighe, and twenty eight foote or more in length, their breadth seven, and compass sixteene. These are set in the ground of a good depth, and stand in a round circle by two and two, having a third stone somewhat of lesse quantitie laid gate-wise overthwart on their toppes, fastned with reasens and mortises, the one into the other; which to some seeme so dangerous, as they may not safely be passed vader, the rather for that many of them are fallen downe, and the rest suspected of no sure foundation: notwithstanding, at my being there, I neither saw cause of such feare, nor uncertaintie in accounting of their numbers, as is said to be. The stones are gray, but not marbled, wherein great holes are bitten even by force of weather, that serve for Ravens and other birds to build in, and bring forth their young. The ground-plot containeth about three hundred foote in compass, in forme almost round, or rather like unto a horse-shoe, with an entrance vpon the east-side. Three rowes of stones seeme formerly to have bene pitched, the largest outwards, and the least inwards; many whereof are now fallen downe: but those that stand, shew so faire an aspect, and that so farre off, that they seeme to the beholders to bee some Fortresse or strong Castle. A Trench also is about them, which hath bene much deeper; and vpon the plaines adjoining, many round copped hills, without any fack trench, (as it were cast vp out of the earth) stand like great hay-cockes in a plaine meadow: In these, and thereabouts, by digging have bene found peeces of ancient fashioned armour, with the bones of men, whose bodies were thus conected with earth that was brought thither by their well-willers and friends, even in their head-peeces, a token of love that then was used, as some imagine.

This Trophey, *Aurelius Ambrosius* (in memoriall of the Britains massacre) erected, and is worthily ac-

counted for one of the Wonders of this Island, and are in the verses of *Alexander Neckam* called *The Giants Danee*, wherein this *Ambrosius* was inserted after hee had raygned thirte two yeeres, and wherof the towne *Ambrosbury* beares the name. Others report, that the Britains erected this most lately Sepulcher over the body of *Ambrosius* there slaine by the sword of his enemies, that his Countreys loue, in such a costly peece of worke, might remaine vnto posterities in this, the *Altar of his vertue and manhood*: for *Paulus Diaconus* saith, that this man, in succouring his decayed Countreys, took upon him the Imperiall Robe, and against the violent rage of those German enemies, six times overthrew their puissant armies, but was lastly slaine by them vpon the *Plaines of Salisbury*. I cannot with silence let passe the ridiculous reports of the bringing of the Stones out of *Africke* into *Ireland*, and from thence, vnder the conduct of *Pter* the brother of *Ambrosius*, vnto this *Plan*, by the industrious meynes of *Merlin*, surnamed *Ambrosius*, borne in the ancient City *Aberdyn* and as *Humphrey Lloyd* saith, of a noble virgin, whose father, for his skill in the *Mathematicks*, and wonderful knowledge in all other kinde of learning, was by the rude common people reputed to be the sonne of an Incubus, or a male Diuell, which in the similitude and likeness of men doe use carnally to compass with women. But how this may agree with his diuine mouth, that telleth vs the Spirits haue neither flesh nor bones; and the whole Scriptures, that man is carnally begotten, conceived and borne, I leave for others further to dispute. Only I know, that such begettings as *Asterlines* is reported to be, without father, and *Simon Magus* also, that before him would needs be the sonne of a Virgin, doe not a little contradict our *Christian Profession*, who acknowledge onely the conception of *Christ* to be conceived without the seed of man, or of sinne. But to our purpose: *Ambrosius Aurelius* (by *Passenus* accounted the last Emperour of the British blood) is said to raygne in Britaine thirty two yeeres, and to die in that of *Christs* Incarnation foure hundred ninety seven.

Paulus Diaconus.

G. F. Monmouth, G. F. Lamb, G. F. Dore.

History of Britaine.

Luke 24. 39.

Clemens in his *Eclogues*.

Aurelius Ambrosius, the Conqueror of his rage.

VTER PENDRAGON 4.



An. Do. 498.
An. 498.

Vter, surnamed *Pendragon*, the brother of *Ambrosius* succeeded him both in valour, and in the Government of Britaine. His entrance was with troubles against the Saxons, who vnder the leading of *Eike* and *Olla*, the sonnes of King *Henrich*, had passed with spoile to the *Cisre Yorke*, whither this new-made Generall presently repaired, and gining them battell, with the discomfiture of the whole Army, tooke both the brethren prisoners, and committed them to safe custodie.

But the Britains (saith *Baronius*) becoming disloyall to their Prince, seldom assisted him with preuenting counsell: and the Prince enamored vpon the

Duke of *Cornwall* Wife, consulted more with *Asterline* to transforme himselfe from himselfe, then to giue direction against the common enemy. For coming to *Tindagel* Castle in *Cornwall*, possessed by *Gorlois*, Duke of that Province, beheld (in his eye) the *Pendragon* of Nature, which was *Lady Igron*, his Dutchesse and wife. *Pter*, whose thoughts till then had bin free, and from his childhood had euer followed *Chloris* in the field, was now surprised so far with her love, that his Shield and Armes were both neglected and vnworne, and all his thoughts set on worke to purchase his most wished desire; which lastly, by *Merline* and *Magick* was effected, and that after this manner (if we

Alex. Neckam, *Vter Pendragon* in love with *Lady Igron*.

Gaffrey Mon.

but as it seemeth, not any of ancient credit, so many
toies and tales hee every where interlatcht out of his
owne braine, where with hee was charged while him-
selfe lived, in so much as he is now ranged among those
Writers whom the *Roman Church* hath censured to be
forbidden.

This hurt therefore those over-zealous *Monks*
have done to the *Subiect* whereof they wrote, that
through an over-much conceived opinion, with the
virtue and fame of the person, they have mingled
such matters as may justly be reected, whereby their
worths are not only deprived of their truly-deserved
honours, but which more is, even their persons sus-
pected to be bought else but fictions, as *Hercules in Ovid*,
or *Heitor in Homer*. And so hath *Geffrey* done by this
most worthy *Prince Arthur*, whose warres against the
Saxons for defense of this *Island* he hath enlarged with
the Conquests of other Kingdoms and Countries,
wherein he neuer came: which hath made not onely
his Acts to be doubted of, but even his person to be
called in question, whether any such *Arthur* ever
ruled in *Britaine*. Yet with better regard to the *Rever-
end* of his spreading fame, we grant both the man, and
many honorable parts in him, though not in the like
manner as they have laid them downe. Neither are
we straid so farre from the steps of credulitie, that we
can beleue no more then wee see, or that seeing, bee
fore-balled with a preiudicate opinion: for though
we confent not to the fables of *Homer*, neither to the
inventions that *Esopides* and *Sophocles* made vpon the
Battles of Troy, yet we denie not but that there were
warres and Battles at *Troy*, wherein many Martiall acts
vndoubtedly were performed: neither doubt wee of
his person, as *Senecca* seemeth to doe of *Epistates*, but
acknowledge it with reverence for truth, yet with this
reservation, that all is not Gospell which is written in
Greece. And had there not bene a truth of things
whereupon Poets made their fables, there had bene
at this day no fables of Poets in the world. And as
Geffrey wondreth that neither *Gylden* nor *Beda* doe
mention *Arthur* nor his great deeds, so faith *Randol-
phus*, may we as *Geffrey*, that hath augmented them a-
bout the pitch of credulitie. But for the truth of this
Prince, besides a Charter exemplified vnder the seale
of *King Edward the Third*, wherein mention is made
of *King Arthur*, to have bene a great Benefactor to
the *Abbey of Glastenbury*, who as *Isabel Bayle* reporteth,
had giuen *Three* hundred and other *Demaines*, to the va-
lue of five hundred *Markes* yearly, to the said *Monas-
terie*. His *Armes* (being an *Efpee* and *horne*, whereon a *Crosse*,
with the *Virgin Mary* bearing *Christ* in her armes) cut
in stone, and standing ouer the first Gate of entrance
as yet, is said to be the *Armes* of that *Abbey*. And *Is-
op*, the iudicious *Monke of Exeter*, who followed
King Richard the First in his warre for the Conquest
of the *Holy Land*, in his poeticall verses extolleth *Ar-
thur* with *Alexander*, *Cesar*, and *Hercules*; yea and *Ni-
mus*, farre his ancient, calleth *Arthur* an *Iron* *Man* all that
both bruised and brake the *Lions* iawes asunder.

Therefore of his person we make no doubt, though
his acts have bene written with too laith a pen: nei-
ther confent we with those *Hijian* that naturalize
him for a *Britaine*, seeing that *Ninus*, *Beda*, *Malmes-
bury*, and himselfe seeme to speake the contrarie: for
Ambrosius being the brother of *Vter Pendragon*, as we
already from *Beda* have shewed, was a Captaine de-
scended from the blood of the *Romans*, whose parents
faith *Ninus*, had worne the *Purple Robe*, and both of
them the *Coronet of Constantine*, whose father in *Brit-
taine* against *Henricus* the Emperour had put on the
said *Robe*. And by his naturall descent from the *Ra-
mans*, *Arthur* not only denied them Tribute, but also
threatened to haue a Tribute from *Rome*: for in his
Letters to that end faine vnto the *Senate*, thus in an
old Manuscript we finde it indited: *I desire and among
you of Rome, that I am King Arthur of Britaine, and freely
at hand, and shall send, and at Rome highly will be, not to
give you tribute, but to haue tribute of you: for Constantine
that was an Emperour, and other of mine Ancestors con-*

quered Rome, and thereof were Emperours, and that they
had and held I shall haue your Goddes grace. Whereby
is manifest his blood was from the *Romans*. Let not
therefore any of our *Britaines* take exceptions against
me for this, neither that I enlarge not his family, by the
enlargement of his Empire in *Rusles*, *Lapland*, and in
making *Norway* his Chamber of *Britaine*, as if that
Kingdome and Title should be giuen him by the
Pope, that indeed cuts large thongs out of other mens
Leather: his Conquests of thirty Kingdomes, and kil-
ling of *Dracabus* the huge *Spanish Giant*, & his combat
with *Frula* Governor of *France*, and with *Lucius Hiber-
nus* the *Roman Legate*, whose blaine body hee beat to
the *Senate* for the tribute of *Britaine* by them deman-
ded: seeing that others before mee, farre more ripe
Historians, haue made both doubts and obiections
against them. And therefore I conclude with this *Ar-
thur*, as *Saint Augustine* with the *Athenians*, whose men
(saith he) were more greater in fame then in deeds. And
with *Ninus* will end with his saying, *Arthurus pugna-
bat contra illos in debui illis: & loci multi ipsi nobili-
tatis essent, ipse tamen audieritis Dux belis fuit, Vi-
ctique bellorum: Arthurus made warre against them in
those daies: and though many were more nobilitates be-
y, yet was hee twelve times General in the Field, and reu-
erend Conquerour*. But more constant is the memorie of
his death, and place of his burill, both which are re-
ported vpon warrantable credit: for *Matthew* the
sonne of *Lutke*, whereof wee haue spoken, affecting
the *Crown*, vpon a pretence of right from *King Peter*,
and supposed balladise of *Arthur*, gaue many at-
tempts, through the aid of his *Pitts*, and assistance of
the *Saxons*, to dispossesse him of that wherein he was
seated: and lastly at *Kamblen* or *Cambula* in *Cornuall*
(which *Ireland*) this *Brish* *Heitor* encountering *Maried*,
slew him out-right, and reuenged of him his owne death
wound. The witness of this Field as yet are those
peeces of Armour, horse-harness, and other habilli-
mentes of Warre, which are daily digged vp in tillage
of the ground: vnlesse those reliques of Battle bee the
seales of that fight which *Marianus* writeth to haue
bene in this place betwixt the *Britainers* and *Saxons*, in
the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and twenty.

If then it bee true that *Arthur* here died, this place
we may say seemeth to be consecrated vnto *Mars*: for
Tandagell aslie, standing hard by, first brought into
the world this glorious Prince, for one of her nine
Warthies, and *Cambula* againe receiued his last blood.
But from this place he was carried vnto *Glastenbury*;
in *Summer* *floure*, where he died the one and twentieth
of May, in the yeere of our Saluation five hundred
forty and two, after he had most victoriously reigned
twenty six yeeres. His body was there buried, and six
hundred yeeres after was taken vp, and found vpon
this occasion: When *Henry* the second, and first *His-
tagenes* had swaied the *English Scepter* to the last of his
raigne, it chanced him at *Penobroke* to beare sing to
the Harpe certaine Ditties of the worthy exploits and
acts of this *Arthur*, (by a *Welsh Bard*, as they were ter-
med, whose costume was to record and sing at their
Feasts the noble deeds of their Ancestours) wherein
mention was made of his death, and place of burill,
designing it to be in the Church-yard of *Glastenbury*,
and that betwixt two *Pyramides* therein standing:
whereupon *King Henry* gaue the ground to be dig-
ged, and at seven foot depth was found a huge broad
stone, wherein a ladden Crosse was filled, and in
that side that lay downward, in rude and barbarous
letters (as rudely set and contrived) this inscription
written vpon that side of the Lead that was towards
the stone:

HIC IACET SEPULTVS REX AR-
THVRVS IN INSULA AVALONIA.

Here lieth King *Arthur* buried in the Ile of *Avalonia*.
And digging nine foot deeper, his body was found in
the trunk of a Tree, the bones of great bignesse, and
in his skull perceiued ten wounds, the last very great,
and plainly seene. His Queene *Gineuore*, that had
bene neere kinswoman to *Cadur Duke of Cornuall*, a
Lady

Argyll de Cuth.
Dec. 10. 15.

* Camelford.

Marianus Tostatus.

Wel. Comm. Angl.
Glosses, Arthur the con-
tinuance of his
raigne.

Non (said S. S.)
Esopides
Sophocles.

Senecca in his
Epistles.

Isabel Bayle.

The Armes of
Arthur.

Isophus Monks.

Arthur on Iron
Man.

Ninus.
Constantine de ge-
to by Argyl.

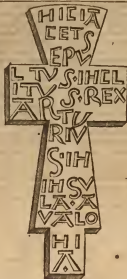
A manuscript full
of Esopides
depr. 14.

The reflex
of the eye
in a reflex
Singed up in an
old house were
Faded in Lining,
very beautiful
in their face
being married, was
nothing but dull.

Lady of passing beaurie lay likewise, by him, whose
tresses of haire finely platted, and in colour like the
gold, seemed perfect and whole vntill it was touched,
but then (bewraying what all beauties are) shewed it
selfe to be dull. *Geraldus Cambrensis*, a worthy Author
and an eye-witnesse, is the reporter of this finding of

Arthurs bones, and the Crosse of Lead, with the In-
scription, as it was found and taken off the stone, was
kept in the Treasure or Repository of *Glasfenbury*
Church, faith *Stowe*, till the suppression thereof in the
raigne of King *Henry* the eighth, whose forme and rude
letters we haue here exprest to thy sight.

John Iam.



Arthurs bones
recovered.

The bones of King *Arthur*, and of Queene *Guinevere* his wife, by the direction of *Henry de Blois*, Nephew to King *Henry* the second, and Abbot of *Glasfenbury*, at that present were translated into the great new Church, and there in a faire Tombe of Marble, his body was laid and his *Queens* at his feet, which

noble Monument among the fatal overthrowes of infinite more, was altogether rased at the dispose of some then in Commission, whose too forward zeale, and over hasty actions in these behalfes, hath left vnto vs a want of many truths, and cause to wish that some of their employments had bin better spent.

CONSTANTINE 6.



An. D. 542.

Brutus books.

Constantine the sonne of *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, and cosen to King *Arthur* by his alliance in marriage, at his death was appointed by him to succeed in his Dominions, and most iustly received of the Commons, as the man, in the opinion of this worthy elector and themelaces, accounted most fit to defend the Land from the many oppressions of the *Saxons*, who now beganne to sprede the wing as farre as to *Tyne* in the North and to let downe the limits of their

seuerall Kingdomes; which notwithstanding, these strangers daily enlarged vpon the home-bred Inhabitantes, the ciuill warres of the *Britaines* gnuing way to the same, and that not onely among themselves, but by the *Picts* also, in the behalfe of the two sonnes of *Mordred*, that sought to dispossesse him of the *Crown*. In which quarrel many battles were fought, but with such successe to the attemptors, that these two Competitors were forced for refuge into *London* and *Winchester*.

Golden
Age of Joseph.

In his Books De
22. des Engh.
Hem. Lloyd, &c.
Bec.

theſter, whither Conſtantine purſued them, they taking Sanctuaries in the Churches, and not farre from the Altars he ſlew them : for which deede, the Prieſt Gyltas, that flouriſhed in thoſe daies, in his much more reprehendiſh thus writeth : Britaine hath Kings (ſaith hee) but they are Tyrants : I judge it hath, but they are wicked, killing and burning the innocent people, wronging and defending, but whom ? Such as be guilty and robbers. They have many wives, yet breake they wedlocke : many times ſwearing, yet perjure themſelves : viewing but for the moſt part with diſſembliſh lies : warring, but ſtill maintaining civill and civil broiles : abroad purſuing themes, and yet at home overthrowing them, even at their own Tables, and ſometimes alſo reward them. They gave large almes indeed, yet heape they up ſinnes high as the Mountains. They ſit in the Seat of judgement, yet ſeldome ſeeke the rule of right judgement, deſpiſing the humble and innocent people, and exalting up to Heaven proud and bloudey Jewes, Thieves, and Adulterers, yea and if it would permit them, the very enemies of God. At any they keepe in priſon, and load them with wrongs, more to ſerve their own purpoſes, then for any guilt in the perſon taking ſolemn Oaths before God upon the Altars, and yet deſpiſe they the Altars, as altogether vile, and but ſtrike ſinners.

Of this heinous and wicked offence, Conſtantine, the true amical whelpe of the Lionneſſe of Deuonſhire is not ignorant, who this yeere, after the recovery of his dreadfull

Oath, whereby he bound himſelfe, that in no wife he ſhould hurt his Subjects, (God firſt, and then his Oath, with the company of Saints, and his own mother being preſent, did manfully ſtanding in the reverend lap of both his Mothers, the Church, and her by nature, and that under the veſture of an holy Abbat, denounce with ſword and ſpate, in ſtead of ſtrech, the tender ſides and the entrails of two children of noble and Kingly race, and likewiſe of their two Governours, yea and that (as I ſaid) before the ſacred Altars : the Armes of which Perſons ſuſtained, not ſtreched forth to defend themſelves with weapons (which few in thoſe daies handled more valiantly then they) but ſtreched forth to God, and to his Altar, on the day of judgement ſhall ſet up the reverend empires of their patience and faith as the Gates of the City of Chriſt, which ſo have covered the ſeat of the Celeſtiall Sacrifice, as it were with the red Mantle of their clattered blood.

Theſe things hee did not after any good deeds done by him deſerving praife : for many yeeres before were come with the often and changeable ſinns of adulterie, as I ſaying his lawfull wife (contrary to the Law of God) became not lawfull from the ſauces of his former ſinnes, hee increaſeth the new with the old. Thus ſaw Gyltas, for this time, and for the raigne of Conſtantine, whole life being no better, was cut off in battell by Aurelius Cananus, when he had raigned fully three yeeres, and without illuſe was buried at Stonebury.

Conſtantine
the great conſol-
braces.

AVRELIVS CONANVS. 7.



An. D. 145.
Mm. x. lxxv.

Aurelius Cananus, the Nephew of King Arthur, after he had ſlain his Cole Conſtantine in battell, was made King over the Brittaines in the yeere after Chriſti Natiuite five hundred thirtiſe five. He was of diſpoſition free and liberal, but therewithall of a light credit, and very ſuſpicious, cheriſhing them that accuſed others, without reſpect of right or wrong, putting ſome to death, and retaining others in perpetuall priſon, among whom his own Vnkle was one, whole two ſons he cauſed to be ſlain, no cauſes objected, but that theſe three were in raigne betwixt him & the Crowne: for which, and other the like impious parts, the ſaid Gyltas continueth the terrors of his vehement reprehension in this manner. And thou Lions whelpe (as ſpeaketh the Prophet) Aurelius Cananus, what doſt thou? art thou not ſuſtained up in the filthy mire of murdering thy Kingſmen, of committing fornications and adulteries, like to the others before mentioned, if not more deadly, as it were with the waves and furres of the direfull Sea, now whelming thee with her commodious rage? doſt thou not in hating the peace of thy Countrey, as a deadly Serpent, and thirſting after civill warres and ſqualls (ſeven times more

by gotten) ſhut up againſt thy ſoule the Gates of celeſtiall peace? Thou being left alone, as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I pray thee) the vaine yearfull fantaſie, and our timely deaths of thy Fathers and thy Brethren : ſhalt thou being ſet apart, and choſen forth of all thy lineage for thy godly deſires, be referred to live an hundred yeeres, or reſcued on earth till thou be as old as Methuſelah? nothing leſſe. And thus with exhortations for his amendment, turneth his ſpeech to his Succeſſor.

The raigne of this King, among the uncertainties of other proceedings, is ranged by our owne Hiſtorians, as uncertainly, is ranged by our owne Hiſtorians, as uncertainly. For ſome hold him to rule onely two yeeres, and no more, being then cut off by the juſt reuenging hand of God for his ſinnes : others allow three yeeres for his raigne, wherein, as they ſay, moſt viciously hee liued : and yet Matthew of Weſtmiſter will have him continue in government no leſſe then thirty yeeres; and John Stow addeth three more : ſuch extremes are we driven vnto, that haue our relations onlie from them.

Malice,
Liquor.

Cananus the con-
tinuance of his
tugue.

VORTIPORVS. 8.



9.
An. Do. 578.

Vortiporus, after the death of *Aurelius*, succeeded him in the Kingdome of the *Britaines*, which then was much scantied by the intrusions of the *Saxons* whom in many battels (as faith the British Historians) he vanquished, and valiantly defended his Land and Subjects, from the danger of them and of their Allies: notwithstanding these reported actions thus honorably attested, yea and his Parentage with succession of government, may be both suspected and justly called in question, as by the words of *Gyldas* is manifest; who suffered not this King also to passe untouched in his *Inuention* and lamentable passions. And thou (saith he) *Vortiporus* the Tyrant of South-wales, like to the Panther in manners and wickedness, diversly spotted, as it were with many colours, with thy haire head in the T brane full of deceipts, grafts, and wiles, and defiled even from the lowest part of thy body to the Crowne of thy head,

Gyldas.

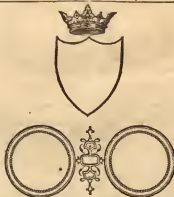
with diuers and sundry murders committed on thine own kin, and filly adulteries, thus proving the unworthy sonne of a good King, as *Manasse* was to *Isaacus*; how then canst it that the vilest of sinners, which thou swallowest up like pleasant wine, or rather art swallowed up by this (the end of thy life by little & little now drawing neere) cannot yet sacrifice thee what meanest thou, that with fornication, of all evils as it were the full heap, thou own wife being put away, with her death, which thou wroughtest, dost oppress thy soule with a certain burthen that cannot be avoided?

By this testimony of *Gyldas*, this *Vortiporus* could not be the sonne of bad *Canus*, as *Geffrey Monmouth* and *Matthew of Westminster* affirme him: his Father being compared to goodly *Ezechias* King of *Iudah*, and him self continuing his government, as is said the space of foure yeeres, ended his life without issue to succeed him.

2. King. 20. 31.

Vortiporus the continuance of his reign.

MALGO CANONVS. 9.



9.
An. D. 531.
Malgo Canonus.

Malgo Canonus, the Nephew of *Aurelius Canonus*, as some write, succeeded *Vortiporus* in the Kingdome of *Britaine*, a man of a most seemly presence, but withall, charged with many vnbecoming and foole finnes, by ancient *Gyldas*, the oonly recorder of the Actions in these times; who calleth him the Dragon of the Isles, greater in power then many, but exceeding all in mischief and malice; a large giuer, but more lauish and prodigall in all finnes and leuitiousness: in Armes and dominions more strong and greater then any other British Monarch; but stronger in the destruction of his owne soule, in committing the grand abhorred sinne of *Sodomie*.

In his youthfull daies, with sword and fire he brought to destruction his Father by the mothers side (being then king) together with many others, and after vpon a shew-ferme remorse of Conscience, vowed the profession and life of a Monk, but returned shortly after to his owne crimes, and became worse then he was before: for despoiling his first marriage, he became enamoured vpon the wife of his brothers sonne, whiles he was living; and after that he had kept her a certaine time, murdered them both. In these finnes he continued the terme of five yeeres, and dying without issue, left his Crowne to another.

By these reprehensions of *Gyldas* it should rather seeme

Malgo Canonus, the continuance of his reign.

seeme that these Princes liued all together at one and the same time, vnto whom hee spake personally, and mouth to mouth, which could not be, if such successions and such yeeres had beene expired, as heere is laiddowne. And therefore not without cause some haue affirmed, that these Captaines vsurped authoritie together in diuers parts of the Iland, and not successiually one after another; neither indeed as Kings, but rather Tyrantes, polluted with these greuous sinnes, as you haue heard, and are so termed by their own Historian, that bringeth 'one more to tyrannize, whom neither *Mormuth* nor bee of *Westmynster* hath spoken of, which is *Canneglasur*, whom hee calleth, a *Lion tawney Butcher*, a *Beare*, a *scourge of Religion*, an *Oppressour of the Clergie*, that fought against God with his many greuous sinnes, and warred vpon men with his martiall weapons. Hee (saith hee) did put away his lawfull wife, promiscued the gally with many concubines, was proudly conceited of his owne wisdom, and set his whole hope in con-

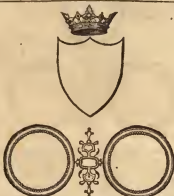
certaine riches. If then the head was so sick, could the body be sound, that (as *Beda* saith) were so set to breake all orders of truth and iustice, that scant any taken or remembered thereof remained? And for witness against them, calleth their owne Historian *Gyldas*, that accused them of many impieties, and this not the least, that those *Brittaines* neglected the preaching of the Gospel to the Saxons.

For these sinnes assuredly, God gaue their Land to another Nation, and themselves to exile, or to the sword of their enemies. Howsoever, some later *Britaine* hath rather excused their sinnes by the ouerrash zeale of *Gyldas*, whom he tearmeth a *Palpable Priest* (but no perfect Historian) that beat down sinnes with an ouer-thurpe censur of the sinners, as the manner of many Preachers is at this day. But (saith hee) let the true renewer of the *Brittaines* appeare to the world: and surely so shall it doe for me. And againe I returne to my intended purpose.

Beda hist. angl. lib. 1. cap. 22.

Non. Lloyd. Bre. lib. 1.

CARETICVS. 10.



10.
An. Do. 586.

Careticus succeeded *Malso* in the gouernment of *Britaine*, as destitute of vertue and fluent in vice, as any of these his preceeding Kings: for it is recorded that hee was a nourisher of dissensions, and sowed ciuill warres among his subiects; a sinne odible to God and Man, and vnto the vncoustant *Brittaines* gaue occasion of his hatred: which when the Saxons perceived, was further infligated, and with the assistance of *Gormund an Arch-pirate*, and Captaine of the *Norwegians*, followed against the King, who notable to resist them, fled into the Towne of *Chechester* for safety,

but by the deuice of his pursuers, certaine sparrows being caught, and fire fastned to their feet, were let flie into the Towne, where lighting vpon straw and other matter fit for flaming, burnt in short space the whole Citie, and *Careticus* flying beyond *Seuorne*, secured himselfe among the Mountains of *Wales*, wherein he died, after he had vnprofitably reigned three yeeres: and from that time forth (saith *Randolphus*) the *Brittaines* lost their whole Kingdome in the East part of the Iland, and were confined in the West by the Riuer *Seuorne* and *Doe*.

240. 241.

Careticus, the continuance of his reign. Polyh. lib. 5. cap. 6.

CADWAN. 11.



11.
An. Do. 563.

Cadwan, after foure and twenty yeeres ciuill dissension maintained among the *Brittaines*, ear since

they had forgone their Country, and betaken themselves to thole vau, but securing Mountains of a Ruler

w. Lathams.

Ruler only of *North-wales*, was made *Gouverneur* of all those parts, a man deterring well before hee came to that estate, and being risen, maintained himselfe and subjects in great honour and peace. His first affaires against the *Saxons*, was to revenge the deaths of his *Britaines*, and harmelesse *Monks* of *Bangor*, slaine (as we haue said) by wild *Ethelfrid*, the mighty King of *Northumberland*, who in Field had assembled all their powers, wherein the fallall end either of the *Britaines* or *North-wales* must needs haue ensued, had not the quarrell bene staid by the mediation of

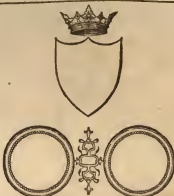
friends. These Kings, then, and there reconciled, embraced peace, with such true friendship, that they continued amitie together so long as they lived.

Harding saith, that this British King *Cadwan*, honourably received and worthily cherished *Arca*, whom this King *Ethelfrid* had put from his bed, for the loue he bare vnto his Concubine, but is deceiued in making her the mother of *Edwin*, that was his sister, and *Cadwan* to raigne but thirteen yeeres, whereas others allot him two and twentie.

Cadwan, the sonne of *Arca*, was the sonne of *Arca*, *John Harding*, *Chap. 92.*

Paulus Diaconus.

CADWALLO. 12.



12.
An. Do. 635.

John H. Angl.
Chap. 92.

Cadwall or *Cadwallin*, the sonne of *Cadwan*, was made King over the *Britaines*, the yeere of *Christis* Incarnation six hundred thirty five. He warred most strongly against the *Saxons*, and either by Conquest or Alliance iouined amitie with *Penda* the cruell King of the *Mercians*, a Pagan Idolater, himselfe by the report of *Beda*, although a *Christian* in name and profession, yet in minde and manners so rude and outrageous, that hee spared neither women nor childrens innocencie, but put all to death with greivous and bitter torments, so fulfild his cruell and vnmortall tyrannie, waiting a long time, and raging over the Provinces, purposed to exterminate out of the borders of Brittain the whole Nation of the *English*, and to extinguishe the very name of them. Neither did hee ought offeare any reuerence or homage to the *Christian Religion*, which those men embraced: so that when to this day (saith he) the *Brittaines* enquire it to be taught by the Faith or Religion of the *Englishmen*, neither will they communicate with them more then with *Heathens* or *Pagans*. These two cruell Kings slew the most Christian *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, with his sonne Prince *Osfride*, in a great and bloody battle at *Hatfield*, the yeere of *Christis* incarnation six hundred thirty three: and the yeere following, with wicked force (saith *Beda*) but with worthy vengeance, *Cadwall* the *Britaine* slew *Osfride* and *Edwin*, Kings of *Deira* and *Bermicia*, that were become Apostates from their *Christian Faith*, and that with crueltie and lust of the *Saxons*, in their owne *Wiltshire* held it fit wittier to mention their names in their monasticall Calendar, nor register the yeere wherein they were slaine, in account of their governments, but assigne it vnto the raigne of their Successor King *Osfride*, which was so abhorred vnto his daies, so terrible was this worthy *Cadwall*, and odious the remembrance of the unfortunate Battle. And this cruell Captaine (saith he) ended not this felicitie long, for the said *Osfride*, to revenge his brothers death, came with a small power, but strongly fortified in the faith of *Christ*, and nere to the River *Densie* gave him battle, wherein himselfe and late-villanous *Heph* were all slaine and commended.

John H. Angl.
Chap. 92.

But we must remember that *Beda* was a *Saxon*, in whose behalfe his penne hath somewhat passed the

bounds of equitie (if not veritie) in charging this most valiant Conqueror with tyranny, and his Martiall Sword with crueltie, that was drawne and strooke in defence of his native Country, wherein the *Saxons* claime stood only vpon vsult intrusion. So likewise himselfe being a *Monke* and *Priest*, bath euery where blamed the *Brittaines* for dissembling from the *Roman Church*, in celebration of Easter and other Ceremonies, whereas in doctrine they were as sincere, which is the true substance of the Gospell. But the *Brittaines* record that this valiant *Cadwall* died not in *Heaven*, neither by the hand of King *Osfride*, but that he raigned in great honour the space of eight and fortie yeeres, and in peace died a 20th of *November* in the yeere of *Christ* Iesus six hundred seuentie seuen. His body the *Brittaines* buried in *S. Marins Church* in *London*, nere *Ludgate*; whose Image great and terrible, triumphantly riding on horsebacke, being artificially call of *Brasse*, they placed vpon the same *VVitch* gate, to the further feare and terror of the *Saxons*, as *Forster* before had commanded his at *Stonor*. But this relation, as also that he married the sister of King *Penda*, as my often named Manuscript reporteth, I leave to the best liking of my Reader.

About this time the most blasphemous doctrine of *Mahomet* began to infect all the Easterne World. For although himselfe liued some nine yeeres before the government of this *Cadwall*, yet presently after his death his doctrine was more publicly embraced. He was borne in *Arabia*, of a poore and base stocke, and being fatherlesse, was sold for a bondslave vnto an *Ismaelite*, whose name was *Abdennaples*, a man of exceeding great riches, and in great trade of merchandizing, and *Mahomet* for his subtiltie in wit, was his fix instrument, and greatly in his fauor. The Master dying, left *Mahomet* his chiefe Factor, who having great riches in his keeping, married his Maistris, and so became heire of all; with whom comforted one *Sergius* a *Monke*, which for heretie was fled into *Arabia*, who instructed *Mahomet* in the heresie of the *Nestorians*, and now for his wealth and Magicall Arts, wherewith hee bewitched the minds of the people, assumed

Griffiths.

Cadwall on *Col.*
in the continuation of his reign.

affirmed to himselfe the name of the great Prophet of God, and began to be famoolly published for the doctrine which he taught: the which was none other but a confuted *Chaos* of all the heresies that had been before him; for with the *Sabellians* he denied the Trinitie; with the *Manichees* he affirmed but two persons to bee in the Deity; with *Zenonius*, hee denied the equalitye of the Father and the Sonne; and with *Macdonus*, taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature. He borrowed of the *Jewes* Circumcision; of the *Nicholaites*, pluralities of wives; and of the *Gentiles*, much

Superstition; and more to cloake his diuellish inuented fantasies, somewhat he tooke from the veritie of the Gospell. Of these he compounded he deuised a Law, and wrote this his Religion in the booke called his *Aleatrum*; and those his Professors he named *Saracenes*, from *Sara* the wife of *Abraham*.

Hee died of the falling sicknesse, which long time hee had dissembled, dying forthwith after his trances, that the Angell *Gabriel* had conference with him, the brightnesse of whose glorie hee could not behold.

An. Do. 625.

CADWALLADER. 13.

13.
An. Do. 685.

Goffrey Mon.

Cadwallader, the sonne of *Cadwallo*, and last King of the *Britaines*, after the death of his Father, succeeded him in his dominions, and with great valour fought against the *Saxons*, as hee of *Monmouth* affirmeth, of whom here he speak in his owne words. *Cadwallader* (saith he) raising christians the time of twelve yeeres fell lastly into a dangerous sickness, with desire of recovery, and unable to govern. Much debate and strife arose among his great Lords, and others of high estate, insomuch that they warred each against others, to the no small annoyance and detriment of the whole Country. At which very time likewise, so great a dearth of corne and victuall raigned, that herbes and roots were the Commons chiefest sustenance: whole third calamitie was mortalitie and pestilence, raising so fore, and so suddenly, that in their eating, drinking, walking, and speaking, they were surprised with death, and in such number, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead; which miseries lasted no lesse then eleven yeeres continuance, whereby the Land became desolate, and brought forth no fruit at all, insomuch that the King and many of his Nobles were driven to forsake their native Country, and to seeke reliefe in forraigne parts. *Cadwallader* repaired to the Court of *Alan* his cousin, the King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, where he was honourably received and maintained.

But now the Angell of God sheathing his sword from blugher, and the earth answering man againe with her former abundance, those *Saxons* that were escaped, sent for more of their Nation to their further supplie, who replenished the Cities, and manored the Countrey, at this day called *Lhoyger*, containing all the Land that lay oo the East of *Saewone* and *Dre*, dispossessioning the poore *Britaines* of their rightfull inheritance, and diuiding their Lands vnto their owne vie. *Cadwallader* hearing of this daily attuage, and their vniuit intrusion vpon his home-bred subjects, minded their redresse by his precise retoutne, and to that end had wrought King *Alan* for his succour & assistance. But see how it chanced: He being now ready to imbarke his Host, and to hoist vp his laides for *Britaine*, and in the silent night

much spent in prayer & supplication, that God would prosper with good successe these his great affaires, behold an Angell appeared to him, or at least wile to his seeming he heard a voice, that forbade him the enterprise, declaring that it was oot Gods will that hee should vndergoe that Voiage, or that the *Britaines* should rule their Land any longer; but contrariwise bade he him to *Rome*, and of *Pope Sergius* receive the habit of Religion, wherein hee should die, and rest in peace.

This dreame (for I hold it no other) being told vnto *Alan*, search was made into the Bookes of both the *Merlines*, as also into the speech of the *Eagle* at *Shifisbury*, pronounced eight hundred and eighty yeeres before the birth of our Sauour Christ (if wee doe beleue these to be true) wherein it was prophesied forthwith, that the *Britaines* should lose their Kingdome, and that the same should be possessed of others, vntill the time that the bones of *Cadwallader* should be brought from *Rome*. By such toyes and illusions in those daies of darknesse, the euer-crying minds of men were content to be lead: for not only *Cadwallader*, a quiet and meeke-spirited man, was possessed with this conceit, that it came vnto him by a diuine prouidence, but also King *Alan* perswaded him to obey his Oracle; and thereupon preparing for his Pilgrimage, gave ouer his expedition for *Britaine*, and left his distressed Subjects to be ouer-runne by strangers, and the Land to be emioied by a forraigne Nation: and receiving the habit of seeming Religion at the hands of *Pope Sergius*, died soone after in the yeere of our Lord six hundred eighty nine, and there was buried in *S. Peters Church*, being the last King of the *Britaines* blood, after they had held possession therof the space of one thousand one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres before the Nativitie of Christ, and six hundred eighty eight yeeres after his Birth, as the Chronicle of *Irlande*, with other *Britaine* Writers, haue calculated, though (as is said) after the largest size. But howsoever this sudden alteration was wrought in *Cadwallader*, yet whiles he continued a King in health, hee reigned (saith *Goffrey*) in great magnanimitie, the

D. P. 1000. Chm.
1774. 1000.

*Ca. in a later, the
continuance of
his reign.*

*Edw. in a later,
ib. 4. cap. 18.*

Cap. 15.

*Edw. in a later,
ib. 4. cap. 17.*

terme of three yeeres, and fought many Battles against the *Saxons*, whose sword was cut sheathed with vi-
dor, for *Lathaire* King of *Kent* he slew in the Field, and *Edithwath* also King of the *South-Saxons*, with the
ruine of his Country, as the *British Historians* report, and would have it.

But *Beda*, unto whom more credit is heerein to be
giuen, telleth vs, that *Lathaire* was slaine by *Edrik*, his
Nephew and Successour, declaring the manner and
day of his death, and that *Ceadwalla*, a young man of
the *West-Saxons* blond royall, being banished from a-
mong them, fell vpon the *South-Saxons*, hurrying the
Coantry and killing their King. But afterwards la-
menting the blood he had spilt, whereat even Nature
her selfe seemed to bee offended, in great repentance
abandoned his Kingdome, and pilgrim-like went va-
to *Rome*, where of *Pope Sergius* he was baptized vpon
Easter Euen, the yeere from *Christs* Natourie six hun-
dred eightie nine. The times thus agreeing, their
names to neere their denotations alike, *Sergius* the same
ghostly father to both, their sepulchers in one and the

same Church, doe strongly confirme that they both
were the same and one only man, as we formerly haue
said. But with this man *Cadwalader*, where soeuer he
died, lay buried the last blood of their Kings, their go-
uernment, and immediatly the very Name of *Brit-
taine*, for many hundred yeeres ensuing, as in the
sequell of this Historie (*Christ assisting*) shall bee
shewed.

And now at last, according to my first intendment,
I am come to speake of the iaccesion of *Great Bri-
taine* *Monarches*, from which (vpon the fore-shewed
occasions of the *Islands* diuision, the *Saxons* posses-
sions, and these *Britaine* Residues) I haue heere ouer-
long staid, and am forced to returne againe to King
Hengist, the first of the *Saxons*, that I may shew their
succeeding succession in this *English Monarchy*: where-
in of necessitie I must desire the patience of my Rea-
der, if some things be againe touched that formerly
haue beene spoken, the Matter of Historie so much
requiring, and the Method that to my proceeding I
haue herein proposed, enforcing it.



THE SAXONS SVCCSSIONS IN THE MONARCHY OF GREAT BRI- TAINE, WHEREOF HENGIST THE FIRST KING OF KENT BECAME THE FIRST MO- NARCH OF THE ENG- LISHMEN.



CHAPTER XIII.



riual, he began his Kingdome in *Kent* 38. hauing for-
feited his son in law King *Portigern*, slaine his *Britaine*,
and seized into his possession the best of the Island, he
laid the foundation of a Monarchy, and deserueth to
be reputed the first Monarch of the *English Nation*.

(1) He (as all the *Saxon Kings* besides) doth claime

Hengist, a Prince of the *Eng-
lish-Saxons*, hauing the
Command ouer certaine
forces planted in the Low-
countries of *Germany*, in
the yeere of *Christs* Incar-
nation foure hundred and
fiftie, transported them
ouer into *Britaine*, where
the fiftie yeere after his ar-

his originall from Prince *Woden*, and his wife *Fris*,
by *Woden* the eldest of their seven sonnes, being the
fifth in issue from them; as thus: Himselfe was the
sonne of *Witigod*, who was the sonne of *Wittha*, and he
the sonne of *Woden*, the eldest sonne of the Deified
Woden.

This Prince held the sapreme Scepter of this Island
for thirty foure yeeres continuance, and therein died
honorably, with *Marienus Sentus*. But *Peter de Blois*,
Polidore, and others say, that he was slaine in battell,
or elfe taken by *Edol*, Earle of *Gloucester*, and beheaded at
Cornthorow. He left issue behind him two sonnes
and one daughter, whose names were *Harwaker*, *Eike*,
and *Ravena*.

(1) *Harwaker* his eldest sonne, is reported by *Pe-
trus Abbotus* of *Wittenberg*, a great Genealogist and
Historio-

Peter. Abbot.

*Hengist, how
long he reigned.*

*Maria Sent.
Peter. Polidore.*

*Gregory Mon.
Polidore Virgil.*

Petrus Abbotus.

*An. Do. 450.
Edw.
H. in a later.*

Historiographer also to be Duke of the Saxons in Germany, and there left to gouerne the people at his Fathers departure for Britaine. And if *Althaus* authority be sufficient, he was the Father of Duke *Harwegat*, and grandfather of *Hilderik* King of the Saxons, ancestor to the valiant *Witkindus*, the principall progenitor of the most noble Familie of the Dukes of Saxony.

(4) *Etha*, the second sonne of King *Hengist*, came over with his Father into Britaine, and was his assistance in all his warres, wherein he gave worthy testimonie of his valour: whose Kingdome of Kent after his death be enoyed, and gave name to that Countrey Inhabitants, who were from him called *Ethlings*, over whom he reigned peaceably twenty yeeres.

(5) *Regena*, the daughter of King *Hengist*, was borne in Germany before her Fathers departure, and afterwards sent for by him into Britaine, to further his designs. At whose surpasing beautie and feature

Farigera so viciously gazed, that he put from him his lawfull and loving wife, to enjoy the pleasures of her Paganish bed, and to the great decay of Christianity, and griefe of the Nobilitie, she became the Kings second wife, and the principall cause of the Lands destruction. By her he had a daughter, who contrary to all lawes either of God or man, was likewise his third wife; by whom he had issue *Faulsa*, that as veruoually spent the daies of his life, as he was incestuously begotten in that wicked bed.

This *Regena*, whom some call *Ranica*, by *Florus* is accounted the Neece and not the Daughter of *Hengist*. But seeing his opinion is grounded vpon the youth of *Hengist*; as not sufficient in yeeres to haue a daughter so marriagable, I rather thinke and hold this bare testimonie vnable to turne the great stream of other Writers out of their vsuall coultie and received channel.

Florus.

He is high, strong, like a tree, his eyes like a hawk, his hair long.



ELLA THE FIRST KING OF THE SOUTH-SAXONS, AND SECOND MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Ells, Monar.



CHAPTER XIV.

An. D. 581. Bede. lib. 1. c. 15.



Ells a noble Saxon, being sent for by King *Hengist*, about the three and twentieth yeere of his reigne, brought a fresh supply of those Germans to the reliefe of his Countymen, who with his forces landed at the haven now called *Shurchein* in Suffex, where putting backe the Inhabitants in many skirmishes, lastly chased them into a great wood then called *Andredesforde*, whence often being assailed by the sudden assaults of the Britaines, wherch, as may be thought, he lost the liues of his two elder sonnes, was so hardly beset, that he sent for more aid of his Saxons, who came to his supply.

(2) His strength thus augmented, and ambition still increased, he fought three cruell and bloody battles, but the last of them most fauill against the Britaines, in the place then called *Marston*, being the ancient and famous City *Andred-Chester* situated in the said great forest, and chiefe defensible

fortresse in all those Southern parts, intercepted the Britaine that came to their reliefe, and cutting the same by an assault, put to the sword all that were found within it. After which great losse, the Britaines sought rather to provide for their owne safety by flying into desert places, then by making open resistance to procure their owne or apparant destruction.

(3) *Ells* in this state continued the time of five yeeres before he assumed the name of King, or the liming of that Province assigned vnder his gouernment, but then without any shew of resistance laid the foundation of this Kingdome, which was the second of the Saxons; and as *Hengist* held Kent so he had *Suffex* and *Surrey* for his Possession, wherein for six yeeres space with *Hengist* he liued, and that with such approbation of valour as that after his death he became the second Saxon Monarch of the Englishmen, in the yeere of grace 588.

(4) He is said to be the elder sonne of *Osa*, whose genealogie *Florus* of Worcester thus deriuech: *Osa* (saith he) was the sonne of *Eberbert*, and he the sonne of *Ingenat*, who was the sonne of *Angeniat*, whose father was *Alaga*, the sonne of *Ingerand*, the same

An. Do. 488.

Ells, how long he reigned.

Florus, Wigorn.

Mass. Wigorn.

Florus, Wigorn.

of *Weybrand*, the sonne of *Berna*, the sonne of *Bernar*, the elder sonne of *Brand*, the sonne of *Bealdeg*, the sixth sonne of prince *Woden* and of Lady *Fria* his wife.

(5) His issue were *Kymen*, *Fleorling*, and *Cissa*, three valiant sonnes, that came oner with him, and assisted him in his enterprises for *Britaine*. From *Kymen*, the port wherein they arrived, was called *Kymenbore*; by the *Britaines*, *Caneujsure*, which time and seas hath both shortened and altered: and now is it called *Shereham*, a well knowne haven in *Sussex*. This Prince came to his grave before his Father, either by the stroke of warres, or by the course of nature, without farther mention of his acts, and his succellion, cut off by his death.

(6) *Fleorling* his second sonne, was borne vnto him in the Lowe countries of *Germany*, and with his brethren assisted his Father to the attaining of the *South-Saxons* Crowne; but being cut off by vniuely death, whether by the hand of the enemy, or by natures ap-

pointment, is vncertaine.

(7) The youngest sonne of king *Ella*, was *Cissa*, whom death spared to liue a long life; but faine as spiring to adorne it with memory of his acts: sue nothing of him is left memorabile, besides the building of *Chichester*. Fortune indeed let his fathers Crowne on his head, but kept the Imperiall Diademe in her owne hand, to adorne the head of a worthier bearer, which was *Cherdik* the *West-Saxon*, vnto whom *Cissa* gaue yeerely contribution, to secure him from the *Britaines*, as before and after hath been, and shall bee shewed.

(8) This *Ella* his entrance and crection of his Kingdome, for time is vncertaine; but his raigne therein, as also in his Monarchie, is more certaine knowne: for hee was King of the *South-Saxons* the space of thirty two yeeres, and Monarch of the *English-men* six and twenty, dying in the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation five hundred and fouretee, which was the thirty sixth after his first arrival into *Britaine*.

CHERDIK THE FIRST KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XV.



He *Saxons* Sunne, thus risen and high ascended vpon the South of *Britaine*, began now to spreade his beams towards the *West*, for *Kent* being quietly possessed by King *Ethe*, and *South-Saxia*, with all the subdued, at the dispose of great *Ella*, *Cherdik* a valiant Captaine of the Low Country *German*, thoughte him selfe as sufficient in warres, and as able to reach at, to weare, and to weld a Crowne of *Estate*, as either of them that had so done before him: and seeing that *Britaine* was now the feede-plot for *Diadems*, let his affection and preparation that way.

(2) He with his forces entred in the West of that Island, where he in his first battell so daunted the *Inhabitants*, that apparit signes of approaching glory were

added to his aspiring hopes: for therein hee slew *Natansted*, otherwile called *Nataland*, a mighty King of the *Britaines*, whereby an easie entrance was laid open to his desired Empire, and a more easie warre left to his posteritie. This battell chanced about the yeere of *Christ* Iesus five hundred and eight, and was fought in the region of *Natansted*, (which Country bare the name of the King) and neere vnto a brooke of water in the West of *Hampshire*, which from *Cherdik* began to be called *Cherdik-ford*, where now a Towne of the same name standeth, but by contraction and shortnesse of speech is called *Cherford*.

(3) *Fleorling* of *Worcester*, the *Saxons* *Centalogist* (as I may well terme him) bringeth this *Cherdik* (as he doth the rest of the *Saxon* Kings) from the ancient Prince *Woden*, and that in this manner: *Cherdik* (first, he) was the sonne of *Elyfing*, and hee the sonne of *Ella*, the sonne of *Gorsius*, the sonne of *Wigga*, the sonne of *Friarix*, the sonne of *Friedegar*, the brother of *Berna*, the progenitor of *Ida* the first King of *Bernicia*, and both

1771. Mchub.

Flord. 1776.

See Chap. 4.

Cherdk.

1771. Mchub.

1771. Mchub.

1.
An. Do. 495.

1771. Mchub.

both of them the sonnes of *Brand*, the sonne of *Bealdeg*, the fift sonne of the foresaid *Woden*.

(4) In the seventh yeere of *Ella* his Monarchie, was his marriage, and six yeeres after hee beganne his Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, leaving himselfe and foundation thereof betwixt the *Britains* and the *South-Saxons*, for whole further securitie, *Cissa* King of that Province, gave him an yeerly contribution towards the maintenance of his charge in warr, wherein hee got such reputation, that after the death of *Ella*, and the thirteenth of his owne raigne, hee assumed the Monarchie unto himselfe, and was both the first King of the *West-Saxons*, and the third Monarch of the *Englismen*, wherein he continued the space of twentie one yeeres, and deceased in the yeere of our Lord five

hundred thirty five, being the three and thurteeth of his Kingdome, and the fortieth after his first arrivall.

(5) His issue were two sonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chetwasse*: the one immediately, and the issue of the other collaterally attained to the same possession and title that *Chetwasse* heere first had.

(6) *Chetwasse* his second sonnes for of *Kenrik* the eldest wee are hereafter to speake) hath little mention made among our writers: more then that hee was the Ancestour of *Etkin* the eight King of the *West-Saxons*, that is to say, the father to *Kenfrid* the father of *Kenfr*, which *Kenfr* had issue the said *Etkin*, who was the Successor of king *Kenwall*, and predecessor of King *Kenwin* in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*.

Chetwasse here long he raigned.

See chap. 7.

KENRIK THE SECOND KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Kenrik.



CHAPTER XVI.

1. An. D. 534.

342. 577. 581.



Kenrik, the eldest sonne of King *Chetwasse* (as is said) being borne in *Germany*, and following his father into *Britaine*, valiantly served vnder him, as well in the Battle fought against King *Nathaneld*, the first day of his marriage, as in other battles against the *Britains* in other places, namely, at *Cherid-sard*, *Cheridley*, and in the Conquest of the *Isle of Wight*. Immediately vpon the death of his Father, he succeeded in his whole dominions, and was ordained the second King of the *West-Saxons*, and the fourth Monarch of the *Englismen*, beginning his raigne ouer both at one and the same time, the yeere of Christ his Natinitie five hundred thirty foure.

(2) And enlarging his confines vpon the Territories of the *Britains*, gave them two great overthrowes, the one at *Sturbery* in *Wilt-shire*, and the other at *Banbury* in *Oxford-shire*, which was fought the two and twentieth of his raigne, whereby his fame grew more renowned, and his Kingdome in more quiet after. He raigned the space of twenty six yeeres, and left this life in the yeere of our Lord God five hundred lxxxij.

(3) He had issue three sonnes, *Chetwine*, *Cuthwasse*, and *Cuth*. *Chetwine* the first, succeeded his father in the Monarchie, and *West-Saxons* Kingdome.

(4) *Cuthwasse*, the second, assisted his brother in many victories, as presently in his raigne shall follow. And *Cuth*, the third brother, famous in his issue, though mentionlesse for action in himselfe, whereof more largely hath beene spoken in the raigne of *Kenrik*, as he was King only of the *West-Saxons*.

An. D. 556.

Kenrik here long he raigned.

In Chap. 7. Sect. 2.

Chevaline.

CHEVLIN THE THIRD KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND FIFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XVII.

Aa. D. 561.



Chevaline, the eldest sonne of King *Kewin*, served with great commendations vnder his father, in all his warres against the *Britains*, and is specially mentioned at the Battle of *Sanbury* in *Oxfordshire*, and after his fathers death became the third King of

the *West-Saxons*, and the fifth Monarch of the *Englishmen*. Hee much enlarged the bounds of his Kingdom, and increased the power and glorie of the *West-Saxons*.

(3) For continuing the warres where his Father left, did not onely subdue the *Britains* in many Battles, but also set himselfe against his owne Nation the *Saxons*, and sought to impose the scope of his power vpon the South of the River *Thames*: for entering *Kent* (whole King was then a childe, by name *Etzelbert*, the sonne of *Imersl*) at *Wiphanston* or *Wiltanston* in *Surrey*, in a set and free Battle, defeated all his forces, whence the young King was chased, and two of his greatest Captaines, bearing the names of *Dukes*, were slaine, as we haue said.

(1) Not long after this victory, he set his minde to enlarge his *West-Saxons* Dominions vpon the possession of the declining *Britains*, and to that end furnished forth a great Band of his Souldiers, whereof he made his brother *Cuthwin* chiefe *Generall*. These marching to *Redford*, gaue Battle to the *Britains*, where they slew them downe right, and surprized foure of their chiefe Townes, as that time called *Lymbsurge*, *Eglsburgh*, *Bromington*, and *Engleson*, which they fortified, to their owne strength, and the *Britains* great losse.

(4) And following the Tract of his fore-going fortunes, about six yeeres after sent forth againe his *Saxons*, vnder the conduct of the foresaid *Cuthwin*, who encountered the *Britains* at *Dieth* or *Deorham*, with such valour and success, that besides great

slaughter of the *British Souldiers*, three of their Kings, whose names were, *Cormagill*, *Candidas*, and *Fermungill*, fell in the Field, with the surprisall of their three Cities, *Gloucester*, *Bath*, and *Cirencester*. Then (saith *Gylfar*) suddenly appeared the *Lands destruction*, the first of the *Britains*: being the only cause, when neither Prince nor People, Priest nor Leuite, regarded the Law of the Lord, but disobediently wandered in their owne wayes.

(5) But no greater were the sinnes of the *Britains*, then the vnstable desires of the *Saxons* were to conquer: for *Chevaline* about the last of *Malgo* his gouernment, met the *Britains* at *Fethanleah*, in the face of a Field, which was fought out, to the great slaughters of them both, and with the death of Prince *Cuth*, King *Chevaline* sonne: notwithstanding the victorie fell on his side with great spoiles obtained, and possessions of many Provinces, which himselfe no long time enioied.

(6) For growne proud through his many prosperous victories against his enemies, and tyrannizing ouer his owne Subjects, the *West-Saxons* fell into such contempt, that they ioined with the *Britains* for his destruction. The greatest against him, was *Didogall Chell*, or *Cearit*, his nephew, the sonne of *Cuthwin* his most loyal brother, whom both the *Narons* had elected for *Generall*. Vnder him they mustler and march into *Wiltshire* and at *Wadnesbeote* (now *Wannes-ditch*) pitch downe their Standards. *Chevaline* that thought hee had fortune in a leake, with confident boldnesse built his present proceedings vpon his former success, and in the face of his enemies displayed his colours. But the *Britains* ioined, and the Field goared with blood, the day was lost vpon the Kings side, and he in distresse saved himselfe by flight. Heere might you haue seene the world, as it is, vnconstant and variable; for he a *Mar*, that had ouer-borne the *Britains* in so many Battles, and had raised his *Saxons* vnto so great a height, is forced to flee before his conquered Captaines, and to exile himselfe from the sight of his owne Subjects, after he had gloriously raigned thirty one yeeres, or (as some wily) thirty three, and as a

Mach. wyl.
Oyde.

The Reddore.

Loged.

Orsine, how long he reigned.

meane man, died in his banishment, the yeere of grace five hundred ninety two.

(7) He had issue two sonnes, which were *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*, the elder whereof had valiantly served in his fathers warres, namely at *Wimboldene* in *Surrey*, against King *Ethelbert* and his power of *Kent*, in the yeere of Christ five hundred sixty seven, and lastly in the Battle at *Fethanleah*, where the *Britaines* received a great overthrow. Notwithstanding, as hee was valiantly fighting among the thickest of his enemies, hee was there slain, in the yeere of our Lord five hundred eighty foure, being the five and twentieth yeere of his fathers reigne, and that without issue.

(8) *Cuthwin*, the younger sonne of King *Chesline*, succeeded his father, but succeeded him not, because of his young yeeres; or else (and that rather) for the hatred that his father had purchased of his Subjects, which they repaid him in his owne expulsion, and in this his sonnes deprivation. But although the wreath of the *West-Saxons* did not adorne this *Cuthwin*'s head, yett those it more bright, and shod with greater majesty upon the browes of *Ina*, the warlike and zealous King of *West-Saxons*; and of *Egbert* the victorious and first sole absolute Monarch of the *English Empire*: both of them in a right line issued from this *Cuthwin*, as in the sixteenth Chapter we have said.



ETHELBERT THE FIFTH, AND FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF KENT, AND THE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XVIII.

An. Do. 561.

174. 2nd ed.



He flame of the *West-Saxons* for a time thus quenched, the Lampe of *Kent* began againe to shine, and to assume the Title of the Monarchie, after it had bene suppressed in them through the reignes of these foure last Kings: for young *Egbert*'s entrance,

with the great losse of his *Kentish*, overthrowne by King *Chesline*, gave rather inducements to a tributary subjection, then any apparant hopes to purchase an Empire.

(1) But such is the dispose of God in his hidden Counsell, that things of least appearance many times become the greatest in substance, as in this Prince it was evidently seene, who making use of his owne youth and losse, got thereby experience, both to defende himselfe, and to prosseke others, and with such victories abroad, repaired his losses at home, that as fast as *Assailers* he made all subiect to *Kent*.

(2) Thus grown to be the greatest of any *Saxon* before him, hee sought to hold it up by fortune alliance, and to that end became suter for *Berta* a most vertuous Christian Lady, the daughter of *Chelperth*

King of *Francia*, unto whom by her father she was lastly granted, but with these conditions, that she might receive her *Christian Professors* privy the presence and the instructions of *Luthard* her learned Bishop, with the place of his Queene.

(4) These conditions concluded, and many *French* Christians attending her in his Court, by their daily service of God, and continuall practise of pietie, drew many of the *English* to favour their Religion, yea and the King also to bee inclined that way. And as these were working the salvation of *Kent*, behold Gods proceedings for the conversion of the rest.

(1) It chanced great *Gregory* (then but Arch-deacon of *Rome*) to see certaine youths of this land brought to that Cite, to be sold for slaves: His Christian heart pitying at such heathenish tyrannizing, and beholding stedfastly their faces to be faire and Angel-like, demanded of their Merchants, of what Nation they came; who made him answer, that they were *Angles*, and by that name were knowne unto other Nations. Indeed, said he, and nor without cause, for their resemblance is *Angelicall*, and fit it is that they be made inheritors with the *Angels* in Heauen. But of what Province are they? said *Gregory*. It was replied Of *Deira*, a Countie situated in the Continent of *Britaine*. Now surely, said he, it is great pity but these people

Berta King.
Feb 1. 187. 22.

people should be taken from *Deira*, the ire of *God*. And further asking what was the name of their King, it was answered, that he was called *Ella*; whereunto he allying, said, that *Alewa*, to the praise of *God*, in thine Princes Dominions should shortly be using.

(6) And to that purpose himselfe, being afterwards Pope, sent *Austine* a Monk, with forty others, for assistance, whereof *Aditus*, *Julian*, and *Iohn* were chiefe. These landing in *Tanet*, in the moneth of *Iuly*, about five hundred nunny and fix yeeres after the Incarnation of *Christ*, and one hundred forty and seven after the first arrival of these *Angles* into *Britaine*, had immediately access to the presence of King *Ethelbert*, but yet in the open field, for hee feared to conferre with them in any house, lest by force (as hee fondly furnished) he might be overcome.

(7) These preaching unto him the word of life, his answer was, that presently he could not consent to their Doctrine, neither rashly forsake his ancient and accustomed Religion. But seeing (said hee) you tell vs strange things, and give vs faire promises of after life, when this life shall be ended, wee permit you to preach the same to our people, and to convert as many as you can; and we our selves will minister all things behoovefull for your livelihood. Which promise he instantly performed, and in *Canterbury* his head City, allowed them fit places for residence, and sufficient provision for their maintenance; wherein these religious men, following in some measure the examples of the Apostles, spent their times in preaching and prayers, watching for the peoples conversions, and exercising the works of true piety, as examples and motives unto others, to embrace the Gospel which they taught to plant.

(8) Nexte unto the East part of the City stood an ancient Church, built by the *Christian Romans*, whither they had dwelt in *Britaine*, and by them dedicated to the honour of *S. Martin*, and is so yet called. To this Church the Christian Queene *Berta*, with her Communicants the *French*, daily referred to pray, and vnto these, and in this Church, *Austine* and his fellows began daily to preach: vnto whose Sermons so many of the *Kentish* also referred, that a plentiful harvest in short time appeared, vpon the fertile plot of their tillage; for it is reported that ten thousand of the *English* people were baptized there in one day, inasmuch that the King himselfe forsooke his *Heathenish Idolatrie*, and likewise received the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, vnto his salvation in *Christ*: in which whereof, hee gave the Lordship and Royaltie of his chiefe City *Canterbury*, vnto *Austine*, and resigned his princely Palace therein vnto him, who in the East of this City laid the foundation of that great, and afterwards magnificent Church, dedicated to the service and name of *Christ*, which at this day is the Cathedral of that *Metropolitan See*: and *Ethelbert* to give him more roomes, withdrew himselfe vnto *Reichen* in *Tanet*, where hee erected a Palace for himselfe and his successors, the compasse whereof may be traced by the old wal, whose ruines remaine there yet to this day.

(9) *Austine* thus situated, and in the well deserved fauour of King *Ethelbert*, got one request more, which was this, that whereas by the Law of the *Turlic Tables*, it was forbidden to bury the dead within the wailes of any City, (the practise whereof, wee daily finde by monuments taken vp in the fields adjoining) it would please him to giue to that use, an old Idol-Temple standing without the East Wall of the City, wherein the King himselfe had woefully worshipped his Idols. This obtained, and the Church purged fro that prophane exercise, to the service of *God*, being honored with the name of *S. Pancras*, King *Ethelbert* added thereunto a most faire Monastery, built vpon his owne cost, and dedicated it vnto the name of *Peter* and *Paul* the Apostles, appointing it to be the place for the *Kentish* Kings Sepulchres, and *Austine* likewise meant it for the burials of his successors in that See. But first it became the Monument of his own name; for in regard of the Procurer, both *Pan-*

cras, *Peter*, and *Paul* were soon swallowed vp, and the whole called onely by the name of *S. Austine*. In this place, eight Kings of *Kent* had their bodies interred, and tenne of their *Arch-bishops* therein laid, untill that *Cuthbert* the eleventh in succession, in fauour of *S. Iohn*, a new Church by him erected, procured of King *Egbert* the founne of *Breambury*, that succeeding *Arch-bishop* might be buried there. This *Monastery*, as all the rest did, came to her fallall period in the daies of King *Henry* the Eighth, whose vncouered walles stood so long languishing in time and stormes of weather, that daily increased the aspect of her ruines, till now lastly they are made inobscure to other publike vices, and the whole tract of that most goodly foundation in the same place no where appearing, Onely *Ethelberts Tower*, in memorie and honour of the man, as yet hath escaped the verdict and sentence of destruction; whose beauty, though much defaced and overorne, will witness to succeeding ages the magnificence of the whole, when all flood compleat in their glory together.

(10) These his happie beginnings, *Austine* signified by Letters to *Rome*, and withall demanded directions, how he might further proceed: which questions, were they not written by the Venerable *Beda*, wee could hardly beleaze that such idle conceits should haue place in the munde of a man so well and fruitfully buied: as, *Whether a woman which chold might receive the Sacrament of Baptisme, or in her monthly dis-ease, the holy Communion, or enter the Church: how long after her deliuerance, the husband ought to refraine her Bed: How the Ghosts that were offered on the Altar, ought to be distributed: and vnto what degree of consanguinity Christians might marry: and many others such like, as though himselfe had neuer read either *Moses* or *Paul*. But of the thing then more needfull, for that at that time it stirred most contention, it seemeth he was sufficiently instructed; neither among his other questions is it once named: and that was, the due time for the celebration of *Easter*: the difference whereof, betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Romans* was such, that it caused Lord-like *Austine* to prophesie (if not to seele) their destruction, and they in their opinions, to hold him no better then the Man of Sinne: for thus the storie is reported.*

(11) *Austine*, by the assistance and authoritie of King *Ethelbert*, called an Assemblies of the *British Bishops* and *Deacons*, that had retained the doctrine of the Gospel amongst them, euen from the first plantation thereof by the Apostles themselves, to be holden in the Borders of the *Pictish* and *Welsh* Saxons, and at the place vpon that occasion called *Anglesiers Oake*: thither referred seven *British Bishops*, and many other well learned men (with *Beda*) out of their greatest Monasterie at *Ranger*, where at that time *Diocet* was Abbot. These men were ready to go to the first said Synod, came first to a certaine holy and wise man, which lived thereabouts an Anchorite life, to aske his counsell, whether they ought at *Austine* preaching and exhortation, leave their Traditions or no: The Anchorite replied, *If he be a man of God, follow him. But how shall we prove (said they) that hee is a man of God? The Anchorite answered, Our Lord saith, Take ye on youm Yoke, and leaue ye of mee, for I am milde and humble of heart. If therefore thus Austine bee milde and humble of heart, it is like that humbly heareth the Yoke of Christ, and will offer you the same to beare. But if hee bee stout and proud, it is certaine that hee is not of God, neither must we much esteeme his words. Then they enquired, how they might know whether this Austine were proud or no: Proud (quoth he) that hee and his company may come first to the place of the Synod or Councell-house: and if it bee so that when you approach neere him, he arise courteously, and salute you, then think him to bee the servant of Christ, and so beare him, and obey him: but if when you approach, hee despise you, and will not condescend to rise at your presence, which are the greater number, let him likewise be despised of you. And truly (saith hee) as this Anchorite bade them, so did they: for it happened, that when they came thither, *S. Austine* was already set in his chaire, and stirred not:*

S. Austine Monastery.

Ethelbert Tower yet standing.

Beda Bishop.

Austine questions in the Page.

Beda Bishop.

Anchorite.

The Anchorite counsel.

Austine comes with many King.

As Peter and his followers were maintained in Canterbury.

Beda Bishop.

Gregory Bishop.

Canterbury given to Austine.

St. Lamberts Church at Kent.

The buriall of the dead was not within the Cities.

which when they saw forthwith amazing wrath, they noted
sum of pride, and therefore endeavored to overthrow and
enjoy whatsoever he proposed. And so the Synod brake
up without any thing done.

Thus then we see, that the subtilance of doctrine
was embraced in Britain, before the landing of Augustin
from Rome: only in ceremonies they differed, as the
most of Christian Churches, without derogation to
the Gospell, at this day doe. And this for the celebra-
tion of Easter, a matter of so great moment (if we
consider our Christian libertie, and the Apostles care,
that the oblations of daies, moneths, times, and
yeeres, turne the hearts after betterly radomous, bring
again into bondage, and make his labours for Christ
in vaine) yet for the different obseruation of this
Feast from the Romans, how oft are the Britanes re-
marked by Bede, a wicked people, a cursed nation, and
well deserving those calamities which the Lord did
afflict vpon them? This controuerse five Easter cele-
bration, thus begun, continued no lesse then ninety
yeeres after, and was lastly concluded in manner as
followeth.

(12) This variance (saith Bede) made not onely
the people to doubt and feare, left bearing the name
of Christians, they did and had runne in vaine, as
the Apostles speaketh, but also good Ofsy King of Nor-
thumberland and learned Prince Adelfrid, with Queene
Eanfled, were much distracted and perplexed: for by
this variance (saith hee) it often times hapned, that in
one yeere two Easters were kept, for the King break-
ing vp his Fast, and solemnizing of the Feast, the
Queene with Prince Adelfrid, continued their Fast, and
kept that day their Palme-Sunday. To conclude which
contrariety, a Synod purposely was called, and the
Question disposed by their best Diuines. The place
was Stranbalech or Whithy, whereof it was Abbacie.
The chiefe parties for, and against the accustomed
time of keeping that feast, were King Ofsy and Prince
Adelfrid in issue. The Disputers for Ofsy and the
established orders, were Colman Arch-bishop of Turke,
with his Secular Clergy, and Alde the vertuous and
learned Lady Abbess of the place. For Adelfrid and
the attempted alteration, were Agilbert Bishop of the
West-Saxons, Wilfrid Abbot of Rippon, with Iomer and
Romanus, two learned men, and the reuerend Ceolde
newly consecrated Bishop, appointed Prolocutor of
the Assembly.

The Communication set, King Ofsy made a solemne
Oration, wherein hee begged a necessitie, that those
people which feared one God, ought to celebrate his
heauenly Sacraments alike, and should keepe one or-
der and rule in the same: the truth of which phrase,
and force of that long vniuersal variance, for the
Christian celebration and time of Easter, was then
presently by those learned men to be handled, and
by best approuements to be determined; whereun-
to hee requested their vermost endeuours, and to
that purpose commanded his Arch-bishop Colman
first to speake: whereupon Colman with reuerence
stood vp and said: I the Easter which I obserue, I receiued
of my Fore-fathers, of whom I was consecrated, and first
father for your Bishop. They all (you know) were goodly
men, and obserued the Feast as we doe now: neither thinke
you they kept this tradition without fore to errant from
greater then themselves, which as Saint Iohn the Euangelist,
and the Disciple whom I use especially laud, who in
the Churches hee himselfe presided, celebrated the Feast
of Easter, as we doe now. Therefore knowing the man so
worthy, and the manner so ancient, I hope you will all con-
fesse, it is not faine for vs now to receiue.

Wilfrid the declaimer, appointed to answer, stood
vp and said: I the Easter which we obserue, were our felices
have seene obserued in Rome, where the blessed Apostles
Peter and Paul dwelt, preached, suffered, and are buried:
and in our travels thence France and Italie, either for stu-
die or vpon pilgrimage, we have seene the same order kept:
and we know by relation, that in Africke, Asia, Egypt and
Greece, nay throughout all nations and tongues in the world
where Christ hath his Church, that this our time and order

is obserued. Shall then these obstinate Priests (I meane the
Britanes) and these remote Islands in the Ocean Sea, and yet
not all of them neither fondly contend in this point against
the whole world?

But here Colman interrupted him, and said, I must
marvell, brother, that you come out deaging a faine conten-
tion, seeing we haue for our warrant so worthy an Apostle as
Iohn was, who only leamed vpon our Lord his life, and whose
life and behaviour all the world acknowledge to bee most
wise and discreete.

And forbid (saith Wilfrid) that I should accuse Iohn: but
yet we know that he kept the decrees of Moses liberally, and
according to the Jewish Lawes; and so the rest of the Apo-
stles were constrained in some things to doe, for the weak-
nes of them who accounted it a great sin to abrogate the
rites that God himselfe had instituted; and for that cause
S. Paul did circumcise Timothy, offered bloud-sacrifices in
the Temple, shamed his head at Corinth with Aquila and
Priscilla: vpon which consideration also Peter 1 times wrote
Paul, You see brother how many thousands of the Iewes haue
received the faith, and all of these are yet zealous followers
of the Law. But the light of the Gospell were shining there
in the world, it is not lawfull for any Christian to be circum-
cised, or to offer up bloudy sacrifices of Beasts. Saint Iohn
therefore, according to the custom of the Law, in the four-
teenth day of the first month, at such time as the celebration
of Easters Festiuitie, regardlesse whether it fell vpon the
Sabbath day, or any other of the weekes. But S. Peter pre-
aching the Gospell in Rome, remembering that our Lord arose
from his grave the first day after the Sabbath, gaue there-
by vnto vs certain assurance of our resurrection, obserued
the Feast of Easter according to the Commandement of that
Law he looked for, as S. Iohn did, that is to say, the first
Sabbath after the full Moone of the first month. Neither
doubt this new obseruation of the Gospell, and Apostles pra-
ctise, breake the old Law, but rather fulfilleth it: for the
Law commandeth the Feast of Passouer to be kept from
the fourth day of that month, to the twentieth and one
of the same. And thus hath the Nicene Council not newly
confirmed, but rather confirmed (as the Ecclesiasticall His-
toric write) that this is the true obseruation of Easter,
and of all Christians after this account it to be celebrated:
and thereupon charged Bishop Colman, that hee neither ob-
serued it according to Iohn nor Peter.

To this the Bishop replied, that Anatholius for his
holines much commended by the said Ecclesiasticall His-
tory, and Columba a Father of the said Councill, by whom mi-
racles were wrought, kept the Feast according as he then did,
from whose imitation he durst not digresse.

Your Fathers, which you pretend to follow, how holy
seer they be (saith Wilfrid) and what miracles seer they
haue wrought, yet this I answer, that in the day of iudg-
ment many shall say vnto Christ, that they haue prophesied,
cast out Devils, and wrought miracles in his name, to whom
our Lord will answer, I know you not. And if your Father
Columba (you and our Father, if hee be the true Ieremias
of Christ) were holy and mightie in miracles, get can use by
means hee preferred to the most blessed Prince of the Apo-
stles, vnto whom our Lord said, Thou art Peter, and vpon
this rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall
not preuaile against it, and to thee will I geue the keyes of
the Kingdom of Heauen. Thus said, the King asked
Colman, whether our Lord indeede saide thus vnto Peter,
who answered, He did. But can you (saith hee) geue en-
durance of so speciall authority granted to your Father Co-
lumba? The Bishop said, No. Then (quoth the King)
doubt you both agree confidently, that these words were prin-
cipally spoken vnto Peter, and that vnto him the keyes of the
Kingdom of Heauen were giuen? They all answered, It
is most certaine. Whereupon the King concluded this
great controuerse, and said, Then will not I giue my
such a Porter as this is, but as farre as I haue, and can
able, I will conent in all points to they he or distance, left per-
haps when I come to the Doores of Heauen, I finde none to
open vnto me, having his displeasure, which is so cleerely
promised to beere the keyes thereof.

And with this so simple a collection of King Ofsy,
concluded this long and great contention for the cele-
bration of Easter; which here, as borne before the
No 1 time,

Colman to-
mote.

Wilfrid made
speech.

Act. 11. 10.

Exod. 13.

Revel. 19. 10.
cap.

Colman

Wilfrid.

Marth. 7.

Marth. 16.

The Synod mil-
lic is directed by
King Ofsy.

Call. 4. p.

Bede lib. 2. c.
cap. 25.

Stranbalech
Synode.

King Ofsy per-
suaades vs
to make.

Colmans speech to
the Synode.

Wilfrid makes answer.

time, I have inserted, to continue the narration thereof together, & to avoid repetition of the same things, which I seeke purposely to shunne; and so retaine againe to King *Ethelbert*.

(13) Who now became an instrument himselfe for the conversions of his Nation the *Saxons*. The first frutes of his intendment were wrought vpon *Seler* King of the *East-Angles*, his owne sisters sonne, whom not onely hee converted to Christianitie, but therein assisted him in the building of the Cathedrall Church of *S. Paul* for *Mileus* his Bishop; as also the Church of *S. Peters* on the West of *London*, then called *Thorpe*, with the assistance of a *London* Citizen, as some haue said, and himselfe at *Rachelter*, built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the *Apoll* *S. Andrew*.

(14) This noble King hating a care for them that should come after, brought the Lawes of his Country into their owne mother tongue, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance the glorious *Gospell* of *Christ*, or with honour adorne his owne temporal raigne; and is worthily an example to all succeeding Princes, in all true piety, and heroicall parts of a true Christian King. He died the foure and twentieth day of Februarie, in the yeere of our Lord God six hundred and sixtene, being the one and twentieth of his *Christianitie*, the three and twentieth of his *Monarchie*, and the fifty sixth of his Kingdome of *Kent*, and was buried at *Canterbury* in the Church of *S. Peter* and *Paul*, afterwards called *S. Augustines*, in the Chapell of *S. Martin*.

(15) His first wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperic* King of *France*, as we haue said, who was the son of King *Clotaire*, the sonne of *Clodove*, the first Christian King of that Country. Shee decaied before the King her husband, and was buried in the Church of *S. Peter* & *Paul* and *Canterbury*, within the Chapell of *S. Martin* there.

(16) He had a second wife, whose name is not recorded by any Writer, being, as is thought, vnworthy of remembrance, because of the vnnatural contract and marriage of *Edwald* her husbands sonne; a sinne that both Law and Religion doe condemne: and lastly by her conuerted husband was forsaken, without either note of her illue or death.

(17) The illue of King *Ethelbert* by Queene *Berta* were *Edwald* that succeeded him in the *Kentish* Kingdome, *Ethelburg*, and *Edburg* two daughters.

(18) *Ethelburg*, the elder, was a Lady of passing beauty and piety, and surnamed *Tae*, who greatly desired and intended a Virgins life, had not her mind bene auerted by the intreaty of her brother, the persuasions of Bishop *Paulinus*, and the earnest suit of *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*; vnto which *Edwine* lastly she yielded to bee his wife, in hope of his conuersion, and vnto whom for that purpose Pope *Basil* directed his Epistle from *Rome*, earnestly exhorting her that shee should bee diligent for the Kings saluation: which shee soone after effected, to the great ioy of both the Kings, and to the comfort and increase of the Christian Faith thorowout *England*.

(19) *Edburg*, another daughter of King *Ethelbert*, is warranted only by the testimonie of *Iohn Capgrave*, a great traueler in Antiquities, and should bee most skilful in his own Country of *Kent*: notwithstanding he is to be suspected in this, that hee reporteth her to haue bene a Nunne in the Monasterie of *Misther* in the Ile of *Thancet*, vnder the Foundresse *Dunecue*, being the daughter of her nephew *Ermeard*, and that shee succeeded in the government of that house, *Attended* the daughter of the same *Dunecue*. Hee reporteth also, that shee died and was buried in the same place, and that her body was from thence remoued by the Arch-bishop *Lauf*frank, to his Church of *S. Gregorie* in *Canterbury*.

REDVVALD THE THIRD KING OF THE EAST-ANGLES, AND SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XIX.

An. D. 616.



Edwald, the sonne of *Titul*, and the third King of the *East-Angles*, had been a substitute vnder *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and serued a long time as his Vice-roy ouer all his dominions, whereby hee gained such reputation to himselfe, that either for

his owne valour, or *Edwalds* vices, (contemned of the people for his Apostasie, fence, and incestuous bed) became the seventh Monarch of the *Englishmen*, about the yeere of *Christ* his Incarnation six hundred and sixtene; and the twentieth and fourth of his raigne ouer the *East-Angles*.

(2) This *Redwald* (such *Rede*) had receined Baptisme in *Kent*, but in vaine, and without zeale, as it afterwards appeared. For returning to his Country, through the perswasion of his wife, returned againe

Note biff. Angl.
lib. 549. 35.

to his superstitious worships, and in one and the same Temple, after the manner of the old *Samaritans*, hee erected an Altar for the service of Christ, and another little Altar for burnt sacrifices to his Idols, which stood vnto the daies of *Beda* himselfe. But as he was an instigator to the *East-Saxons* idolatry, so was hee an instrument to the further spreading of Christianity (though not by heretofore purpoise) means) inasing the life of *Edwine*, who afterwards planted the Gospell in all the North parts of the *Saxons* government.

(3) For *Edwine* flying the rage of wilde *Ethelfrid*, was succoured and maintained in the Court of King *Redwald*, vnto whom lastly, the *Northumbrian* sent both threats and rewards to haue him deliuered, or else put to death: and surely had not the Queene stood for his life, he had presely died. But the alleging the law of humanitie, the trust of a friend, and the royaltie of a Prince, prevailed so farre, that *Redwald* did not onely save his life, but assisted him in battell, to the destruction of his enemy, and the gaining of *Northumberland* Crowne. For vpon the returne of *Ethelfrids* Ambassadors, vnto whom *Redwald* had yielded to make *Edwine* away, he with his power of the *East-Angles* were at their backs, and as an enemy made towards *Northumberland*.

(4) *Ethelfrid*, whose rage and reuenge was ready enough vpon lesser occasions, with such sudden preparation as he was able to make, met the *East-Angles* almost at *Nottingham*, and that not farre from the *Riuer Idle*, where boldly encountering his vnequall enemy, at the first brast slew *Reynhere* the sonne of King

Redwald, to the great griefe of him and his whole host: whole reuenge was so violently sought, that they slew King *Ethelfrid* in the field, and established *Edwine* to be his successor; which was the second yeere of *Redwalds* Monarchy.

Redwald his reigne.

(5) Wherein he reigned the space of eight yeeres, and was King of the *East-Angles* thirty one, and deceased in the yeere of our Lord six hundred twentie foure, the eighth of *Edwalds* King of *Kent*, the thirteenth of *Kings* King of the *West-Saxons*, and the eighth of *Edwine* ouer the *Northumbrians*.

(6) The Queene and wife of this King is not named by any of our Writers, but that she had been the widow of a Nobleman, descended of the blood-royall of that Nation, and was a Lady that had deserved great commendations for the many vertues by her possessed, had she been a Christian, or a fauoror of the Christians, or had not been an viter enemy to their faith. Notwithstanding by her first husband she had a sonne named *Sigebert*, that proved a learned and most religious Prince, of whom we haue spoken in Chapter eleuenth.

(7) His issue were *Reynhere* and *Erpwald*. *Reynhere* the elder and Prince of the *East-Angles*, was slaine as you haue heard, in the battell that his father fought against wilde *Ethelfrid*, neere vnto the *Riuer Idle* in *Nottingham-shire*.

(8) *Erpwald* the younger succeeded his father *Redwald* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and was the fourth King of that Nation, whose life and reigne we haue declared in the succession of the *East-Angles* Kings: Chapter 11.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 12.

Henry Hunting.

EDWINE THE GREAT KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE EIGHTH SOLE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XX.

An. Do. 617.



He Monarch reuerted from the *East-Angles*, was next possessed by the *Northumbrians*, wherein it was held with greater glorie and for longer time. For *Edwine* in King *Redwalds* life growne very potent, after his death became his successor in the English Monarch, and most worthily did adorne the same by

his ciuill iustice and diuine pietie: his exile, visions, and obtaining of the *Northumbrian* Crowne, we haue already spoken of, and therefore without repetition will passe on to his end.

(1) This *Edwine*, the sonne of great *Ells*, the first King of the *Deirians*, was the third King that possessed the same, the eighth of *Bernicia*, the second (and first Christian) King of all *Northumberland*, at the age of twenty three, and in the yeere of Christ six hundred twenty foure, succeeded *Redwald* in the Monarchy, and was the greatest King of all the *Saxons*. For

An. Do. 614.

(25)

*Paulus hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 9.*

id. ibidem.

*id. ibidem
good parts.*

A complication.

*Paulus hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 9.*

Bishop Paulinus.

(as *Beda* saith) hee subdued all the coasts of *Britannie* whereof ever any Provinces were inhabited, either of *English* or of *Saxons*, which thing no King of the *English* before him had done: and added the *Mercian* Isles vnto his owne Dominions. The first of them, and next the South, was large and fertile, gave room for nine hundred and sixty of his *English* Families, and the second, ground for about three hundred *Tene-ments*.

(3) His first wife dead, he became suitor for Lady *Ethelburg*, daughter to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, deceased, and sister to King *Eadbold* then reigning: whole Ambassadors were answered, that it was not lawfull for a *Christian* Virgin to be espoused to a *Pagan*, lest the faith and sacraments of the heavenly King should bee prophaned, by the matching with that earthly King, which knew not to worship God aright. But *Edwine* hearing of the Virgin's beauty, integrity, and piety, was so farre overcome and ransified therewith, that hee confederated, she should wih her place retain her owne *Christian* Professions, and enjoy the *Chri-istian* Societie both of her men, woman, Priests, and servants, to bee her attendants in his Court. These covenants thus confirmed, the Lady accompanied with *Paulinus* the reuerend Bishop, and an honour-able retinue, all of them *Christian*, came to King *Edwine*'s Court, and with great ioy there was espoused his Queene.

(4) The greatness and prosperitie of this *Northumbrian* King, was both feared by them a farre that reigned in no such power, and beheld by his neerer, with an enuious eye: among whom, *Quenered* thus reigned with his father king over the *West-Saxons*, sent a desperate Ruffin, whose name was *Emmerus*, to murder *Edwine* the next yeere of his marriage; who repairing to his Court, then resident neere the river *Derwent*, at the place that is now called *Aldey* in *Yorkshire*, with a double-edged short sword, the point thereof poisoned, and girt vnder his garment, vpon *Easter* day entred his Palace, as an Ambassador, and with craftie speech retained the Kings attention, where getting occasion, and stepping forward, drew his sword, which one *Lilla* the Kings seruante saw, and wanting wherewith to defend his person, put himselfe betwixt the King and the sword: and throw his bodie so flaine, the time was so farre runne, that it dangerously wounded the King with his point, and with the same sword, before he could be bearen down by the Guard, slew another seruant, whose name was *Fordhere*.

(5) It happened the same night being holy *Easter* Sunday, that Queene *Ethelburg* was brought to bed of a daughter: for ioy whereof, and her life deliuerance, the King gaue thanks to his *Idols*; which Bishop *Paulinus*, then in presence, greatly reprimed, and bade *Edwine* to giue thanks vnto God, from whom only all goodnesse came; and spake vnto him of our new birth in *Christ*: at which conference the King much reioiced, and promised that hee would euer after renounce all his *Idols*, and worship that *Christ* whom he preached, if that God would grant him his life, and giue him victorie against that King, who had sent this Manqueiller to murder him; in pidge whereof, he assigned *Paulinus* to baptise his daughter, the which vpon *Whitsunday* following was performed in her, by the name of *Engled*, and shee the first of the *Northumbrians* which received that Sacrament. At which time also, *Edwine* being recovered of his wound so lately received, made an Armie, and marched forth against the *West-Saxons*, and in battle either slew or tooke prisoners all them that had conspired his death, and as a victorious Conquerour, returned to his Contry.

(6) Where continuing in honour, and his affaires prospering to his owne desires, hee was yet in misde distracted, and his thoughts continually perplexed, what God he should worship. The sanctitie of the *Christians* moued him much, and the ancient customes of his Ancestours staid neere his heart, betwixt whom there seemed a combat in himselfe. And in

these dumps sitting one day alone, it chanced Bishop *Paulinus* to haue access to his presence, where laying his right hand vpon the Kings head, demanded of him whether hee remembered that signe: whereat *Edwine* suddenly fell as the Bishops feet, whom hee in haste and reuerence presently lifted vp, and spake vnto him as followeth.

Behold O Soueraigne (saide he) by the bountifull hand and power of our God, you haue escaped the hand and vengeance of your most hard and deadly enemies. Behold also, by his most gracious goodness you haue obtained the four argu-ments of raigne and rule of the Kingdome. Remember now therefore the third thing which you promised him, and desire no longer to accomplish the same by receiving his faith and keeping his Commandments; who hath deliuered you from your temporal aduersities, and exalted you to the honour and Maiesty of a King; whose holy will if you hereafter obey, and doe his precepts which by mee is preached, hee will also deliuer you from the perpetuall torments of Hell, and make you partaker with him in his beauey Kingdome and eternall blisse without end.

(7) Whereupon conferring with his Counsell, whereof Bishop *Cyff* was chiefe, for the establishing of the Gospell, and suppressing of Idolatrie, it was then concluded, that the true God should be wor-shipped, and the Altars of their wonted *Idols* over-throwne: vnto which action, *Cyff* himselfe became the first man; for mounted on horiebacke in armour, with a girt sword and lance in his hand (all which was vnlawfull for those *Idols* Priests) he brake downe their Altars, Grates, and Barres, and destroyed their Temples whereof euer he came. Some ruines there-of not farre from *York*, and neere vnto the rising of the river *Derwent*, remained to be seen vnto the daies of *Beda*, and were then called *Gutmond* in *Gabum*. And King *Edwine* himselfe, with all his Nobilitie, and most of the Commones, received the laver of Baptisme, the eleventh yeere of his raigne, and of *Christs* Incarna-tion six hundred twenty and seuen, one hundred and eighty yeeres after the *Saxons* entrance into *Britanie*. The king was baptised the twelfth of *April*, being *Easter* Sunday, at the Citie *York*, in the Church of *S. Peters*, built then of wood, and was the Kings Ora-torie, which he enclosed about with a deepe founda-tion, and laying the walles with squared stones, made it the Cathedrall Church, and his Conuerter *Paulinus* Arch-bishop of that See.

(8) The Gospell thus established in these Nor-therne parts, spread daily further into other Provin-ces, and with such fruit of peace, that in the raigne of this *Edwine*, and thoroughout his Dominions, a weak woman with her new-borne babe might haue passed without damage or danger ouer all the lland, euen from Sea to Sea. And so much did the King tender his Subjects, that his provident care was extended to the way-faring passengers, for whose vie he enclosed cleere Springs by the waies, where he set great Basins of brasse, both to wash and to bathe in; which either for loue or displeasure of the king, no man defaced, or tooke away.

And so great was the magnificence of this Monarch, that (according to *Beda*) he had not only in Battle the Ensignes proper to battell borne before him, but in his ordinarie passages thorow the Cities and Towns of his kingdome, there alwaies went an Ensigne-bearer before him. And (to vie the words of the same venerable Author) he went not in any three, in which there was not borne before him that kinde of Stan-dard which the *Romans* called *Tufa*, and the *English* *Tunef*. That the *Romans* had such an Ensigne, as that which here is called *Tufa*, *Tuffus* *Lippus* in his Com-mentarie vpon that place in *Peregrinus* (lib. 3. cap. 5.) where the severall Ensignes of the *Romans* are recited, doth declare, correcting that place of *Peregrinus* (where *Rufa* was set for *Tufa*) by this place of *Beda*, and in the same shewing, that *Tufa* signified a Ball, as the Ball (by the example of *Augustus*) was an Ensigne of Monar-chie, or absolute government.

(9) But as the Sunne hath his rising, his height and

*Paulus hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 12.*

*Edwine vnto
monks of co-
monasteries.*

*Idolatrie abo-
lished.*

*Paulus hist. Angl.
cap. 19.*

*Paulus hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 21.*

*Texte the Roman
Ensigne.*

Tuffus Lippus.

and descent, and euer is mouing in the circle of his celestiall orbe: so man hath his birth time, being, and death, and all then is neuer staied in one certaine point. Kings therefore, as they be Kings, are the Suns of their owne world, but as they are men, goe to the shadow of death: neither can the strength of their power, wildome, or policie, lone or applaue, stay the hand here that holds the fatall knife: for so in this King *Edwine* we see, raised aboue hope to attaine the Deademe, and railing in loue and liking of the people, was notwithstanding cutt off in the midst of his glorie and greatnesse of strength.

(10) For *Penda* the stout *Mercian* enuying his peace, and *Cadwalla* the *Britaine* seeking to recouer his right, ioined in friendship against this Monarch, and met him in his enemies in the face of a Field. The plaine was large, and called *Heistfeld*, where after a long and most bloodie fight, king *Edwine* was slaine, with prince *Offrid* his sonne, his whole Host put to the sword, or most shamefull flight: which chanced the fourth of October, the yeere of our Lord six hundred thirty three, the sixth of his *Christiansme*, the twentieth of his *Monarchie*, the thirtieth of his kingdom, and the forty seventh of his age. His bodie was latly buried in *S. Peters Church* in *Strawall*, after called *St. Peter's*.

His Wives.

(11) *Queenburg* his first wife, was the daughter (as *Bede* reporteth) of *Cearl*, but as all other Writers doe witness, of *Grada* King of *Mertia*. She was married vnto him in the beginning of his youth, (and when he was dispossessed of his inheritance by the Tyrant *Ethelred*, as we haue said) with him she liued a great part of his banishment, and in the Court of *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles* deceased, before her husband could recouer his Kingdom.

(12) *Ethelburg*, surnamed *Tate*, was the second wife of this King, who was the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and of *Queen Bertha* his first wife. She was married vnto him in the yeere of grace six hundred twentie five, being the second of his Monarchy, and was his wife six yeeres: him forsaking him, and desirous to liue a religious life, shee returning into *Kent*, withdrew her selfe to a place not far from the Sea side, called *Lymms*, wherein shee built a Monastrie of Nunnies, and among them spent the rest of her life, and therein died, and was there buried.

His Issue.

(13) *Offrid*, the eldest sonne of King *Edwine*, and *Queenburg* his first wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile among the *East-Angles*. He was baptized in the faith of Christ by *Paulinus* the first Archbishop of *York*, and was slaine the same day, and in the same battell that his father was. He had a sonne named *Iffy*, who was baptized also by Bishop *Paulinus*, and after the death of his father and grand-father, for feare of King *Ofwald*, was conueyed ouer the Seas into *France*,

to bee brought vp in the Court of King *Dagobert*, where he died in his childhood, and was there honourably interred.

(14) *Edfrid*, the second sonne of King *Edwine* and Lady *Queenburg* his first wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile, and baptized with his brother *Offrid* by Bishop *Paulinus*. After his fathers death, for feare of King *Ofwald*, hee fled to *Penda* King of *Mertia*, who was his fathers enemy, and his mothers kinsman; by whom hee was most treacherously murdered. He left behind him a son named *Herbert*, who by his wife *Bertfrith* had issue the vertuous & learned lady *Hilda*, Abbess of *Strawall*: & Queen *Herfrith* her sister, the wife of *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles* brother to King *Anna*, by whom shee had issue *Ald wulf*, *Edfrid*, and *Seorne*, all three succeeding Kings of the *East-Angles*.

(15) *Ethelme*, the third sonne of King *Edwine*, and the first of Queen *Ethelburg* his second wife, was baptized by *Paulinus* Arch-bishop of *York*, not long after his father and half-brethren; but in short space after his baptism, he departed out of this world, euen in the time that he wore the white attire, which in those daies was vied to bee worn by such as were newly baptized for a certaine space. His body was with all due funerall obsequies entred within the new Church of *S. Peter* in the Cite of *York*, which his father had newly founded.

(16) *Fiffric*, the fourth sonne of King *Edwine* and the second of Queen *Ethelburg* his second wife, and the last and youngest of them both, bare the name of his fathers great grand-father. He was baptized by the Arch-bishop *Paulinus* at one time with his brother *Ethelme*. After the decease of his father, his mother carried him with her out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*, and from thence conueied him ouer into *France* with his Nephew *Iffy*, the sonne of his half-brother *Offrid*, where hee continued in the custodie of King *Dagobert*, being his mothers cosen-german and there died, and was honourably buried in a Church with his Nephew *Iffy*.

(17) *Laufled*, the elder daughter of King *Edwine* and Queen *Ethelburg* his second wife, was borne the night following that her father was wounded and baptized, her being a Pagan. Shee was afterwards married to *Ofuy*, the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and tenth Monarch of the *Englismen*, as shall be said.

(18) *Ethelred*, the younger daughter, the fifth and last-borne child to King *Edwine* and of Queen *Ethelburg*, was baptized at the same time with *Ethelme* and *Iffy* as her brethren. She died an infant, shee white clothing not yett put off, which in those daies was usually worn at certaine set times after their baptism, and was with like funerall obsequies buried by her brother *Ethelme* in the Church of *S. Peter* in *York*, which their father had founded.

See his age.
See his age.





OSVWALD KING OF NORTHVM-
BERLAND, AND THE NINTH MO-
NARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS
RAIGNE, WIFE, AND
ISSE.

Monarch 9.

Ofwald.



CHAPTER XXI.

An. Do. 634.



Oswald, the fifth King of
Deira, the ninth of Berni-
cia, the third of Northum-
berland, and the ninth Mon-
arch of the Englishmen,
began his raigne the yecre
of Christs incarnation six
hundred thirty foure. He
with Eanfrik and his bre-
thren, the sonnes of wilde

Ethelfrid, and Ofrik also the sonne of Alfrik King Ed-
wines Vnkle had been secured in Scotland all his raigne,
and among the Red-blacks lived as banished men,
where they learned the true religion of Christ,
and had received the Laver of Baptisme. But Edwines
death wrought and disvalged, these Princes returned
again to their Country, and the Northumbrian King-
dome lately governed by one, was now againe di-
vided into two feuerall parts, as formerly it had been.

(2) Over the Deira, Ofrik was made king, and of
Bernicia, Eanfrik assumed the raigne, but Gods iustice
ouer taking their Apostolicke, neither their liues nor
this diuision lasted long. For Cadwall the Christian,
and Penda the Pagan were Gods instruments, that
with worthy vengeance in the first yecre of their go-
uernment, cut the one off in battell, and the other
by trechery; whose names and yecre of raigne as vn-
happy and of hatefull remembrance, the Historio-
graphers of thos times would haue to be omitted.

(3) But religious Ofwald lamenting the effusion
of his Countries blood, long slept not their reuenge.
For assembling his power, which was not great, he
suddenly and vnlooked for came vpon Cadwall, and
at Deuflingburn pitched downe his tents. The place
(saith Beda) stood nere the wall that Senarus had
made, where Ofwald for the first day forbore to fight,
and among his Souldiers for his Standard set vp a
Crosse of wood; wherunto it seemeth thos dawning
daies of Christianity were ouermach addicted. Here

Ofwald making first intercession to God, the onely
preseruer of his people, in sore & long fight obtained
great victory, with the slaughter of Cadwall, and of
all his British Army: which so accomplished, many
haue attributed the vertue of that Crosse to bee no
small cause of that great ouerthrow. This Crosse so
set vp, was the first we read of to haue been erected
in England, and the first Altar vnto Christ among the
Bernicians, whose pretended miraculous cures, not
onely in the wood it selfe, but in the mosse and in the
earth wherein it was set, let Beda report them, and
Stephan vige them, yet for my part, I hold them no
Article of our canonickall Creed.

(4) But certaine it is, that Ofwald himselfe was a
most religious and godly king, and tooke such care
for the conseruation and saluation of his subjects, that
he sent into Scotland for Aidan a Christian Bishop,
to instruct his Northumbrians in the Gospell of truth.
And whereas the Bishops could not speake their lan-
guage, the king himselfe was interpreter at his Ser-
mon, and gaue his words in the English, as hee spake
and pronounced them in the Scottish, which language
Ofwald perfectly spake, hauing bene there the space
of eightene yecres.

Thus the godly proceedings of the king and Bi-
shop, produced such increase of their beaueuly seed,
that it is reported in seuen daies space, fifteene thou-
sand Christians received Baptisme; and many of
them forsaking the pleasures of the world, to haue be-
come themselves to a religious and solitarie life.

(5) At this time the whole land flourished both
with peace and plentie, and acknowledged their sub-
jection vnto king Ofwald. For, as Beda reporteth, all
the Nations of Britannie which spake foure languages,
that is to say, Britainers, Redblacks, Scotti, and Englishmen,
became subiect vnto him. And yet being aduanced to so roy-
all a stature, he was as merittfull and good (which is more
worthy to be reported) than to all, gracious to the poore, and ben-
eficall to strangers. The fruits whereof the same Author

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 5.

Will. Besson.

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 5.

EXCM.

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 5.

exemplifieth in his bounty and humilitie towards the poore; who vpon a solemne feast day, seeing many such at his gates, sent them both the delicates for himselfe prepared, & commanded the charger of siluer to be broken, and diuided among them. The Bishop much reioycing thereat, tooke the king by the right hand, and praised that it might neuer consume; as after his death it did not, but was shined in siluer, and in *S. Peters Church at Richa, now Bambergh*, with worthy honor was worshipped for the many miracles in cures that it did, as likewise the earth wherein his blood was spilt: with such iustis enlargements have those writers interlined the deeds of Gods Saints.

(6) But as the Sunne hath his shadow, and the highest tide her ebbe, so *Ofwald*, how holy soeuer, or government how good, had emulators that fought his life, and his Countreys ruine: for wicked *Penda* the *Pagan Mercian*, enuying the greatnesse that king *Ofwald* bore, raised warres against him, and at a place then called *Maserfeld in Shropshire*, in a bloodie and fore fought battle slew him; and not therewith satisfied, in barbarous and brutish immanitie, did teare him in peeces, the first day of August, and yeere of Christ Iesus hundred forty two, being the ninth of his reign, and the thirty eighth of his age: whereupon the said place of his death is called to this day *Ofwaldstree*, a faire Market Towne in the same Countie.

(7) The dismembred limmes of his body were first buried in the *Monastery of Bradbury in Lincolnshire*, shined with his standard of Gold and Purple crested

ouer his Tombe, at the industry and cost of his neece *Offryd*, Queene of *Mercia*, wife vnto king *Ethelred*, and daughter to *Ofwyn* that succeded him. From hence his bones were afterwards remooued to *Gloesster*, and there in the north side of the vpper end of the Quire in the Cathedrall Church, continueth a faire Monument of him, with a Chapell set betwixt two pillars in the same Church.

His Wife.

(8) *Kinburg*, a most vertuous Lady, and daughter to *Kingul* the sixth, and first Christian king of the *West-Saxons*, was the wife of king *Ofwald*, who became both his father and sonne in the day of her marriage, by receiuing him at the Foote, and her of his gift. She was married vnto him in the second yeere of his reign, which was the yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred thirty six: no other relation made of her besides the birth of his sonne.

His Issue.

(9) *Ethelwald*, the only child of king *Ofwald* and Queene *Kinburg* his wife, was borne in the yeere of our Lord six hundred thirty seven, being the third yeere of his fathers reigne; and but an infant at his fathers death, was disappointed of the *Northumbrian Kingdome* by the fraud of his vncle *Ofrym*. Notwithstanding at the death of *Ofrym* king of *Deira*, and then not above sixteen yeeres of age, hee tooke the same kingdome, and by strong hand held it against his vncle so long as he liued, and at his death left it to his cosen *Alfred*, the naturall sonne of king *Ofrym*, as in the ninth Chapter we haue said.

see before
lib. 3. cap. 9.

Ofry.

OSVY KING OF NORTHUMB-
BERLAND, AND THE TENTH MO-
NARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS,
WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

Monarch. 10.



CHAPTER XXII.

An. Do. 643.



Osy, the illegitimate sonne of King *Ethelfrid*, furnished the *Wilde*, at thirty yeeres of age succeeded *Ofwald* his halfe brother in his Dominions, being the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and the tenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, entering his government

the thirteenth day of October, and yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred forty three. His first beginnings were much diuicted by *Penda* the *Heathen Mercian*, by the rebellions of his base sonne *Alfred*, and by the oppositions of *Ethelwald* the son of King *Ofwald*: but none sate more nere his heart then *Ofrym* king of the *Deira* did, whose veruious government did much darken (as hee tooke it) his owne, and the free loue of those subjects, daily to lessen his among the *Bernicians*.

(2) This *Ofrym* of *Deira* was the sonne of *Ofryd* (who

Ofrym emia.

Ofrym King of the Deira.

see before
lib. 3. cap. 10.

Ofwy King of
the Danes.Cassarville
Village.Ofwy beheaded
at the hands of
Ofwy.Red in his report
of Ofwy's return.His gift to the
Bishop of Aiden.The Bishop
Aiden to a poor
man.King Ofwy's re-
pentance.Bishop Aiden
in witness of
King Ofwy's
penitence.Red in his report
of Ofwy's return.Red in his daughter
of King Ofwy.

Aldred.

Ethelwald.

Aldred's sister.

Penda's fall.

Ethelwald's
escape.

(who did apostate from his faith) and ruling his Province in plenty and peace the space of seven yeeres, was therefore greatly enuied by Ofwy of Mercia, and hally by him provoked into the field. Their hosts met at the place then called *Wulfers Dyne*, ten miles West from the village *Cassarillon*, and there attended to hazard the day. But Ofwy finding himself too weak for Ofwy, and to save the effusion of Christi-
an blood, forsooke the field, accompanied only with one Souldier, and went to Earle *Hunwald* his friend as he thought, to secure his life. But contrary to trust, hee deliuered him vnto King Ofwy, who cruelly slew him the twentieth of August, and ninth of his reign, at the place called *Ingerthing*, where afterwards for satisfaction of so heinous an offence, a Monastrie was built, as vpon like occasions, many the like foundations were laid, whose stones were thus ioynd with the mortar of blood.

(3) Of this Ofwy thus slain, Bede reporteth the Story following: *Among his other rare virtues and princely qualities, his humility (saith he) and passing lowliness excelled: whereof he thus exemplifieth: The reuerend Christian Bishop Aiden ofwy much travel to preach the Gospel throughout that Province, the King for his more ease, gave him a goodly Gilding with rich and costly trappings. It chanced one day, as the Bishop rode to minister the word of life, that a poore man demanded his almes: but hee not heeding wherewith to releue him, and paying his distressed poore estate, presently alighted, and came vnto him with his horse and rich furniture; whereof when the King heard, hee blamed him, and said, What meant you my Lord to give to the begger the horse that I gave you, with my saddle and trappings? Had we horses of no lower price to give away to the poore? To whom the Bishop replied, And is the bread of a beast dearer in your sight, then this poore man the child of God? The King then repented, turned himselfe towards the fire, and there falling upon his knees, presently gave from him his furrow, and in haste fell at the Bishops feet, desiring forgiveness in that he had said. The Bishop much amazed, suddenly lift up the King, desiring him to sit to meat, and to be merry; which the King immediately did, but the Bishop contrariwise began to bee penitent and sadde, and the tears to trickle downe his cheekes: in which position hee burst out into these words, and said to his Chaplaine in an obsequious tongue, I neuer till this time have seen an humble King; and surely his life cannot bee long, for this people are not worthy to haue such a Prince to gouern them. But to returne to King Ofwy.*

(4) Who after many cruell inuasions of the mercilesse Penda, was forced to flee vnto him for peace, with profers of infinite treasure and most precious Jewels: all which rejected, and the Tyrant comming on, Ofwy fought his helpe by supplications to God, and with such zeale as then was embraced, vowed his young daughter *Elsfleda* to be consecrated in perpetuall virginity vnto him, with twelve Farmers and their lands, to the erection and maintenance of a Monastrie: and thereupon prepared himselfe for battell.

(5) The Armie of this enemy is reported to redouble thirty times his all well appointed and old tried souldiers: against whom Ofwy with his sonne *Aldfred* boldly marched, *Egfrid* his other sonne then being an hostage with *Gunnor* an vnder Queene of the Mercians: *Ethelwald* the sonne of *Offred*,ooke part with *Penda*, against his naturall Vncle and native Country: so did *Ethelwald* the brother of Christian *Anna*, side with this heathenish and cruell Mercian.

(6) The battell was fought neere to the riuer *Isart*, which at that time did ouer-flow his banks, so that the victorie falling with Ofwy, more were drowned in the water then flane with the sword. And heerein proud *Penda* lost his life, with the discomfiture of all his Mercian power. Heerein also died *Ethelwald*, the East-Angles King, who was the only motiue to these warres: and *Ethelwald* escaping, returned with diffidence vnto *Deira*. The day was thus gotten the thirteenth yeere of King Ofwy his reign, the fiftenth day of Nouember, and yeere of Christi his Incarnation six hundred fifty five.

(7) After this victorie, king Ofwy reigned in great glory the space of three yeeres, subduing the *Mercians*, the fourth parts of the *English*, and made the northerne parts likewise subiect vnto him. Heit was that decided the long controuersy for Eaters celebration, and founded the Cathedrall Church in *Lichfield* for a Bishops See: which Citie, with all *South-Mercia*, diuided from the north by the riuer *Trent*, hee gave to *Penda* the sonne of king *Penda* in marriage with his naturall daughter *Aldfled*, on condition that he should become a Christian: all which the said king not long enioied, but was murdered in his owne Court. And the Mercians erecting *Wulfere* his brother and their native country-man for king, rebelled against Ofwy, and freed themselves from a foraine subiection.

(8) This Ofwy ending in troubles as he began in warres, reigned the space of twenty eight yeeres, and then falling sick, was so stricken with remorse for the death of good Ofwy, and blood which hee had spilt, that hee vowed a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which reported holy place hee purposed to haue ended his life, and to haue left his bones therein to rot: but his disease increasing, and that purpose failing, he left this life the fiftenth of Februarie, and his body to remaine in *S. Peters* Church at *Strasburgh*, the yeere after Christi his six hundred fuenente, and of his owne age fifty eight.

His Wife.

(9) *Eanfled*, the wife of this king, was the daughter of *Edwin* and *Ethelburg*, King & Queene of *Northumberland*. Shee was the first Christian that was baptized in that Province, and after her fathers death, was brought vp to *Kent* vnder her mother, and thence married vnto this Ofwy, whom the furnished, and spent the whole time of her widow-hood in the Monastery of *Strasburgh*, where her daughter *Elsfled* was *Abbesse*, wherein the deceased and was interred in the Church of *S. Peter*, hard by her husband king *Edwin*.

His Issue.

(10) *Egfrid*, the eldest sonne of king Ofwy and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the third yeere of his fathers reign, being the yeere of grace six hundred forty five. In the twenty fifth yeere of his age, and of our Lord God six hundred fuenente one, hee succeeded his father in *Northumberland*, but not in his Monarchie: of whose life and acts, wee haue further spoken in the fiftenth Chapter of this Booke.

(11) *Elsfleda*, the second sonne of king Ofwy, and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the yeere of our Lord six hundred fity one, being the ninth of his fathers reign; at whose death hee was nine yeeres old: and in the ninth yeere after, being the eighteenth of his age, was unfortunately slaine in a battell, wherein hee kried his brother *Egfrid*, against *Ethelred* king of the Mercians, to the great griefe of them both, the yeere of Christi nativity six hundred fuenente nine.

(12) *Elsfled*, the eldest daughter of king Ofwy and queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the month of September, the yeere of grace six hundred fity foure, being the twelfth of her fathers reign, and when shee was a yeer old, by him committed to the custody & bringing vp of the renowned Lady *Hilda*, *Abbesse* of *Strasburgh*, wherein shee liued vnder her a Nun, and after her death did succeed her *Abbesse* of the place, and in great holinesse and vertue spent therein her life, vnto the day of her death, which was the yeere of Christi Iesus seuen hundred fouteene, and of her owne age fixtie, being interred in *S. Peters* Church within the same Monastrie.

(13) *Offred*, the younger daughter of king Ofwy and queene *Eanfled*, was borne about the fiftenth yeere of her fathers reign, which was the yeere of our Lord six hundred fitye fuen: and when this was fully twenty, was married vnto *Ethelred* king of *Mercia*, the twelfth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, in the third yeere of his reign, and of Christi six hundred fuenente fuen.

(14) *Aldfred*, the naturall sonne of king Ofwy, did first succeed his colen *Ethelwald*, sonne of king *Offred* his

Latter Etsfleda.
The End of theOfwy his gift to
Penda.Red in his report
of Ofwy's return.
The name of King
Ofwy's reign.

Eanfled.

Strasburgh Mon-
astrie.Egfrid the eldest
sonne.Egfrid the second
sonne.
Red in his report
of Ofwy's return.Elsfled the eldest
daughter.Hilda Abbess of
Strasburgh.Offred the you-
nger daughter.Aldfred a natu-
rall sonne.
his

his Vncle in part of *Northumberland*, and held the same by force against his Father, which afterwards he peaceably inioyed both with him and his halfe brother King *Egfrid*, whom lastly hee succeeded in the whole kingdom of *Northumberland*, as more at large in the same story we haue declared.

(15) *Alfred*, the naturall daughter of king *Osney*, borne before her father was king, in the yeere of Christs incarnation six hundred fiftie three, and the

eleuenth of her fathers raigne, was married to *Feldt* the sonne of *Penda*, that by his permission had gouerned some part of *Mercia*, and by *Osney* his gift with this *Alfred*, all the South of that Province. She was his wife three yeeres, and is of most writers taxed to be the sctor of his death, being wickedly murdered in the fraile of *Egfrid*, the yeere of grace six hundred fiftie fixe, and the fourteenth of her Fathers raigne.

Chap. 23. 12.

Alfred a natural daughter.

Vulfhere.

VVLFHHERE THE SIXTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE ELEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXIII.

An. Do. 659.



Vulfhere, after the enmurther of his brother *Penda*, advanced against *Osney* by the Nobles of *Mercia*, maintained his title and kingdom for twelve yeeres continuance, in the life time of that *Northumbrian* Monarch, and after his death translated the Monarchy from those Kings and Countrey, vnto himselfe and his successors the *Mercians*, who now wore the Imperiall Diademe without reuerence, vntill such time as great *Egbert* set it vpon the *West-Saxons* head.

He was the second sonne of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, and the sixth in succession of that kingdom, beginning his raigne the yeere of Christs Incarnation, six hundred fiftie nine, and twelve yeeres after, *Anno* six hundred seauenty one, entered his Monarchy ouer the *Englishmen*, and was in number accounted the eleuenth Monarch of the Land.

(1) His entrance was with trouble against the *Northumbrians*, for vnto *Egfrid* their King he had lost the possession of the land *Lusky*, and was expelled the Countrey: yet three yeeres after he fought against the *West-Saxons* with better success, whose Countrey with conquest he passed thorow, and won from *Kenwald* their King the Isle of *Wight*, which land he gave

to *Eadwech* the South-Saxons King, whom he reuered his God-sonne at the font-stone: notwithstanding himselfe had lately been a prophane Idolater, and most cruell Heathen, as by the *Liger* booke of the Monastery of *Peterburgh* appeareth, whose story is this:

(1) King *Vulfhere* of *Mercia* remaining at his Castell in *Worcester* in *Stafford-shire*, and vnderstanding that *Vulfild* and *Eufus* his two sonnes, vnder pretence and colour of hunting, usually resorted to reuerend *Chad*, to bee instructed in the fruitfull faith of Christ Iesus, and had at his hands received the Sacrament of Baptisme, at the perswasion of one *Werobod*, suddenly followed, and finding them in the Oratory of that holy man, in deuout contemplations, slew them there with his owne hands. Whose martyred bodies *Queene Ermeneld* their mother caused to be buried in a Sepulchre of stone, and thereupon a faire Church to be erected, which by reason of the many finnes thither brought for that foundation, was euer after called *Stones*, and now is a Market Towne in the same Countrey. But King *Vulfhere* repenting this his most vnhumane murder, became himselfe a Christian, and destroyed all those Temples wherein his heathen Gods had been worshipped, conuerting them all into Christian Churches, and religious Monasteries: and to redeeme so heinous an offence, vnderwent the finishing of *Medesham*, his brothers foundation, enriching it largely with lands and possession.

Ld. Petrus.

Vulfhere's death his two sonnes.

Vulfhere's death his two sonnes.

Vulfhere's death his two sonnes.

Vulfhere's death his two sonnes.

Vulfhere's death his two sonnes.

W. Malmsbury.

The time of his
reigne.Ermenild's po-
ssession.Queene Sexburg
Abbesse at Ely.Knewd the first
sonne.

ons : notwithstanding hee is taxed by *William of Malmsbury* with the loule decree of *London*, for felking vnto *Wine* the Bishoppicke of *London*.

(4) He reigned King ouer the *Mercians* the space of leuenteene yeeres, and Monarch of the *English* fully foure, leauing his life in the yeere of our Lord six hundred leuente foure, and his body to be buried in the Monastery of *Peterborough*, which was of his brothers and his owne foundation.

His Wife.

(5) *Ermenild*, the Wife of King *Falsfere*, was the daughter of *Erumbert*, the seuenth King of *Kent*, and sister to *Egbert* and *Luthair*, both Kings of that Countie. Her mother was *Sexburg*, daughter to *Anne*, the seuenth King of the *Egls-Angles*, whose sisters were many and most of them Saints. She was married vnto him in the third yeere of his reigne, and was his wife fouenteene yeeres. After his decease, she went to her mother *Queene Sexburg*, being then Abbesse of *Ely*, where she continued all the rest of her life, and there in deceased and was buried.

His Issue.

(6) *Knewd* the son of King *Falsfere* and of *Queene Ermenild*, being the heire apparent of his fathers possessions, was vnder age at his fathers decease, and by reason of his minority, was withheld from the gouernment, which *Ethelred* his Vncle entred into, without any contradiction of this *Knewd*, who beid himselfe contented to liue a priuate life: notwithstanding *Ethelred* taking the habit of a Monke, left the Crowne to him who was the right heire.

(7) *Falsfeld* a young Gentleman conuerted to the

Christian faith by Bishop *Chad*, and martyred for profession of the same by King *Falsfere*, is reported by *Walter of Warwicke* a Monke of *Peterborough* in a Register which he wrote of that Monastery, to bee the supposed son of King *Falsfere* himselfe, and to haue been slaine by him in his extreme fury before he was a Christian, or could indure to heare of the Christian faith. He was buried in *Stone*, as we haue said, where his father build a Colledge of Canons regular, which was afterwards called *S. Falsfeldes*.

(8) *Asfere* the fellow martyr of *Falsfeld*, is by the same Writer reported to be his brother, and the supposed Issue also of *Falsfere* the King. Their murders, as he saith, was committed the ninth Calends of *August*, which is with vs the foure and twenty of *July*, vpon which day there was yeerely celebrated a solemne memoriall of their martyrdomes in the same place, where they both suffered, and where their Monument was then remaining.

(9) *Werdburg*, the daughter of King *Falsfere* and *Queene Ermenild*, was in her childhood committed to the bringing vp of *Queene Ethelrid* her mothers *Anne*, in the Monastery of *Ely*, by whose perswasion she professed virginity and returning to her Countie in the reigne of King *Ethelred* her Vncle, was by him made ouerser of all the Monasteries within his dominions. She deceased at *Tricheingham* (now called *Trottham*) in *Staffordshire*, and was buried at *Manby*. Her body was afterwards remooued to *Wolcsther*, where *Leofrik* the Earle built in honour of her a goodly Church called *S. Werdburg*, which to this day is the Cathedral Church of that Cite.

Falsfeld a happy
and honest
man. Walsley.S. Falsfeld Col-
ledge.Asfere another
supposed Issue.Werdburg, the
daughter of
Falsfere.Buried in Man-
by.S. Werdburg
Church.

ETHELRED THE SEVENTH KING OF MERCIA, AND TWELFTH MO- NARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSUE.

Monarch 12.



CHAPTER XXIII.

An. Do. 675.



Ethelred, the third sonne of King *Penda*, and brother to the last declared *Falsfere*, in the yeere of Christ Ielus six hundred seuentie fine, beganne his reigne in the kingdome of *Mercia*, and at the same time in the Monarchy of the *Eng-lishmen*, being the seuenth

King among them that ware their Diademe, and the

twelfth person that bare the Imperiall title of the whole : his claime was not immediately nor next in succession, young *Knewd* his Nephew standing betwix him and the Crowne. But himselfe a child in yeeres, and in them also addicted vnto a priuate life, he gaue his Vncle way to vndergo so publike a charge, which without contradiction was likewise accepted of the subiects.

(2) His entrance was with warre against the *Kentish*, *Luthaire*, whose Countie he destroyed, sparing neither Churches nor religious Abbeyes, the King noe during

Circumstances
belonging to the
beginning of his
reigne.

Henry Hunting.

From Bishop of
Lichfield.

Inde his Angl.
14. sep. 11.

A blasing flarre.

The erection of
blazing bea-
con Monastery.

daring to appeare in field. The Cite Rochester felt alio his fury, whose Citizens were ransacked, their buildings ruined, and their Bishop Pette driven to such distress, that he became a Teacher of good Arts and Musicke in *Mercia*, to maintaine his aged yeeres from the necessity of perishing want. These flames (saith *Bede*) happened in the yeere of grace six hundred seventy seven; and the next following, so fearefull a Blazing flarre, as was wonderful to behold, first discovered in the month of *August*, and for three moneths together continuell rising in the morning, and giving forth a blazing pile very high, and of a glittering flame.

(3) Theremore of conscience for the blood he had spilt, and the places of Oratories by him destroyed, (besides his instructions into another mans right) stricke so deepe a wound into King *Ethelreds* breast, that ever hee bethought him what recompence to make. First therefore building a goodly Monastery at *Bradney*, and that most fruitfully seated in the County of *Lincolne*, thought that not sufficient to wash away the scarres of his foule offence, but determined in himselfe to forsake the world, for that was the terme attributed to the monasticall life: wherein notwithstanding, in lesse cares they lived, and their persons more safe from all dangers attempted, then when they publicly administered their lawes to their people, the rust executions whereof, many times breed the overthrow of their Princes, and their Persons never secure amidst their owne guards.

(4) But such was the religion then taught, and the godly zeale of the good Princes then reigning, whose works have manifested their vertues to posterities, and faith in Christ the saluation of their soules, in

whose Paradise we leave them, and *Ethelred* to his deuout intent: who to reconcile himselfe first vnto *Kenred*, bequeathed the Crowne solely to him, although he had a sonne capable thereof: then putting on the habit of religion, became himselfe a Monke, in his owne Monastery of *Bradney*, where he lived a regular life the terme of twelue yeeres, and therein lastly died Abbat of the place, when hee had reigned thirty yeeres, the yeere of Christs nativity, seven hundred lxxviij.

His Wife.

(1) *Offryd*, the wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Osry*, and of Lady *Eanfred*, King and Queene of *Northumberland*. She was married vnto him in the yeere of our Lord six hundred seventy seven, being the third of his reigne, and the twentieth of her age. Shee was his wife twenty yeeres: and passing thorow the North parts of *Mercia*, she was let vpon and slaine by the people of that Country, in reuenge of the death of *Penda* their King, who had long before bin murdered by *Aelfred* his wife, and her half sister, as we haue said. And thus strangely came thee to her vntimely end, the yeere of our Lord six hundred ninety seven, the twenty three yeere of her husbands reigne and the fowenth of her owne age.

His Issue.

(6) *Chelred* the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Offryd* his wife, was the heire apparent of his fathers kingdome, and of sufficient yeeres to haue succeeded him, when he entered into religion; but that it was his fathers will to make amends to his Nephew *Kenred*, sonne to his elder brother King *Waltheof*, that now he might reigne before his sonne, who should haue reigned before himselfe.

Ethelred relig-
ious his Crowne.

The circumstance
of his reigne.

O.F. fol.
Inde his Angl.
14. sep. 11.

Inde his Brit.
O.F. fol. 11.

Ethelred the last
sonne.

KENRED THE EIGHTH KING OF MERCIA, AND THE THIR- TEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XXV.



Kenred the sonne of *Waltheof*, became of his minority at his Fathers death, was defeated of his dominions by his Vncle *Ethelred*, and vntill it pleased him to resigne his Crowne, liued a priuate life, whereunto by assure hee was mozt inclined. But King *Ethelred* for the wrongs to him committed, and to re-

deeme the time that in warre and wealth he had prodigally spent, yielded the Scepter vnto his hand, and set his seeming ouer-henry Crowne vpon his Nephew *Kenreds* head; who began his reigne at one and the same time, both ouer the *Mercians* and Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, which was the yeere of Christs Incarnation seven hundred and foure.

(1) He is in account the eighth King of that Province, and the thirteenth Monarch since *Hengst* the *Saxon*. He reigned in peace the space of foure yeeres, then weary of government, and desirous of consecration

The moner
perceiving in his
succeedance and
grandchildren.

The circumstance
of his reigne.

Kenred.

An. Do. 704.

Monarch 13.

Chelred his Angl.
his Angl.

Keured and Ofs
tune Monks.

plation, after the example of his Vnkle, sought a more priuate and religious life: and thereupon appointing *Chelred* his Colich germane to rule in his place, in the fifth yeere of his raigne, abandoned his kingdome and Country, and departed for *Rome*, accompanied with *Offa* King of the *East-Saxons*, and with *Edwine* Bishop of *Wortleser*, where both these Kings were made Monks in the time of Pope *Constantine* the first, *Justinian* the younger then wearing the Imperiall Crowne: and in a Monastery at that cite, both these penitent Convents in the Coules and Orders of Monks, spent the rest of their liues, and therein died and were entered; this *Asterian* King *Keured* hazing had neither wife nor child, that I can reade of.

(1) It is not greatly to be wondered at, in that these

times to much overshadowed with superstitious zeal, the holy acts of men, which no doubt were many, & the habit of Monks, the accounted holy garments of humility, were so meritoriously respected and reputed in the deuout hearts of the religious, when by the Clergy (that are accounted the light of the world) in a Council at *Rome* held vnder Pope *Constantine* the first, it was decreed and commanded, that curued Images, which neither had action, nor life, nor could sue themselves from the stroke of destruction, should bee made to the memoriall of Saints, and should be set vp in Churches, with respectiue adoration, contrary to Gods most expresse commandement, and condemned for idolatry by the warrant of sacred Scripture.

Bale.

Louis. 14.

Chelred.

CHELRED THE NINTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FOVR- TEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE AND SVCCESION.

Monarch 14.



CHAPTER XXVI.

Angl. 709.

The appendon
of his ingrest
into gouernment.



Chelred, the sonne of King *Ethelred*, was of sufficient yeeres, and well able of rule, at such time as his father resigned his Scepter vnto his Nephew *Keured*, had not the prick of that sinne touched his conscience, which made him to bestow the same as he did; notwithstanding the Crown being too weighty for *Keured* to weare, he as freely againe gaue it the soone, as he had received it of the father before, and relinquished his claime and tiele thereto.

Chelred worthy of
the Crowne.

(2) *Chelred* thus aduanced before he it expected, entered his gouernment with great applaus of the people, in whose opinions he was held the onely man worthy of that Crowne.ouer the *Mercians* he raigned the ninth King, and of the *English* Monarchs the fourteenth in number, beginning them both in the yeere of grace seven hundred & nine, and the fourth of *Justinian* the younger, Emper.

From King of the
West-Saxons.

(1) His quietnes was disturbed by *Ina* the *West-Saxon*, whose fame for his fortunes beganne then to

grow great. For *Keured* he had forced to buy their peace with money: the *Brittaines* subdued, and had enlarged his confines vpon them. And now against *Chelred* this new risse Monarch, he meant to try chance, whose glory he looked at with an ouer enuious eye.

Chelred propo-
sed against Ina.

(4) His greatnesse likewise *Chelred* suspected, who either to himselfe or Successors, (by the foundation which he laid) would diuert the Monarchy from him and his *Mercians*, and entaile it to himselfe or his *West-Saxons*. Hereupon great preparation was made, and each set forward with all the powers, the one to attaine, and the other to keep the glory and title that both of them so much thirsted after. At *Wadenbury* they met, and with vndanuted spirits so fought, that the victory was doubtfull, for neither could say the battell was his, or that he departed with the lesser losse.

Henry Manning.

John. W. Manning.

(1) These conulations were followed betwixt these two Princes the space of seven yeeres, and longer had done, if *Chelred* had liued, or *Ina* not been stricke with remorse of conscience for his ouermuch spilling of blood. Of this *Chelred*, some Authors haue censured, that he was marvellous in prowesse, and valiant of courage, but his Country miserable

John. W.

by

The modesty and
simplicity of
King Ethelbald.

Jan wife,
Marion 200.

by his vntime death, whose raigne lasted only seven
yeeres: and death in the yeere of our Lord Iesen
hundred and sixteene: his body was buried in the
Cathedral Church of *Lichfield*: and he died without
any issue.

His Wife.

(5) *Wesley* the wife of King *Ethelbald* is mention-
ed by *Marianus* the learned English Historian, and
by *Florus* of Worcester, who was the follower and

continuer of his History, whom we may reasonably
credit in this matter, being not incredible, although
the most of necessity be thought to have been mar-
ried very young, or to have died very old, because
they record her decease to have bene in the yeere
of Christ Iesen hundred eighty one, which was
almost sixtie yeeres after the death of her husband,
and towards the end of the long raigne of King
Offa.

She died sixtie
yeeres after her
husband.



Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FIF- TEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH- MEN: HIS RAIGNE AND ACTS.

Monarch 15:



CHAPTER XXVII.

An. Do. 716.

The proceeds
of his raigne
in summe.

Hand, Cotton.

Henry Hunting.

Chron. of Bed.

St. Mal.

Ethelbald, cofin germane
once remoued, vnto King
Chelred, succeeded him in
the kingdom of the *Mercians*,
whereof he was the
tenth in number, and of
the Monarchs ouer the
Englyshmen the fifteenth
account. He beganne his

raigne in the yeere of grace Iesen hundred sixteene,
and with great honour raigned ouer all the Kings on
the South side of *Humber*, whyle time for the most
part was spent in peace; yett some wars he had, and
those with variable success.

(2) For in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, hee
belieged *Somerton*, and wanne it; and inuading
Northumberland, without proffer of resistance, return-
ed with great riches by spoyle. The Brittaines also that
were ioined confederates with the *West-Saxons*, hee
molested and ouercame, for whose reuenge King *Cuthred*
gave him battell neere vnto *Burford*, where he
with his *Mercians* recouered the spoile, and loile the Ban-
ner, wherein was portrayed a *Golden Dragon*, the thir-
ty seuenh yeere of his raigne.

(3) The sinnes of these times both in Prince and
people, were many and great, as by the Epistles of *Ban-
suar* an *Englyshman*, and Archbishop of *Mentz*, is
most manifest, wherein hee reprooued his adulterous
life, who refraining to marry, wallowed in filthy le-
cheries; by whose example the Noblemen of *Mercia*
did the like: and their women, as well Nunnas as others,
made away their children be: ne out of wedlocke, whereby

the graves were filled with dead bodies, as hee it selfe with
damned soules. And in another Epistle sent vnto *Cuthbert*,
Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hee complained of
the *Englysh Nunnas*, who wandering on pilgrimage vnder
forn of deuotion, sought pleasure and wanton fornications,
through all the Cities of France and of *Launbury*.

(4) This his Epistle tooke so good effect, that in re-
penance King *Ethelbald* relesed and prouided the
Church from all tributes to himselfe, and built the
Abbey of *Croiland* in *Lincolneshire*, for the pacifying
of Gods wrath towards his sinnes; when also it was
enacted by *Cuthbert* and his Clergy, in a Conuoca-
tion held in his Prouince, that the sacred Scriptures
should be read in their Monasteries, the Lords Prayer and
Creed, taught in the *Englysh tongue*: which accordingly
was done. Which Council was held in the thirte
yeere of this Kings raigne, and of Christs incarnation
Iesen hundred forty eight.

(5) Finally, when hee had ruled forty two yeeres,
fighting against *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon*, in a warre not
prudently vnderaken, hee was traitorously slaine by
his owne subiects, at the procurement of *Bernard* a
Leader of them, who affecting the kingdom by this
stratagem of Treason, sought to attaine it, but was
himselfe slaine by *Offa* the *Mercian*, before that this
ill sowne seed could take any roote. The place of this
Great *Ethelbalds* death, was *Secundum*, three miles
from *Tamworth*, in the Countie of *Warwick*, and of
his buriall, *Regium* in *Darbyshire*, where with honou-
rable obsequies hee was entereed, the yeere of Christs
humanity Iesen hundred fiftie eight, having had nei-
ther Wife nor Children.

Norman history.

Croiland Ab-
bey built.

The continuation
of his raigne.

St. Malmsbury.



OFFA THE ELEVENTH KING OF
THE MERCIANS, AND THE SIX-
TEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-
MEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE
AND ISSVE.

Monarch 16.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

An. Do. 758.



Offa, the colen of King *Ethelbold*, after some time of *inter-regnum*, succeeded him in his dominions of *Mercia*; a man of so high stomacke and stoutnes of mind, that he thought nothing vnpossible for him to attaine; and for vertue and vice, so equally com-

poised, that hardly could bee iudged to whiche of them the scale of his carriage most inclined, although the Monke of *S. Albans*, and writer of his life, doth blanch out his graces with superlatiue praises.

(2) His Parents bee nameth *Twinfresh* and *Mercella*, and himselfe bee said to haue been first named *Pineered*, borne both lame, deafe, and blinde, wherein he so continued vnto his manhood. The rage of *Berored* (saith the same Authoe) had forced all three into a solitary place, where suddenly by miracle *Pineered* was restored, and for that cause called another *Offa*, who presently assailed, and in a great battell manfully fought, slew the vntirpung *Berored*. The Nobles of *Mercia* being rid of that Tyrant by the valour of *Offa*, gladly embraced & receiued him for their King, who began his raigne with greater shew of glory, then any *Mercian* before him had done, being in number the eleventh that had raigned in that Prouince, and is accounted the sixteenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

(3) His neighbour Kings foreseeing, whereas his eye glanced, solicited by Letters *Charles the Great*, then King of *France*, against him, who wrote vnto *Offa* in their behalfe, and in threatening wise commanded him to desist. But he was so farre from fearing of his threats, that to his contempt he was the more eager.

(4) The first that felt his fury, were the *Kentishmen* vnder *Athel* their King, whose ouerthrow was the lesse dishonourable (saith *Malmesbury*) for that they were vanquished by so great a Monarch. The place was *Onsiferd*, vnfortunate to them, where their King was

slaine by the hand of *Offa* himselfe, their forces quice diucomfited by the losse of this field, and their Countrey trodden downe vnder the feet of the *Mercians*.

(5) From South to North King *Offa* then marched, and beyond *Humber* made haucke of all that stood against him; whence returning triumphant, he set vpon the *West-Saxons*, that had formerly joined with his enemies: the place was *Berinton*, which *Castell* King *Offa* tooke, with the diucomfite of King *Ecnulf*, and all his *West-Saxons*, who sought their reuenge by the aides of the *Britains* in *Wales*. Their King (saith same Authoe) was then *Marmadine*, betwixt whom some intercourse by letters passed, & great presents to King *Offa* sent, onely to prouoke time, and to worke vpon advantage.

(6) In this *interim* of complements, for a further security, *Offa* caused a great ditch to be drawe betwixt his and the *Britains* borders, which worke began at *Basingmark* in *Flint-shire*, and *North-wale*, not farre from the mouth of *Ure*, and ranne along the mountaines into the *South*, & ended neer *Bristow* at the fall of 44 ye; the tract whereof in many places is yet seene, and is called to this day *Cludde* *Offa*, or *Offa's* ditch. *Marmadine*, who openly bare faile to this wind, and seemed to winke at *Offa's* intent, secretly called a Councell of *State*, wherein he declared how the *Ast* shire in working, would soone proue the bane of liberty vnto their countrey, and the marke of dishonour to the Cities & politerity for euer; therefore his aduice was, that by some stratagem it might be slaid by time.

(7) To this his *Britains* consented, the truce yet lasting, and the feast of *Christs Nativity* euen then at hand; in the celebration whereof was held the greatest advantage with least suspect, to put themselves in action against it; and secretly working the assistance of their allies the *Saxons*, both of the *South*, the *West*, and the *North*, vpon Saint *Stephens* day at night, suddenly brake downe the banke of this fortification, filling vp againe a great part of the Ditch, and in the morning most furiously rushed into *Offa's* his Court,

Restoration Collat taken by King Offa.

Libet S. Albans, M.E. Marmadine a Welsh King.

Offa's ditch.

Cludde, Wales.

Marmadine a Welsh King.

The Britains assembly to it.

Saxons assistance.

put-

Offa, Malmesbury.

Libet M.E.

The parents of Offa.

Mercia's Colen.

King Charles the Great.

Malmesbury.

Offa you people

Marmadon van-
quished by Offa.

The Ligger of
S. Almon at 1.

King Charles con-
gratulates Offa.

Re. H. H. H. H.
The second
Council of
Nice.

* Albion.

Offa's last years.

Offa went to
Rome.

His repentance

Offa by Towne.

putting a great number to the sword, who were most intemperate and regardfull to the Feall, then to any defence from their cruell and mercelless swords.

(8) These wrongs King Offa deliud not to re-
queste, first making their hostages his valfills and
daughters, and then with a great army entering Wales,
in a bloody and fore-fought battale hee overcame
Marmadon and all his associates in the field. Thus
then as a Conquerour ouer all his enemies trium-
phantly after ten yeares was abroad returned he to
his owne Kingdome, neither puffed with pride, nor
suffring his title to be enlarged according to his con-
quests: yet he was not neglectiue of regall state, by
the report of the Ligger booke of S. Almon, which
saith, that in regard of his great prerogative, and not of
any pride, he first instituted and commanded that euen in
times of peace also, himselfe and his Successors in the
Cremore, should as he passed through any Cities, have
Trumpeters going and sounding before them, to shew
that the person of the King should be both feared, and
honour in all which either see him or heare him.

(9) Vato King Charles of France he wrote in ex-
cuse of his warres, and desire of his amity: whom
Charles againe congratulated with letters of gladnes,
both for his victories, and the Christian piety in his
land embraced; desiring of Offa safe conduct for
such his subiects, as came to his country in deuoti-
on to God, and withall sent him, (for a present)
a Booke of the Decrees of the second Council of
Nice. Which Synodall Booke (to wit Reger. Howelous
owne words) was sent vnto King Charles from Con-
stantinople, wherein (alas for pity) by the unanimous as-
sent of three hundred Bishops & more congregated in
that Council, were decreed many things inconsistent,
yea and quite contrary to the true faith: as in most especially
the worshipping of Images, which the Church of God doth
utterly detest. Against which Booke Albion wrote an
Epistle, admirably strenghtned by the authority of the holy
Scriptures, which together with the forefaid Booke him-
selfe presented on the name of the Princes or Bishops of this
land, vnto the forefaid Charles King of France. Such in-
tercourse both for State and Church had this great
Offa with that great Charles.

(10) His last warres (according to mine Author)
were against the Danes, whom he forced to their ships
with the losse as well of their booties, as of many of
their liues; and then (saith he) with the spirit of humi-
lity, both to recall himselfe from the trace of blood,
and to the better establishment of his kingdomes
peace, he ioined in affinity with his neighbour Fran-
ces, vpon whō he bestowed his daughters in marriage.

(11) And making Eystred his sonne a King with
himselfe, in great deuotion went to Rome, where
with the like zeale and example of Iuan the west-Saxon,
he made his Kingdome subiect to a Tribute, then
called Peter-pence, afterwards Ransome; besides other
rich gifts that he gaue to Pope Hadrian for canoniz-
ing Almon a Saint: in honour of whom, and in re-
pentance for his finnes, at his returne (ouer against
Frelanston, in the place then called Helmeburgh,
where that Prelatry of Britaine, for the constant
profession of Christ, lost his head) Offa built a ma-
giustick Monastery in Anno 795. indowing it with
lands and rich reuenues for the maintenance of an
hundred Monks: vpon the first gate of entrance in
thence (saith he) cut a slender Argent in a field azure, &
is signified by the iudicious in Heraldry to bee the
Armes that he bare.

(12) Also in testimony of his repentance for the
blood hee had spilt, he gaue the tenth part of all his
goodis vnto the Churches, and vnto the poore. At
Rome he also built another Monastery, and in War-
wich a Church, where the adorning towne, from
it and him, beareth the name off- church.

(13) Finally, when hee had reigned thirty nine
yeares, he died in peace at his towne off- by the nine
and twentieth of Iuly, the yeare of Christ 838, so-
uen hundred ninety foure: and with great solemnity
his body was buried without the towne of Bedford

in a Chapell standing vpon the Banke of Ouse, which
long time was swallowed vp by the same riuer: whole
Tombe of lead (as it were some phanassicall thing)
appreth often (saith Reger) to the man that seek it not,
but to them that seek it, is altogether inuisible.

His wife.



(14) Quenbrid the wife of King Offa hath not her
pageant set down by any of our Writers: notwithstanding,
the recorder of this his life, saith that her
name was Dryda, and that shee was the kinswoman
to Charles the Great King of France, and by him for
some offence banished his Realme, who arriving
vpon the coasts of England in a ship without tackle,
was taken thence, and relieved by Offa, being then
a young Nobleman, where first changed her name
vnto Petramilla: with whom he fell so fast in loue
that hee made her his wife, contrary to the liking
of his Parents: She was a woman of condition
ambitious, coeuous, and cruell, as appeared specia-
lly in the death of Ethelbert, King of the East Angles,
that came to her husbands Court to marry their
daughter; whole port shee so much enuid, that shee
procured him to bee treacherously murdered: in
the manner the forefaid Author declared to be by his fall
into a deepe pit, purposely made in his bed-chamber,
and vnder his chaire of estate. That his head was cut
off, and found by a blind-man, that the uell which
bears his name spring vp presently in the place
where it lay, that the blood thereof gaue the blind
man his sight, and that Dryda died in the same pit
which she had digged for Ethelbert, I leave to the
credit of my author, and the liking of my Reader:
but certain it is that Gods vengeance followed this
heynous fact within one yeare after the same was
committed, by the death of her selfe, her husband, &
her Sonne, and the translation of that Kingdome
from the Merians to the West-Saxons.

An ancient Saxon coine inscribed with her name,
KENEDRED AEGIN. we haue found and here
placed, which the iudicious suppose to be hers, and
that not unlikely, shee being so powerfull, proud and
ambitious.

His issue.

(15) Eystred the onely sonne, and heire apparant
of King Offa and Queene Quenbrid, was the onely
joy and pride of his parents, who succeeded his Fa-
ther in his dominions and rule, and in the same yeare
also in the State of death.

(16) Ethelburga, the eldest daughter of King Offa
and Queene Quenbrid was married to Britrice: the
sixteenth King of the West-Saxons: shee was a Lady
of passing beautie, but withall of an inuolunt
disposition, hating all whom her husband loved, and
practising the deathes of them that she hated: She
departed into France after the poisoning of her
husband, & for that her offence, a law was enacted
to the great prouidence of the West-Saxon Queenes, as
in the reigns of Britrice we haue declared.

(17) Eystred, the second daughter of King Offa, &
Queene Quenbrid, by the report of Randaup Niden
the Monke of Cheshire, was the second wife to E-
thelred King of Northumberland, who in regard of
her had put from him his former wife, for which
his subiects rose in Armes against him, and slew him
in the last yeare of King Offa his reign.

(18) Eystred the third and youngest daughter of
King Offa, and Queene Quenbrid, being promised in
marriage, and assured vnto Ethelbert King of the East
Angles, after the murder of her hoped Bridegroom,
with great lamentations and prophesying threats of
revenge, abandoned the society of men, and with-
drew herselfe vnto the monastery of Crowland in the
Fenets.

Ed. S. Almon
at 1.
saith Reger.

In the life of
Offa, published
before the last
of a booke of that
Author.

Offa's offered
to Quenbrid.

Quenbrid her
treachery.

Quenbrid cruell-
ty, and the way
prizes.

A child the only
sonne of Offa.

A child the
first daughter.

Cap. 1. l. 1.

Britrice.
Sister of the famous
Emperour.

Ed. the third
daughter.

Fennes, where in contemplation and solitary sadnes she spent the remainder of her life; and yet there are that suppose her to bee the wife of King *Kennelc*, who was the founder of *Winchesbe* Monastery, & the successor of his brother *Egfride*.

John Capgrave.

(19) *Fremund* by *John Capgrave* is supposed to be the sonne of King *Offa*, who, as he saith, was traitorously murdered by one *Offa* that envied his victo-

ries which he gat against the *Danes*: his body was buried at *Offchurch* in *Warrickshire*, and neere vnto the Palace of *Offa*; alleading for his Author one *Burghard*, who was at his death, and wrote his life; yet some there are that thinke him mistaken, for that hee calleth him a young man, when as those warres hapned an hundred yeares after King *Offa*'s life.

Burghard,

Egfrid.

EGFRID THE TWELFTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SE- VENTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH.

Monarch 17.



CHAPTER XXIX.

An. Do. 794.



Egfrid, the sonne of King *Offa*, succeeded his father in the *Mercians* Kingdom, wherof he was the twelfth in number, and in the Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, ranked in account the seuenteenth. He began his raigne the thirteenth day of *July* in the year of Christ his natiuitie, seven hundred ninety foure. The first businesse that he vndertooke after hee came to the Crowne, was the restauration of ancient priuiledges

to the Church, which his father had deprived them of; and great hope was conceiued of his further proceedings, had not God cut him off by vncinely death. For hauing reigned onely foure moneths, hee gaue place vnto nature, and to another successor, the first of the people desiruing no such Prince: for whose cause, and his fathers great bloodshed, as *Alewine* wrote to *Oshertus*, he was taken away so soone.

Egfrid reuolued on his pained eyes.

Fleam. Almon.

The conclusion of his raigne.

(2) He deceased the seventh day of *December*, and in the first of his raigne, hauing had neither Wife nor Issue that we reade of. His body with all due obsequies was honourably buried in the Abbey Church of *S. Almon*, of his fathers foundation.



Kenwolve.

KENWOLFE THE THIRTEENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE EIGHTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 18.



CHAPTER XXX.

An. Do. 794.



Kenwolve, not so neere in blood to king *Elfrid*, as he was like him in all vertuous conditions, by him was ordained to succeed in his Dominions, where by hee became the thirteenth King of the *Mercians*, and the eighteenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

Kenwolve, in the yeere of our Lord seven hundred ninety seven. At home he was an example of piety, peace, and religion, & set the scale of Justice without respect to all alike; abroad temperate, humble, and courteous, without vain ostentation or ambitious conceits; in warres hee was stout and victorious, in peace studious to enrich his subjects: briefly, at all times so carrying himselfe, that enuie could not touch him with her tongue.

(1) Whether vpon a new quarrell begun, or the old retained, (as inheritable to the *Mercians* against those of *Kent*) I cannot say, but true it is, that in the entrance of his raigne, hee carried that Province with a great host of men, and in a sore fought field discomfited the *Kentish*, and carried away prisoner their King, whose surname was *Prea*. His kingdom hee gave to *Cuthred*, and kept him captiue in *Mercia*, to his great griefe, and his subjects dishonour.

(2) But *Kenwolve* in peace, & minding the works of true piety, gaue himselfe to the building of a goodly Church at *Winchesombe* in *Gloucestershire*; where vpo the day of dedication in the presence of *Cuthred* (assigned his Victory in *Kent*) thirteene Bishops, ten Dukes, many Nobles, and a great concourse of people, he led *Prea* this *Kentish* captiue vnto the high Altar, and there without either his curacy, or ransom for Redemption, released and let him free; shewing thereby his deuotion to God, and the heroicall parts of a magnanimous Prince.

(4) His raigne was twenty two yeares, and death

in Anno eight hundred nineteene, being solemnly buried in the Church of the *Monastery* at *Winchesombe* afore said which himselfe had founded.

His Wife.

(5) *Elfrid*, the wife of King *Kenwolve*, hath not her parentage certainly reported by any of our Historians; yet some later vpon a likelihood of her name, the place and time agreeing, haue thought her to be the daughter of *Offa*, affianced to King *Ethelbert*, as hath bene said: but in these obcurities, conjecture may wander astray.

His Children.

(6) *Kinelm* the sonne of King *Kenwolve*, and of Queene *Elfrid* his wife, was very young at his fathers death, and succeeded in the *Mercian* Kingdom, but not in the Monarchy of the *English*; King *Egbert* the *West-Saxon* King then growne too great. And in the same yeare that he began his raigne, by the treason of his vnnatural filier hee was murdered, and first obscurely buried, but afterwards solemnly removed and reposed neere to his Father in the *Monastery* of *Winchesombe*, as in the *Mercian* Kings successions wee haue said.

(7) *Queendred* the eldest daughter of King *Kenwolve*, and Lady *Elfrid* his Queene, after the decease of her father, ambitiously aspiring to compulse the sway of the *Mercian* Kingdom wholly to her selfe, wickedly conspired the death of her brother King *Kinelm*, which was traitreously acted by *Aethbert* her instrument, who had the charge of him: but the same turning to her reproch, for very blame of so damnable a deed, shee within short time after ended her life, but not her ignominie.

(8) *Burgenseld*, the younger daughter of King *Kenwolve*, and of Queene *Elfrid*, hath not bene so famous to posterity as her sister *Queendred* was for her infamous Act; notwithstanding, she may reasonably be supposed to haue lead a better life, and to haue died a better death, especially of vs, who find her not stained with any aspercion of misdeuouring.

Page 1 EGBERT

Kenwolve burial.

English parentage.

Kentish death.

Chapter 30. 347.

Queendred the eldest daughter of Kenwolve.

Burgenseld the younger daughter.

Kenwolve's piety.

Winchesombe.

Winchesombe Monastery.

Egbert.

EGBERT THE EIGHTEENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, THE NINE- TEENTH, BUT FIRST SOLE AND ABSO- LUTE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSUE.

Monarch 19.



CHAPTER XXXI.

An. Do. 800.



THe Saxon Heptarchy drawing now to a period, the spring of an entire Monarchie began to shew it selfe, and the glory of the Englishmen more cleerely to arise: for though they had weakened each other by their own wars, yet flood their power strong in the possession of the whole, and the out-borne Brittaines held still at the worst.

(1) But such is the dispose of the sole disposer of Empires, that they have their risings, their falls, and their falls: never staying in one and the same point, neither entailed to one and the same Nation, how strong, politick or populous soever. The proofe whereof is apparent in all the Kingdomes of the earth, and this of ours as mutable as any; whose change of State vnto, and in, this seven-fold Government hath hitherto benee fene: the severall Kings thereof long contending to branch their own fountaines furthest and fairest, lastly let them fall into one streame, which so meeting, made a more famous confluence in this *Atmureby*, then the *seven heads of Nilus* in the Egyptian Sea.

(2) Formerly, the *Kentsh*, *South-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *Northumbrians*, and the *Mercians*, through no lesse then eight descents had worne the Emperiall Diademe, whose rayes shone now so bright in the *West-Saxons* eyes, that they againe sought to recast themselves in so glorious a position. For, whereas *Brightrik* was possessed and contented with the *West-Saxon* Crowne, neither that worne without jealousy and feare; yet others of the blood royall from *Cherdik* raised the wings of their soaring thoughts much higher, among whom *Egbert* was one, neither the last nor the least in the opinion of the people, or suspect of his Prince.

(3) This *Egbert* having command of some part of that Province, so carried himselfe, that his fame

grew fearefull to *Brightrik* the King, and hatefull to the envious *Eltheburg* his most proud Queene, by whom he was enforced first to secure himselfe with the *Mercian* Offa; and lastly constrained to flie into *France*: where vnder *Charles the Great*, he turned his adversity into an occasion of his valour, by serving in his warres, and learned by his politick government, how to rule a quiet or disturbed State.

(4) But King *Brightriks* death acted, and his Queene the contriver banished, *Egbert* is solicited to the wearing of the *West-Saxon* crowne, where hee became the eighteenth King in number, and nineteene yeares after the nineteenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*; entering his reign the yeare of Christ Iesus, eight hundredth, being the same yeare that *Charles* was made Emperour of the *West*, and *Cornwall* then ruling over the *Sets*.

(5) His first warres were against the *Cornish*, and their associates the *Welsh*, both of them a remanace of the old *Brittaines*, who had benee oftentimes vanquished, but neuer would seeme to be subdued, and for fouretene yeares continuance held side against *Egbert*; which their resistance so provoked his furie that hee enacted a most severe law against them, commanding that no *Brittaines* should presume to passe over great *Offas* ditch, and present death to them that durst let foot vpon any English ground. Their great *Carr-legion* (now *West-chester*) hee tooke from them, and at *London* from their *West-gate* cast downe the brazen Image of *Cadwalla* there set vp by the *Brittaines* for a terror to the *Saxons*, as we haue said.

(6) His warres thus prospering, his poissance grew dreadfull, and his glory much enuied at by the other Princes, whereof *Bernulf* of *Mercia* was the first attempter that sought to plucke the wing of this well-Saxon Eagle, but thereby wrought his owne downefall; for *Egbert* joyning battaile with him at *Ellenden* overthrew his power, and in that quarrell *Bernulf* was lustily slaine.

(7) *Kent* was the next, and fairest marke in *Egberts*

Egbert's exigence and relation.

Simon David, Galt, Esq., Mar. 1791, in the East.

John Dancer.

Chap. 21.

Chap. 10, 11, 12.

The seven fold government was valid.

west-Saxon nobles.

beris eye, whose king not gratus in his own subjects
light, was the calmer to be subdued; him he chased o-
ver Thamis, and added not only that Conste, but
also Suffex and Surrey, for Prouffers vnto his
owne Kingdome: next were the *East-Saxons*, the *East-
Angles*, and in truth all, both vpon the *North*, and
the *South of Hamber* gave him obedience, so that
the bounds of his Dominion were greatly enlarged,
and his royall authority by those seuerall Kings ac-
knowledgeed.

Egbert the first
Isle Monarch.

(9) Then hee to confirme his estate called an as-
sembly vnto the City *Winchester*, where calling him-
selfe to bee solemnly crowned, became the first Sax-
ons absolute Monarch of the whole Iland, so redu-
cing the Monarchiall title from the *Mercians* to the
West-Saxons, in whose Progeny it continued with-
out reuerence vntill the *Danes* first got, and againe
loft it, and the *Saxons* illuse failing, the same fell to
the *Norman* Duke by Conquest, as in continuance
of our history, Christ assisting, shall be seene.

An. Do. 519.

(10) His Coronation was at *Winchester*, and en-
trance in the year of Grace, eight hundred and nine-
teen, at which time by his Edict in that City da-
ted, hecaused all the South of the Iland to bee cal-
led *England*, according to the *Angles*, of whom him-
selfe came, and promising great felicity to his State
and Successors, was therein not so happy as in his
affaires he had beene fortunate.

Flora, Wigorn.

(11) For those *Saxons* that by warre and blood,
had made themselves Lords of other mens rights,
and of one Kingdome no lesse then seven, are now
endangered to bee made seruants vnto subiection,
and by warre and blood their ten-fold Kingdome
brought againe vnto one; neither yet freed from
the reuenge of bloodie violence: for that a
ferce and cruell nation (the *Danes*) ceased not con-
tinually to invade them, till they had subdued and
for the crowne thereof vpon their owne heads, who
in King *Brightricke* dayes, and about the yeere seven
hundred eighty seven, bating with three vessels lan-
ded in the *West* of *England*, at three seuerall times, in
so many seuerall places, fought the ruine of the
land in the reigne of this *Egbert*.

Simen, Dore.
Henry Manning.
Mall. 1793.

(12) The first was in his thirty third year, when
with thirty five ships they landed at *Lundisford* vpon
the *North* of *England*, where they were met and
fought with *Carham*, but with such losse to the
English, that two chiefe Captaines, *Dudda* and *Of-
mond*, two Bishops, *Herfrid* of *Winchester*, and *Fig-
ferd* of *Shirborne*, with many Souldiers were there-
in slaine, King *Egbert* himselfe hardly escaping by
the covert of the night.

(13) Their second attempt was in the second
yeare following, when in *West-Wales* they landed, vnto
whom the *Brittainers* there toynded, and in the place
called *Henigstentun* abode the King in scid, where
Egbert with prosperous fortune vanquished and slew
both the *Danes* and the *Welsh*.

(14) The third place of their arriue was *Shor-
prie* in *Kent*, which Iland they sacked, and with much
a doe were expelled in the last of King *Egberts* reign,
and but the new beginning of their savage cruelties.

(15) This *Egbert* by *Florentius* of *Winchester* is said
to be the sonne of *Alfred*, who was the sonne of
Etha, and he the sonne of *Eppa*, the sonne of *Inga*, the
brother of *Iuc*, the eleventh King of the *West-
Saxons*, and both of them the sonnes of *Kenred*, de-
scended from *Cherdic* the first King of that Province:

he was but low of stature, yet well composed
and strong of limme, very valiant, wise and polihcke,
a skillfull souldier, and as great in mind, as fortunate
in warre; he reigned ouer the *West-Saxons* the space
of thirty six yeares and seven monethes, and *Monarch*
of the whole *Iland* seenteene: his death happened the
fourth day of February, and year of Christs Incar-
nation eight hundred thirty six.

(16) His bodie was with all obsequies solemnly
buried at *Winchester*, and his bones since taken vp, re-
maine with others in that Cities Cathedral Church,
belowd in Chells serpon the Wall of each side the
Quire, with these verses neither ancient, nor elegant,
thereon inscribed:

*Hic Rex Egbertus postulat omne Regi
Nobis egregia munera veteraque iuris.*
Hic iussit.

(17) *Redburg*, the wife of King *Egbert*, was the
first of the *West-Saxons*, that by their owne made law
was deprived of title, authority, or place of a
Queene; notwithstanding it seemeth these haue a
great stroke with her husband, in that *Iohn Brev*
the Monke of *Wynchester* reporteth, that shee pro-
cured a law to be made against the *Brittainers*, the pe-
nalty whereof was present death for any of them to
set footing within the realme of *England*, or to passe
the *Dutch* that King *Offa* had made.

Hic iussit.

(18) *Ethelwulf*, the eldest sonne of King *Eg-
bert*, and Lady *Redburg* his wife, was in his child-
hood committed to the charge of *Helmegus* Bishop
of *Winchester*, vnder whom hee was carefully tray-
ned vp in learning and vertue, who coming to mans
estate proved also a perfect Souldier, and had the
leading of his fathers power against *Rudric* King of
Kent, whom hee forced to flie ouer the *Thamis*, and to
abandon his Kingdome, which he subdued to the
subiection of his father, and afterwards succeeded him
in the *Monarchy* of the *Englishmen*.

The cruelties
of his reign.

Egbert's emulor.

Ethelwulf's eldest
sonne.

Ethelwulf's younger
sonne.

(19) *Ethelstan*, the younger sonne of King *Eg-
bert*, and of the Lady *Redburg* his wife, was by his
father deputed King ouer the *Kentishmen*, the *South-
Saxons*, and the *East-Saxons* after hee had brought
them vnto his subiection; which people hee most
valiantly defended against the invasions of the *Danes*,
defeating their forces both by sea and land, and at
Sandwich gave them a most memorable ouerthrow,
in the year of our Lord eight hundred fifty one, be-
ing the sixteenth of his brother King *Ethelwulfes*
reigne; in whose time hee deceased, and is reported
to haue left a sonne named *Osfrid*, who by reason of
his minority succeeded not in his fathers dominions,
which *Ethelbert* the second sonne of King *Ethelwulf*
entred vpon, and being *Monarch* reunited these king-
domes inseparably vnto the *Monarchy*.

(20) *Egfrith*, commonly called Saint *Edith* the
daughter of King *Egbert*, was in her childhood by
her brother *Ethelwulf* committed to the charge and
bringing vp of a Lady in *Ireland*, greatly renowned
for her holiness of life, named *Moderne*, by whom
she was afterwards recommended to a Disciple of
the said Lady, named *Athra*, and made Gouverneste
of a *Monastery* of the Ladies, by her planted in a
place which the King her brother had given her,
called *Fellesworth*, situated in *Arden* in the north verge
of the County of *Warwick*, wherein she liued, died,
and was honourably buried, and the place in re-
spect of her afterwards called Saint *Ediths* of *Fellesworth*.

Egfrith a daughter
toe.



Ethelwolve.

Monarch 20

ETHELWOLVE THE NINTEENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENG- LISHMEN: HIS WARRES, ACTS, WIVES, AND CHILDREN.



CHAPTER XXXII.

An.Do. 337.



Ethelwolve, the eldest sonne of King *Egbert*, committed in his youth to the care of *Heinefian* Bishop of *Winchester*, and by him vnto *Switlan* a famous learned Monke of that time, tooke such a liking vnto the quiet and solitarie life, (specially enjoyed by men of Religion, all other degrees molished to withstand the intruding Danes) that he vnderooke the Monkish vow and profession, and was made Deacon; shortly after which degree taken, *Heinefian* died, in whose place Prince *Ethelwolve* was consecrated, as *Roger Hoveden* affirmeth, or at least elected, (as *John Brampton* Abbat of *Tarnewick* writeth) Bishop of *Winchester*. But the death of his Father King *Egbert* immediately following, by great intreaty of the Nobles, and partly by constraint of the Clergy, hee was made King, and was by the authority of Pope *Gregory the fourth*, whose creature in both professions he was, absolved and discharged of his vows.

(2) He entered his Monarchy the fourth day of *February* in the yeare of *Christ* Incarnation, eight hundred thirty seven, and was the nineteenth King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentieth Monarch of the *Englishmen*. His Bishopricke he gave vnto *Switlan* his Tutor, and according to his place, combined all his powers to withstand the dangerous Danes, that attempted the vnter subuersion of his faire land: whose first invasion in his first yeare happened, which drew the *Saxons* ciuill warres vnto a constrained peace, hauing more then they could well doe to defend their lues from their slaughtering Swords, or to sue their vniuall gotten land from the spoiles of those common enemies, who, not like Conquerors, but destroying Caterpillers, left nothing vndeouered wheresoeuer they came, and had now begunne their mercilese depopulations in diuers places at

once, so that the distracted *English* were to seeke where was most need first to withstand.

(1) At *Hampton* & *Portsmouth* many of these *Norway* Pirates had entred, at *Hampton* with their overthrow, at *Portsmouth* with victory; and the same time at *Carham*, a Troupe of these Danes discomfited King *Ethelwolves* power. The next yeare at *Mersware*, *Landsey*, in *East-Angle*, and *Kent*, they did much mischief, and harried all the Country before them; yet in his tenth yeare at *Peberdesmouth*, the *Somerset* and *Dorsetshire* men gaue them a memorable overthrow, vnder the conduct of Earle *Enwalde*, Bishop *Adelstan*, and *Osfred* their captiues.

(4) But in the sixteenth yeare of this King, the great Planet *Mars* seemed to predominate continually, and *Fortune* to cast the chance of victory euer on his side: for two hundred and fifty ships, (some reckon a hundred more) entred into *Thamesis* mouth and set on shore an infinite number of these destroying Danes. *London* and *Canterbury* they had sacked and left wast, had pierced into *Astoria*, and chased *Bertholfe* their King out of his Country, and now in *Somethy* had pitched their battle, as able and resolute to shide all the power of the *English*, whither King *Ethelwolve* with his sonne prince *Ethelbald* repaired, and tooke the field at the place called *Ogry*; wherem after a long and fore fight, the victory fell to the *English*, with such slaughter of these *Norway* invaders, as is incredible to report, and the same held as great and famous, as euer had hapned in the land before.

(5) With the like successe his Brother *Athelstan* King of *Kent*, fought with the Danes at *Sandwich*, where chasing them to sea, tooke nine of their ships; and in *Deuonshire*, Earle *Cearle* at *Windlethore* so overthrew their whole power, that in despaike they withdrew themselves into the Ile of *Thanet*, where they made their abode all the winter season, and if destiny had not withhold the *English*, the Danes had bene expelled for euer. But the *Saxons* seeming

Simon Dunelm.
Henry Hunt.

An.Doa.J. 8.

Henry Hunt.
Arden Hunt.

Wil. Malmsb.

seeming cleared of this common enemy, fell to their wonted quarrels with the ever deprecced *Britains*; against whom *Burhard* the *Mercian* obtained the assistance of *King Ethelwolve* in his eighteenth year, whose daughter *Ethelfrith* he had obtained in marriage; whereby for a while was increased the fame and power of that valiant, but unfortunate King.

(6) In this State the affairs of the land stood up to the nineteenth year of *King Ethelwolve's* reign; who now remembering his former Ecclesiastick profession, ordained that Tithes and Lands due to holy Church should be free from all Tributes or Regall services; and in great devotion went himselfe to *Rome*, where hee was both honorably received, and entertained the space of a whole year; in which time hee new built the *English Schoole*, that *Offa the Mercian* before had there founded, and lately was fired, bearing the name of *Thomas the Holy*; confirming also his Grant of *Peter pence*, and further commanding in lieu of his kind entertainment to pay yearly three hundred markes to *Rome*, this to be employed; one hundred to *Saint Peters Church*, an other hundred to *Saint Pauls Light*, and the third to the *Pope*: the Bride that hereafter must be kissed and largely paid.

(7) His returne from *Rome* was through *France*, and being a Widower, hee there married *Isideth* the most beautiful daughter of *Charles the Bold* then *Emperour*; in honour of whom in his owne Court, hee ever placed her in a Chaire of Estate, with all other maiestieall complements of a *Queene*, contrary to the law of the *West-Saxons* for *Ethelbert's* offence, formerly made. Which his doing so disliked the *Nobles*, that Prince *Ethelbald* his eldest Sonne, *Adelfstan* Bishop of *Sharburne*, and *Ernulf* Earle of *Somerset*, rose up rebelliously in Armes and sought to depose him; yet by mediation of friends, the matter came to a compromise, and the land to be divided betwixt the Father and Sonne, but with such partiality that the better part *westward* was allotted to *Ethelbald*: which vnequality gaue great suspicion, that this revolt was rather grounded upon ambition, then any inclination they had for the defence of their lawes, which commonly is the pretence and vaile for all disloyall attempts of seditious subjects against their soveraigne Lords.

(8) Howsoever it was, long after this he liad noe, but left his *Manerly* into his eldest sonne *Ethelbald*: and by will appointed *Ethelbert* his second, to be King of *Kent* and *Essex*, which countries he had conquered. He reigned twenty years, one month, and nine dayes, and decreased at a place called *Stamrige*, the thirtieth day of *January*, in the year of our Lord, eight hundred fifty seven, being the twenty one of his Reigne. His body was first buried at the place of his decreas, and afterwards removed into the *Cathedral Church at Winchester*.

His wives.

(9) *Orburg*, the first wife of *King Ethelwolve*, was the daughter of a Nobleman named *Ofst*, who had the office of *Great Butler of England*, and was descended of the stocke of *Staffe* and *Wahgar* two brethren, being nobleme of the people called *Wes*, who were the first Princes of the Ile of *Wight*, and *Nephewes* to *Cherd*, and cosen germanes to *Kenw* the first and second Kings of the *West-Saxons*, and the third and fourth *Monarchs* of the *Englishmen*. Shee was the second Kings wife that was debarred of the title and place of *Queene*. Shee decreed three years before the King her husband, in the nineteenth year of his reign, being the year of Christs Natiuitie eight hundred fifty nine.

(10) *Isideth* his second wife, was the daughter of *Charles* the *Emperour*, and King of *France*, as wee haue said: her Mother was *Queene Ermentrude*, the daughter of *Volan Earle of Orleans*. She was a Lady of passing beauty, and married to this King in *France*, and when she came into England was received with the title and place of a *Queene*, in a bullis-

ment of the peruerse law of the *West-Saxons*, made against the Kings *Wives*, as before was touched. She was his wife three years, and furnished him without any faile.

His Issue.

(11) *Ethelbald*, the eldest sonne of *King Ethelwolve*, and of Lady *Orburg* his first wife, was brought up in his youth in the exercise of warre, and serued vnder his Father in the great victory obtained against the *Danes* at *Oley in Surrey*, in the year eight hundred fifty one; afterwards hee turned his force against his Father; and at his returne from *Rome*, practised to defeat him of his Kingdom; and was ready to haue giuen him battaile, had not his Father parted with him his Dominion.

(12) *Ethelbert*, the second son of *King Ethelwolve* and Lady *Orburg* his first wife, was in the life time of his Father, after the decreas of his vncle *Ethelstan*, appointed and placed his Successor in his Kingdom over the *South-Saxons*, the *Kentish*, and the *East-Saxons*, without any mention or meaning (as it seemeth,) that hee should intermeddle further with any other part of *England*. Notwithstanding after the death of his brother *Ethelbald*, it was generally holden of all men for law, equity, and reason, that hee should succeed him in the *Manerly*: and so hee did, with the consente of his Brethren, and without resistance, or contradiction of any other.

(13) *Ethelred* the third sonne of *King Ethelwolve*, and Lady *Orburg* his first wife, had by the disposition of his Father in his last will, the one halfe of his Fathers proper inheritance; which was all such land as *King Ethert* his Grandfather had before hee was King, and was no part of the *Demesnes* of the Kingdom, and this was diuided betwixt him and his brother *Elfred*, as the kingdom was betweene their elder Brethren *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*: with an intent that this *Ethelred* should succeed his brother *Ethelbald* in the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*; notwithstanding, his brother *Ethelbert*, after the decreas of *King Ethelbald*, entered into the other part, adjoining it to his former kingdom, and was king of the whole, and after left it entire to this *Ethelred*, who succeeded him in the *Manerly*.

(14) *Elfred*, the fourth sonne of *King Ethelwolve* and of Lady *Orburg* his first wife, was borne at *11* *Anteg in Burghshire*, in the year of our Lord God, eight hundred forty nine, and the thirteenth of his fathers reign. Being a child of five yeeres old, hee was taken very honourably attended to the City of *Worcester*, where *Law the fourth* then Bishoppe confirmed him, as was his Godfather at the confirmation, and annointed him to the expectation of a kingdom; growne in yeeres, hee grew so in discretion, magnanimity and fauour of all men, that in the successie reignes of his three elder Brethren, hee ruled as a Vice-roy or secondary king vnder every of them, and after them at the last succeeded in the *English Manerly*.

(15) *Ethelfrith*, the daughter of *King Ethelwolve* and Lady *Orburg* was married to *Burhard* the twentieth King of *Mercia*, which marriage was solemnized at the towne of *Chappinham in Wiltshire*, in the month of *Aprill*, and yeare of Christs Natiuitie eight hundred thirty six, and the fifteenth of her fathers reign: but within twenty two yeeres after, they were both forced by the *Danes* to abandon their kingdom, and departed into *Italy*, where the King died the same yeare in the *English Colledge at Rome*: hee liued after him fifteen yeeres in the habite of a *Nunne*, at the City of *Padua*, and there died, and was honorably buried in the year of our Lord God eight hundred eighty nine, which was the eighteenth yeare of her brother *King Elfred's* reign.

(16) *Neate*, supposed by *Iohn Agapere* the *Letend writer*, to be the sonne of *King Ethelwolve*, was in his youth brought up at *Glosterbury vnder Dunelm*, who was afterward *Archbishop of Canturbury*. Hee proued a man of great learning, and was one of the first Readers of *Diuinity* in the Vniversity of *Oxford*, at the

8 Ethelbert the first sonne.

12 Ethelbert the second sonne.

13 Ethelred the third sonne.

14 Elfred a fourth sonne.

15 Ethelfrith a daughter.

Neate a Supposed sonne.

Sonne Date.

See Chap. 10. Sub. 10.

etc. Malandry. 1000. Dan.

Wt. Henry.

King's Palace. Henry II.

An. Dom. 857.

Ethelbert's time of reigne.

Henry II. An. Dom. 1155.

Orburg parents.

Isideth a second wife.

foundation, or as some will haue it, the restauration thereof by King *Elfred*, hee planted a *Monastery* in *Cornewall*, whereunto hee vied for deuotion and studious meditations often to withdraw himselfe, which of his abode there, was afterward called

Neotestric, and when he was dead, his body was with great honour enterr'd in the Countie of *Huntingdon*, at a place then called *Amflesbury*, and afterward in regard of his enterrment, *Saint Neetes*, and now *Saint Needes*.

S. Neetes Town.



Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TVVENTIETH
KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND
THE TWENTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS AND
RAIGNE.

Monarch 21.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

An. Do. 847.
Florus. origen.

*E*thelbald, the eldest sonne of king *Ethelwulf*, hauing had part of the kingdome in the life time of his Father, after his death entered vpon the whole, and was the twentieth King of the *West Saxons*, and the twenty one Monarch of the *Englishmen*, beginning his raigne

in the yeere of Christs incarnation eight hundred fiftie seuen.

His wars against
the Danes.

(1) His youth he had spent in the exercise of war, hauing made proofe of valour in his seruice against the *Danes* in many batels; and likewise attempted (though not in so good a cause) to haue fought against his owne father. Which his affaires, as they seemed violent and vnnatural, yet being in the quarrell of the *West-Saxons* law, enacted in preiudice of their *Queenes*, he was both sided and approued, as hath been said.

Wit. Melanbury.

(2) But howsoever vnwilling he was this faire *Queene* should sit in state by his fathers side, yet contrary to all lawes either of God or man, hee laid her by his owne, and by nuptiall rites, brought her to his sinfull and incestuous bed. Which act, though foule enough, some haue made worse, in reporting his Wife to be his owne Mother, whom King *Ethelwulf* kept for his Concubine. And surely this his sin was

not long vnpunished by the shortnesse of his raigne and life, leauing no other memory of his acts, besides this foule blot to his faire name.

The time of his
raigning.

(4) His raigne was onely two yeeres and an halfe, and death chanced vpon the twentieth day of *December*, the yeere of Christs assuming our flesh, eight hundred sixtie. His body was first buried at *Starbome* in the Countie of *Dorset*, where at that time was the Cathedral Church and Episcopall See; but afterwards was removed and enterr'd at *Salisbury*, in the Countie of *Wiltshire*.

His Wife.

(5) *Indith*, the Wife of King *Ethelbald*, was the widow of his owne Father, a most vnlawfull matrimonie contracted against all law of God or of nature, which being both dissolved and punished by the hallow death of the King, and the returning towards her father and Countie in *Flanders*, was rauished by *Baldwin* the Forester of *Arden* in *France*, and by him forcibly kept vntill shee consented to become his wife, who in regard of that marriage, when he was reconciled to the Emperor *Charles* her Father, was by him created the first Earle of *Flanders*, by whom shee had issue *Baldwin* the second, who espoused Lady *Elfrid*, the youngest daughter of *Elfred* King of *England*, from whom, through five descents lineally, *Adame* *Queene* of *England*, Wife to *William* the Conquerour descended, and from her, all our *Norman* *English* Kings vnto this day.

1. Cor. 4. 6.

Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT THE TVVENTIETH
ONE KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND
THE TWO AND TWENTIETH MONARCH OF
THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE
AND ISSVES.

Monarch 22



CHAPTER XXXIII.

An. Do. 860.



Ethelbert, the second sonne of King *Ethelwulf*, who had succeeded his Vnckle *Ethelstan* in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, *Kentish*, and *East-Saxons*, and for five yeceres continuance, ruled those Countreies with great equiry and valour, after the decease of his brother *Ethelwald*, succeeded him also both in the *West-Saxon* kingdome, and the whole Land Monarchie: whereof he was the one and twentieth King, and the two and twentieth Monarch.

(1) His raigne began in the yecere after Christs nativity, eight hundred and sixtie, and was disquieted from first to last by the innasions of the bloody *Danes*. For presently after his coronation, these common enemies entered the Land, ruining all before them vnto the Citie *Winchester*, which they sacked, and left it troden vnder their destroying feet, even to the ground. But in their retorne were encountered by the *Barthelmewes*, vnder the leading of *Ofrik*, Earle of *Hampton*, by whom they were vanquished, the prey recovered, and a great number of those Infidels slaine.

(2) In his first yecere also a natiue of *Danes* and *Normans* entered into the Land *Taney*, and began their wonted spoiles among those people: whereupon the *Kentish* compounded their peace for a great sum of money giuen. Notwithstanding these miscreants, which knew not God, gaue little regard to their promised covenants, and before the daies of truce were expired, like a sudden flood ouer-bare all before them. These their irruptions to withstand, the *Kentish* then prepared, rather aduertening themselves vpon the chance of battell, then to rely vpon a seeming truce, wherein their destruction was too appa-

rant, and forthwith assembling all the powers together, set vpon those truce-breakers, and with much slaughter forced them at length out of their Countrey.

(3) But the date of King *Ethelberts* life being expired, hee yielded his body to the course of nature, and his Kingdomes to his next Brother, after he had raigned ouer the *Kentish*, *South*, and *East-Saxons*, the terme of ten yeceres, and had five Monarch of the whole onely true. He died the yecere of grace eight hundred sixty six, and was honourably buried in the Cathedrall Church of *sherburne* in *Dorset-shire*, by his brother King *Ethelwald*.

His supposed issue.

(4) *Athelm*, the brothers sonne of King *Elfred*, mentioned in the last will and testament of the same King, seemeth by all likelihood to be the eldest son of this King *Ethelbert*, elder brother to the same King *Elfred*, although hee succeeded not his father in his Kingdome. For in those daies, if the Kings sonne were vnder age, the succession went to the next brother; and if that brother left his sonne at full age, then it went vnto him; otherwise it reuerted to the elder brothers sonne.

(5) *Ethelwald*, surnamed *Clute*, which is a word of addition giuen to all the *Saxon* Kings sonnes of *England*, is mentioned in King *Elfreds* will to be his brothers sonne, and is most likely to be the sonne of this King *Ethelbert*, he procured a most deadly enemy to his cosen King *Edward*, the sonne of King *Elfrid* his Vnckle, destroying his townes in *Dorset-shire*, and being driuen out of *England*, ioined himselfe with the *Danes*, who made him their King in *Northumberland*, and vnder his leading, greedously assailed the Countreies of the *East-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, and *Mercians*, wherein hee was slaine, the yecere of our Lord nine hundred and five, being the fourth of King *Edward* his cosen-germanes raigne.

Edith's death

Edith's death

Edith's death

Edith's death

Ethelred.

ETHELRED THE TVVO AND TVVENTIETH KING OF THE WEST.

SAXONS, AND THE TWENTY THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS
ACTS, AND ISSUE

Monarch 23.



CHAPTER XXXV.

An.Do.866.



*E*thelred, the third sonne of King *Ethelwulf*, after the decease of his Brother succeeded him in his Dominions, and was in number the two and twentieth King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twenty third *Monarch* of the *Englishmen*; he beganne

his raigne in the yeare of our saluation eight hundred sixty and six, and for the time that hee was King raigne in continuall warres against the Pagan *Danes*, whose numbers now were greater, and footing surer in this land then formerly had beene.

(1) In the first yeare of his raigne, there arriued vpon the *English* coasts a huge Army of these *Danes*, whereof *Hunger* and *Hobba*, men of incredible strength and cruelty, were the Capteines: These winred in *East Anglia*, made truce with the inhabitants vpon certaine conditions, and forbore a time from their wonted rauening.

(2) But in the next yeare the King being busied to put backe a fresh iroude of *Danes* in the *South* and *West* of the *Island* then entred, these deuourers tooke aduantage vpon the ciuil broiles commenced among the *Northumbrians*, who in these turmoiled times sought to withdraw their subiections from the *West-Saxons*, and to set vp Kings againe of their owne. The forsaide Capteines *Hunger* and *Hobba*, hauing in time of their truce strengthened themselves with new supplies of aid, marched farther into the *North*, where finding the people vnprouided of strength, and the two Kings *Osbert* and *Ella* of reconciled enemies to be made no sure friends, they harried the Country before them, and entering *Torkes* slew the two Kings, with infinit number of the *English*; which City they consumed with fire, and burnt therein all those that had fled thither for succour.

(4) The State thus standing, and their forces en-

creasing euery day, brought new feares vpon the inhabitants, when euery late victory with increase of Capteines and rich spoiles, ministred occasion & meanes of some other conquest to follow; which these Pagans so pursued, till lastly they set a substitute King to raigne vnder them, ouer all the *North* Borders beyond the river *Tyne*, and so retiring themselves out of *Northumberland* into *Mercia*, came to *Nottingham*, which City they wanne, and therein winred the third of King *Ethelred*'s raigne, who with the aid of *Burford* the *Mercian* King, constrained the *Danes* to sue for peace, and a safe departure, yielding the City, and againe retiring themselves ouer *Tyne*, remained in *Torkes* all the next winter.

(5) The Summers opportunity approaching, their wonted desire for spoile was with it increased, and to cut off long trauell these *Danes* by routes passed *Humber*, where *Hunger* and *Hobba* beganne with fire and sword to lay all wast before them, sparing neither Person, lease nor age. The places respected for publicke good, and sacred Temples consecrated onely to God, which all other Tyrants haue forborne, these sauage men as the earths destroyers cast downe and trampled vnder their prophane feet: among which for note were the goodly Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, all laid in leuell with the ground, and their Vocations, as well the *Nunnes* as the *Monkes*, murdered with their vnhumane and mercilesse swords; to avoid whose barbarous pollutions, the chaste *Nunnes* of *Coldingham* deformed themselves to their lasciuious eyes, by cutting off their vpper lips and noses; but to euertlasting remembrance they remain most faire, and well becomming faces of pure Virgins.

(6) These Pagans piercing further into the land, came into the territories of the *East-Angles*, wherein holy *Edmund* raigned King, whose *Martyrdom* in most cruell manner they wrought, he constantly calling vpon the name of Christ, whereof wee haue al-

ready

Hunger and Hobba.

The Danes
raue North-
land.

Englishes.

An.Do.870.

Flora Eight.

ready spoken, and shall bee occasioned hereafter to speake.

(7) But in the last yeare of this Kings reign, their raging power was most great: for with a few supply two Danish Kings *Sveeg*, and *Halden*, entered into *West-Saxia*, and at *Reading* the Kings towne intrenched themselves: these foraging the Country, were encountered with at *Englefield* by *Ethelwald* Earle of *Bathesburie*, and his men, who in skilfull slew one of their leaders, and chased the rest backe to their Trenches.

(8) These *Danes* fearing lest debates would prove dangerous, and knowing that the first successe is commonly seconded with further courage of hope, foure dayes after showed themselves in field ready to fight: their hoste they divided into two battalions, whereof the one was guided by two of their Kings, and certaine *Earles* were leaders of the other; which when the English perceived, they also divided theirs, whereof King *Ethelred* had the leading of the first, and *Elfred* his brother was General of the second; the place was *Affenden*, where their Tents were pitched, and the day approached for battaile: King *Ethelred* in his Tent staid so long in prayers that *Elfred* upon a forward courage hasted to encounter the enemy, and that with a most fierce and sharpe fight, wherein having spent the most of their strengthes, and ready to decline, and give backe: *Ethelred* manfully entered the battaile, and so seconded his brother, and our-tyred Souldiers, that hee made way by dint of his sword through the thickest of their almost-conquering enemies, and with such losse of the Danish blood, drawne from the sides of one of their Kings, five *Earles*, and an infinite number of the common Souldiers, that the streames thereof seemed as an over-swelling tide, altogether to cover the face of the field, and is accounted for the noblest victory that the English till then had gotten of the *Danes*.

(9) Yet were not these *Pagans* therewith discouraged, but gathering more strengthes and supplies from other parts; foureteen dayes after, made head againe against the *English*, and pitching downe their standards at *Basing*, about the coming of *Ethelred* and trial of battaile, wherein successe was altogether altered; for herein the Kings part was discomfited, and the *Danes* the winners of the day.

(10) Thus both sides borne upon rage & hope, in their heat of blood prepare for new fight. The *Danes* power was augmented with a further supply sent from beyond Seas, and the *English* confirmed with hope of successe: These meeting at *Merton* (two moneths after the battaile of *Basing*) encountered each others both boldly and bloodily; wherein at first the *English* prevailed, and the *Danes* were chased; but their numbers the greater, and fresh

supply maintaining their battaile, they recovered themselves, and wonne the day; wherein King *Ethelred* received his deaths wound, with such slaughter of his people, that little wanted the end of all encounters, to have been afterwards attempted any more by the *English*.

(11) Great was the valour and resistance of this King; for in his short time of Raigney, as Writers record, no lesse then nine set battailes against the *Danes* he fought in one yeare, to the great effusion of Christian blood, and to no little losse of the Danish power; for in his reign fell of them one King, nine *Earles*, and of the common sort without number.

(12) He died at *Wittingham* of his wound received the three and twentieth day of April, in the yeare of our Lord God eight hundred sixtenty two, and was buried in the Collegiat Church of *Winton* in *Dorsetshire*, where remains his Tombe and his *Armes* unto this day, with this Inscription:

In hac lea quis fuit corpus Sancti Ethelredi Regis West-Saxonum Martyris, qui Anno Domini 872. 23. die Aprilis, per manus Dacorum Pagannorum occubuit.

His Issue.

Elfred, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelred* seemeth to be Grandfather to the noble and learned *Ethelwold*, who being Kinsman, Counsellor and Treasurer to King *Edgar*, wrote an history of his Country, beginning at the first arrival of the *Saxons* into *England*, and continuing unto his own time: which history he dedicated to his kinswoman, and cosen germane the Lady *Matilda* Abbess of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxony*, being the daughter of the Emperour *Otto*, by *Edgith* his wife, daughter of King *Edward* the elder, and sister of *Ethelstone*, and *Edmond* Kings of *England*.

Osulf, a young sonne of King *Ethelred*, is mentioned in a Charter of his Fathers, by which he gave lands to the *Manserv* of *Abingdon* neere *Oxford*; and to which this sonne of his hath his name set downe for a witness; which Charter is yet extant, recorded in a great Legies-booke, and Register of the Evidences of the lands, sometime belonging to the said *Manserv*.

Tyrra, the daughter of King *Ethelred*, is reported by the histories of *Ireland* to be married to *Gormon* King of the *Danes*, and so have had issue King *Harald*, which *Harald*, by Queen *Gnold* his wife, had issue, *Sweyn* king of *Denmarke*, *Tringa* king of *Northumberland*, and *Gnold* Queen of *North-Wales*. King *Sweyn* by Queen *Sigrid* his wife, had issue *Cnut* King of *England* and *Denmarke*, *Olfrida* wife of Duke *Wulfe*, and mother of King *Sweyn* the younger, and *Tyrra* the first wife of Earle *Godwin* of *Kent*.

Ethelred's Issue.

His Matron.

Editha Chon. Martiris. Sicut.

His eldest sonne.

The Abbess of Quedlingburg.

Osulf a young sonne.

Tyrra a daughter.



Elfred.

ELFRID THE TWENTIE THIRD
KING OF THE VVEST SAXONS, AND
TWENTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE
AND ISSUE

Monarch 24.



CHAPTER XXXVL

An. Do. 872.

Marston,
Flores.

Elfred, or Alfred, the fourth sonne of King Ethelwulf, though hee had bene appointed King at Rome by Pope Leo in his young years & Fathers life time; yet reigned he in no part of his dominions, before the deathes of all his Brethren, vnder whom hee

served in most of their warres; assisting them likewise in all their counsels: the land now miserably torne by the cruell incurfions of the bloody Danes, was left vnto him, both to redeeme, and to raigene oner, by the death and Testament of King Ethelred his last brother.

(1) Hee beganne his raigene in the yeare of his age twenty two, and of our Lord God eight hundred seventy two, being crowned in the City of Winchester, the twenty third King of the West-Saxons, and the twenty foure Monarch of the Englishmen: but of some Historians he is famousied by the stile of the first absolute Monarch.

(2) His raigene beganne with troubles and wars in defence of the land which the Pagan Danes intended to destroy; and though his powers were small, yet was he forced into the field within one month after his Coronation: the place was *Wilton* in the Countie of *Wiltshire*, on the south-banke of the riuer *Wylt*; where the Danes at first gaue backe and fled: but seeing the fwaines of their pursuers, re-enforced their battie, and got the field, with whom the West-Saxons entered league, and compounded for their departure from among them.

(4) These Roouers then with their associates at *Reading*, got themselves into *London*, where they wintered, with whom the *Mercians* likewise compounded for their peace, which proued shortly to be the

destruction of their princely blood; and lastly, the lands subuerfion to a forraigne nation: For the Danes hauing got footing in the North, the West, and the South of this land, (vnto whose side many new-come guests from their Easterne countries were arrived, vnder the leading of other three Kings, *Guthrum*, *Echthel*, and *Amond*) all together let their griping tallents with such fast hold vpon *Mercia*, that at *Exeter* they constrained *Burthred* the King with his Queene *Elfrith* out of the land, and in his stead placed a King of their owne choise, vpon condition to deliuer vp the same againe vnto them when they would demand it.

(5) In the fourth yeare of King *Elfred* their armies diuided themselves into two parts, the one of them guided by King *Halden*, returned into *Northumberland*, where hee bellowed that Countie among his followers, and therein remained for two yeares continuance, doing much harmes both to the English and *Pitts*. The other part led by the last new-come King, came to *Grainbridge*, whence they wintered and spoiled the Countie, and there spreading themselves as Gashoppers vpon the face of the earth, eate vp all where they came; so that King *Elfred* was enforced to compound for their departure out of his owne kingdom in *West-Saxia*; to which covenantes they promised and swore; yet contrary to both, tooke into *Deuonshire*, and wintered at *Exeter*, vnto whom a further supply by sea sought to ioine themselves, but met with such boisterous blasts, that one hundred and twenty of their ships were cast away by tempest at *Swinemich* vpon our coasts, and their land-army marching towards *Exeter*, were there welcommed with so sharpe an encounter by King *Elfred*, that they gaue him both pledges and oath to depart with all speed.

(6) But Fortune euer dallying with them, whom shee means to down-cast, set the chance of losse presently

Joh. 179.

Polyb. lib. 2. c. 23.

An. Dom. 875.

27. de comp. sac.

Exeter. lib. 2. c. 23. de comp. sac.

Three Kings
again & of red.

An. Do. 876.

Abingdon.

Seven battles
in one year.

An. Do. 876.

Edling's exigent.

Edling's
land.

Apr. 10th
An. Corn.

Folke's King.

lently upon the *Saxons* side; for now the three Kings *Guthred*, *Esketil*, and *Admund* thought it not good to let *Elfred* thus rest, and thereupon drew their forces towards him, where at *Chippenham* (a Mannor of his) they winned, and compelled the *West-Saxons* there, either to yield, or to forsake the Country.

(7) King *Elfred* therefore, with such strength as he had, halted towards them, and fourteen miles from *Briflow* pitched down his tents even in the face of the enemy, where betwixt these fierce nations a great battle was fought, to the infinite losse of blood on both sides, and that upon such equall departure, as neither could challenge to bee masters of the field; yet the report went, that King *Elfred* was discomfited, which turned greatly to his advantage, for thereupon many of the English halted to his succour, left the overthrow of him should be the bane of them all; his strengthes thus reined with an unexpected supply, no time was deducted to stay the *Danish* rage, who were now returned further into the heart of the land, and at *Abington* by *Oxford* had pitched their standards for fight.

(8) Thither the English repaired, and the next morning he ordered his Army, neither were the enemies unprepared, but with braves blood ready to receive the encounter. The battaile joynd, continued with such losse of blood, that it is accounted one of the foret that ever betwixt them before had bene fought, and onely parted by the approach of the night, neither party challenging the honor of the day, the losse being so great upon both sides.

Seven of these battailes are reported to be fought in that year, whereby both their strengthes were much abated, and their spite blood so cooled their liners, that lastly they concluded upon a peace, one article was this, that the *Danes* should admit no more of their nations to arrive in this land; but how soone that was broken, the sequels did shew.

(9) For in the year eight hundred seventy sixe, (saith *Simon Dunelmensis*) *Ralls* a nobleman of *Denmark* with a great Army entered into England, with no lesse spoile and destruction then other of those *Danes* before him had done notwithstanding the treachery whom King *Elfred* met, and gave him so host welcome, that hee liked not greatly his entertainment; and being warned (forsooth) in his sleepe, that better fortune attended him in *France*, hee left his countreinen to ruggle with the English.

(10) The *Danes* then accounting the peace to be broken, like Bees from the Hive, infect all the land, inso much that this vndanted King *Elfred* was oftentimes brought to such extremities, that he hid himselfe out of sight, and in the Fens & Marsh grounds was forced with such small companies as he had, to live by fishing, fowling, and hunting of wild beastes for his food, having no more of his great Army left him, but *Summeris*, *Hanton*, and *Wiltshires* only, neither yet them free from the incursions of the *Danes*.

(11) The solitary place of his most residency, was an Island inclosed with the two rivers *Thame* and *Parret*, at their meeting in the Countrey of *Summeris*, commonly called *Edlingesley*, where he in very poore attire disguised, was encartered into a Cowherds house (if not into his service, where on a time as he saw by the fire in trimming of his bow and shafts, a cake of dow baking upon the hearth before him chanced to burn; the Cowherds wife comming in, and seeing him mind more by his bow then his bread, in a great fury cast away both his bow and arrows, and checking him as her Groom, said, *Thou fellow, dost thou see the bread burne before thy face and wilt not turne it? and yet art thou glad to eat it before it be half baked!* little suspecting him to be the man that had bene served with more delicate cates.

(12) But this Prince, the very mirror of Princes, more minding the wealth of his subjects, then

the majesty of State, disguised himselfe in the habit of a common Minstrel, and in person repaired to the *Danes* Campe, who lay like *Jenachides*, wallowing in wantonnesse, and secure in their owne conceit from impace of danger, which *Elfred* a most skillfull *Minstrel*, and an excellent *Poet*, did not a little egge on by his sweet musick, and kings of their valour; so that hee was suffered to passe uncontroled into the company of their Princes, at banquets, or else where: whereby he both saw their negligent security, and by diligent observance learned the designs that in their counsells they extended.

(13) Returning to his comfortable company, he told them the condition of the hostile Campe, and how easie it was to recover againe their decayed estates; whereupon shewing himselfe to his subjects, unto whose sight nothing could be more joyous, on the suddaine set upon the carelesse Campe of the *Danes*, and made thereof a very great laughter, to the great terror of others in other parties, that had accounted him dead long since.

(14) *Habba*, that had harried the English, and now rowzed upon the newes of King *Elfreds* victory and life, with thirty three ships sailed from *Wales*, and arriving in the mouth of *Tam*, where it falleth into the *Severn* Sea, assaid to take there the then strong Castle called *Kennish*, unto whom the *Danish* men gave battle, and slew eight hundred and eighty persons of their retinue; where the *Danish* King *Habba*, whose corps being there interred under a great heap of cropped flowers, gave name to the place, and was called *Habbeflowe*. Here and then was taken the *Danish* most esteemed *Treasure*, called *Resan*, wherein a *Raven* was portrayed wrought in neede-work, (so *African* *Ateneensis* reporteth) by the three sisters of *Habba* and *Hunger* the daughters of *Leatherbreake* (that is *Leather-breath*) the *Dane*: In regard whereof, as also for the opinion of good lucke, as they took it, it was cast born before them in their wars.

(15) These adarte proceedings of the *Danes* designs, especially falling when the game was neere woane, made them suspect, how fure soever the ball lay to hand, yet fortune would serve it in the end to their losse: for *Elfred* now stocked unto upon carys side, beganne to build fortresses behind his backe, and forward to march with his conquering sword: whereupon the *Danes* sent him for Peace, and delivered him hostages, upon assurance that they meant as they spake: The conditions were, that their King should receive *Baptisme*, and the great Army of the *Danes* quietly to depart out of the land.

(16) Whereupon *Garmond* or *Guthrum* the *Danish* King repaired to the new built Castle of *Edlingesley* unto King *Elfred*, and in the place then called *Alre*, was washed in the laver of *Baptisme*, whom *Elfred* received for his God-son by the name of *Aethelstan*, and gave him in free gift the Countrey of *East-Angles*. In the same fountain of Grace (saith *Simond Dunelmensis*) thirty of the chief *Danish* Nobility were initiated: upon whom the true Christian King *Elfred* bestowed many rich gifts: And that the limits of the English might be free from their incursions, thus the confines of King *Elfreds* kingdome were laid forth, as we find it in the end of those *Letters* that *Elfred* published, whose words are these: *Let the bounds of our Dominions stretch from the river Thames, and from thence to the water of Lea, run unto the head of the same water, and so forth straight unto Bedford: and finally, going along by the river of Ouse, let them end at weatling forest.*

(17) But so farr were the *Danes* from performance of covenantes, that in this eighth year of King *Elfreds* reign, and the eight hundred fienemy aitered after *Christ*, this *Garmond* and his company wintered at *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, and a new supply of these *Papans* (known by the name of the *Wenings*) winned at *Fulham* neere *London*; yet after upon better advice, the one went into their assigned circuit, and the other

Fabian.

Henry Hunt.
An. Do. 878

An. Do. 879.

John. Alton.

Danes held for
years.

Simon Dunelm.

W. Lamberd in
his booke of the
old English
lawes.

An. Do. 879

Marston.

other departed to the realme of France, and so to his twelfth yere the land tooke some rest, that had been kept long waking by the loud sound of warre.

(18) In the yere of Grace eight hundred eighty five, these last retired Danes finding France not fitting their purpose, returned into Kent, and put into Medway, where on his East side they began a fierce siege vnto the City Rochester, before whose gate they built a strong Castle: Thither King Elfred halied, before whose power these Danes could not stand, but were forced to their shippes, and backe againe into France.

An.Do.889.

after
the year

will. Malmsbury.

(19) Whereupon the King remoued his siege vnto London, whence all the Danes fled (as Volucres abide not the presence of the Lion) the inhabitants reioicing to see the face of their King: which City he committed to their former liberty and beauty, and committed the custody thereof vnto Etheled Duke of Mercia, that had married his daughter the Lady Etheled, whose title the King had maintained against Colvolphus, made King thereof by the Danes. Whereupon both Kent, the South-Saxons, and West-Saxons came willingly, and submitted themselves to King Elfred. The East-Angles being gouerned, or rather spoiled by Athelstan the christened Dane, who after twelue yeres raigne there died, and was buried at Hadley in Suffolke.

An.Do.892.

Simon Dene

Fornham battell

(20) But in the one and twentieth of his raigne, and of Christs Incarnation eight hundred ninety two: those roring Danes returned out of France, & againe arrived in Kent in the mouth of the river Limen, with two hundred and fifty shippes, which they drew foure miles into the great wood, then called *Andredes weald*, and there destroyed a Castle that stood for defence, building another more strong at *Apulder*, wherein they kept. At the same time likewise entred one *Hasting*, a Nobleman of *Normey*, with eighty shippes, but with a fairer shew hee intended, for hee sent his oath vnto Elfred not to annoy any part of his dominions, and withall his two sonnes to be baptized: which King Elfred accepted, himselfe becoming the Godfather of the one, and Duke Etheled of the other; and both they, and his Ambassadors returned with rich gifts. Against these *Fenish* invaders, King Elfred fought a great battell at *Fornham*, nere vnto *Arlisford*, wherein he wounded their King, and forced his Army to flee ouer *Thames*, in passing whereof, through ouermuch haile, and great fear many of them were drowned, and they that escaped, fled to a Island called *Breckley* inclosed about by the river *Colne*.

(21) News thereof being brought into the East, that the Danes from *Northumberland* had infested the West, and with a strong siege began the City *Excester*. Elfred left for General his sonne in law Duke Etheled, which he with a strong power went to suppress this rage: who hearing of his coming, brake vp their sieges, and were gone: vpon the advantage of his absence, perished *Hasting* then wrought, who out of his new built Callicast *Beamsfield*, made spoile of the Kings people, and forraged all the Country before him. Whereupon Duke Etheled assembled a power, and first assailing his well stored Castle, tooke thence his wife and two sonnes, with exceeding spoiles of gold, siluer and garments; all which were presented vnto King Elfred at his returne to London: who out of his princely magnanimity, sent backe to *Hasting* his wife and two sonnes, because (said hee) shee was no warrior, and his two sonnes were his God-children: whereupon *Hasting* repaired his Castle, and ioined with the other Danes that lay at *Apulder*.

Hasting wife and children as booty.

East and West belonged.

(22) Those then that had fled but lately from *Excester*, in their returne met with other their confors, and rousing about the coast for their prey, fell lastly vpon the ancient City *Chesler*, which presently they beganne to sicke and burne. But the country inhabitants coming to the rescue, begirt them about with their host, and foecalled the passages of

all supply of victuals, so that for want of food, the Danes were constrained to eate vp their horses, and vpon composition thence to depart.

(23) Thence fetching a compass all along the coasts of *Wales*, in the same yere they arrived in *Essex*, being the twenty foure of King Elfreds raigne: and in the Winter following, drew their shippes by the *Thames* into the river *Lee*, by which they passed in those light Pinnaes twenty miles Northward into the land, and built them a fortresse at the place called *Weare*, thither forthwith the King repaired, and pitched his tents before his enemies in the same place, who seeing their strength, and the danger of long siege, did that by policy, which power could not so fodainly do: for hee diuided the river into sundrie streames, whereby the Channell was made vnainnigable, and the Shippes bedded in the muddie, lay rather to their annoyance then defence; the former experience of their hunger-starued besiege made the more fearefull to fall into the like; and therefore in great hast departed their fortresse, leaving their wives and children to the mercy of the English. Neither stayed they till they came vnto the borders of *Wales*, when at *Cardiff* vpon *Seuerne* they built another Callicast, and lay there all the next winter.

(24) Long there they layed out, without dislike of their lodgings, and cold entertainments, but that they returned to their wonted spoiles, and diuiding themselves, some to *Northumberland* and some into *East-Anglia*, like Locusts eate vp all as they went: whose breath as it were, so infected the aire, that for three yeres following a great mortality raigned both vpon men and bealls, and ended not much before the death of this incomparable Prince: which hapned to the great sorrow of his subjects vpon wednesday the twenty eight of *October*, when hee had reigned twenty nine yeres and six moneths, of his age fifty one, and yere of Chrill leies nine hundred and one.

(25) The vertues of this Prince are matchable to any that euer reigned before him, and exceed the most that euer reigned after him, both in seruice of God, whose subjects they are, in defence of his Country, which charge they all beare, in providing good lawes, the finewer of Kingdomes, and care of posterities, from which none is exempted.

The day and night containing twenty foure howers, hee delighted equally to three especiall vices, and them obserued by the burning of a taper (six in his Chappell or Oratory, eight howes hee spent in contemplation, reading and prayers; eight, in prouision for himselfe, his repose and health; and the other eight in the affaires of his common-wealth and state. His Kingdome hee likewise diuided into *shires*, *Hundreds* and *Tithings*, for the better ordering and administering of iustice, and for the abandoning of theues, which had formerly increased by the meanes of long warres; whereby notwithstanding the multitude of soldiers continually employed, it is reported that a *Viper* might trauell alone in his daies through all his dominions, without any violence offered; and that bracelets of gold were hangd in the high waies, and no man so hardy as to take them away.

Hee was a most zealous, and studious protector and provider for the Clergy, Widowes and Orphans, liberal of his goods, wise, temperate and iust, valiant, patient in aduersities, and euer religious in the seruice of God. A most learned Prince, a skillfull Multitudin, and an excellent Poet: the best lawes bestitting his Subjects hee translated into the English tongue: as also the *Palterall of Gregory*, the history of *Beles*, and *Beatus his conuolation of Philosophy*, the *Psalmes of David* (whose godly raigne hee propoled to himselfe for imitation) hee likewise began to translate, but died before hee could finish the same. And so great a desire had hee vnto learning, that (as *Alfredus* himselfe witnesseth) he published this Act: *We will and command, that all Freeman of our Kingdome, who*

An.Do.895.
Time 1079.
Monarch 24.

* Wm.

The chart Lee
decided and
made encourage-
ble.

Henry thuring.

An.Do.897.

Said, he.
Angl 1194.
The Endures.
895-896.

After 1000.

will. Malmsbury.

Ezra's good
Bodice.Alfredus Kingd.
in 1079, as ap-
pears in Oron.

fewer passing two sides of land, shall bring up their sons in learning till they be fifteen years of age at least, that so they may be trained to know God, to be men of understanding, and to live happily: for, of a man that is borne free, and yet illiterate, we repute no otherwise than of a beast, or a homeless body, and a very fool. And for the furtherance of this his royal intent, comforted with *African* *Metuenus*, *Grimbold*, *John Sax* and others, neither permitted he any in office in Court, or eliew here, unless he be learned, which incited his Nobles to the earnest pursuit of learned Arts, and to traine vp their children in good letters: his buildings were many; both to Gods service, and other publique vſe, as at *Widmſſy* a *Monastery*, at *Wincheſter* a *New-Minſter*; and at *Shaſtbury* a house of *Nuns*, wherein hee made his daughter *Ethelgelda* the Abbess. But the foundation of the *Vniuersity of Oxford* (which hee began in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred ninety five, and whose lectures he honoured with his owne presence) firmoueth all his others, to the continuance of posterities, a liuing spring and grations fountain, whence issue the streames of all knowledge, that abundantly haue watered both this and other kingdomes.

(26) His body was first buried in the Cathedral Church of *S. Peter at Wincheſter*, vnder a faire Monument of most pretious Purphoy, afterwards because the lewd-religious Chanons put it out to work some feat of their vſual impoliticke) that his Ghost did waik every night from house to house both it and the Monument were taken vp, and by his son the Kings command (in detestation of those forceries) removed into the Church of the new *Monastery*: and lastly, his body, Monument, Church and Monastery, were taken thence and removed without the Northgate of the City, since called *Hyde*.

(27) Some alledge that the malice of those Chanons against him, was for displeasure that he placed ouer the a rude Swineheard named *Denerphus*, whom he made their Bishop; but the ground of that allegation seemeth vnwarrantable by the relation of *Wigornensis*, & also of *T. h. Radborne*, the first of which saith, that *Elfred* caused him to be trained vp in learning, and the later, that after long study, he attained to the degree of a Doctor of *Divinity* in the *Vniuersity of Oxford*, and was afterward made Bishop of *Wincheſter* by the King. For doubtlesse at that time the Bishops of *Rome* had not deſeuered our Kings of that prerogative.

His Wife.

(28) *Elfrith* the wife of King *Elfred* was the daughter of *Ethelred* surnamed *Muchel*, that is the Great, an Earle of the *Mercians*, who inhabited about *Gaueſborough* in *Lincolnſhire*: her mother was *Edburg* a Lady borne of the Blood-royall of *Mercia*. She was married vnto this King in the twentieth yeare of his age, being the second of the raigne of his brother King *Ethelred*, and was his wife twenty eight yeares, and liuing after him foure; died in the yeare of grace nine hundred and foure, and was buried in the *Monastery of Nones* which hee had founded at *Wincheſter*, out of which afterwards King *Henry the first* took to his wife *Maud* and the daughter of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, by whom the royal blood of the ancient Kings of *England* became vniued to the *Normans*, whereby he wanne much loue of the *English* nation.

His Issue.

Edgar, the eldest sonne and second child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elfrith*, was borne about the

beginning of his Fathers raigne, in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred twenty one: hee was brought vp in his Fathers Court, and carefully attended, and intrusted by men of great vertue and knowledge, in learning, and in all other qualities, and exerciſes conuenient for Princes. He was married, and had diuers children: hee was thirty yeeres of age before his Father deceased, and then hee succeeded him in his Kingdom and Monarchy.

Ethelward, the second son, & fifth and last child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elfrith*, was borne about the midle of his Fathers raigne, and about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and eighty. Hee was in his youth by his Fathers appointment, and for the example of other young Nobles brought vp in the study of good Arts, at the vniuersity of *Oxford*, where (saith *T. h. Radborne*, and the *Annals of Wincheſter*) he became a man very learned, and a great Philosopher: he had of his Fathers gift by his last Will great linings in the Counties of *Deuon*, *Somerset*, *South-Hampton*: he proued a man of great iudgement and wisedome, and liuing vntill he was about forty yeeres old; hee died the sixteenth day of *October*, in the two and twenty yeare of his brother King *Edward* raigne, Anno nine hundred twenty two, and was buried at *Wincheſter*.

Elfrida, the eldest daughter and first child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elfrith* his wife, was married to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, who in respect of this marriage was suffered to haue all roiall iurisdiction ouer that Countrey, in as ample manner as the Kings thereof had enioied; and after the deſeale of her husband, which happened in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred and twelue: she continued the gouernement in the same sort eight yeeres, with such resolution and valiant resistance of the common enemy (the *Danes*) that the flood her brother *Edward* ingreat stead, as in the relation of his life shall be further shewed. She died the fifteenth of Iune nine hundred and nineteene, and was buried in *S. Peters Church* at *Glouceſter*, leaving issue, a daughter, named *Elfrith*, whom King *Edward* her brother deſtined of that *Duchy*, which her owne mother enioied, and he his crowne by her assistance.

Ethelgelda, the second daughter and fourth child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elfrith*, was neuer married, but tooke vpon her the profession and vow of *Virginity*, and was by her fathers appointment made a Nunne of *Shaſtbury* in the Countrey of *Dorset*, in the *Monastery* there founded by him: who is also accounted the first of the Towne in *Welle*. Shee was afterward Abbess of the house, and therein spent, and ended her life, and was there also buried.

Elfrida, the youngest daughter, and child of King *Elfred* (and Queene *Elfrith* his wife, was married to *Baldwin* the second, surnamed the Bald, Earle of *Flanders*, sonne of Earle *Baldwin* the first, and Queene *Tadith* his wife, the widow of King *Ethelræſſe* her Grandfather. Shee was bis wife thirty yeares and more; shee suruiued him and was a widow eleven yeeres, she died the seventh of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred twenty nine, being the fift of the raigne of King *Ethelſtan* her Nephew. She is buried by her husband in the Chappell of our Lady, within the *Monastery* of *S. Peter* at the City of *Glouc*. She had issue *Annaſſe* the third Earle of *Flanders*, progenitor of all the Earles of *Flanders* since his time, & *Adalſſe* Earle of *Burgoyne* and *Torin*.



Edward

Monarch 24.

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE ELDER THE TWENTIE FOVRTH KING

OF THE WEST SAXONS, AND TWENTY FIFT
MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS
RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSE.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

An.Dogol.



O greater were the griefes conceived for the death of worthy *Ælfred*, then were the hopes of the people in his sonne Prince *Edward*, whose valour had bene often approved against the raging *Danes*, & whose vertues were both many and princely; not so learned as his Father, neither so patient to vndergoe his chance; but as glorious in martiall prowesse, and as fortunate in al his fights, vnder whose hand the *Danes* every where fell, and vnder his *Monarchy* all the *English* did sleepe excepting the *Northumbrians*.

(2) He entred his raigne the yeare of Christs nativity, nine hundred and one, and at *Kingston* vpon *Thames* was crowned and anointed with holy oyle. The *Danish* warres continuing in a faccious manner, fell as it were hereditarily from the Father vnto the Sonne, and ripened daily towards their wished harvest. Besides *Ethelwald* the sonne of *Ethelbert*, the vnckle to this King *Edward*, young at his fathers decaie, and therefore perhappes held vncapable of gouernement, shewed now the blossoms of vnder-fucking plants, whose fruits are neither plectuous nor plicant in tall; for his humours euer working vpon discontents, drew his thought onely how to make the possessor fall.

(3) He then entering action of rebellion, tooke the towne of *Winton* neere vnto *Bath*, and besides the allegiance due to his Prince, in sacrilegious manner brake the helis of holy Church, in deflowering and taking a Votarist to wife: *Edward* the elder so called, (it may be in regard of this his *Opposite*) with a selected Army repaired to *Bath*, and thence prepared for the field: whose fight was so cockatrice-like to his

cofen-Germans eye, that in the night he bade his *Nus* and *Wiborne* adew, posting to *Northumberland*, and proffering his seruice to the *Danes* that lay for aduantage of rapine and spoile.

(4) Him as a fitt instrument they created their King, and forward in hope of some prosperous successe, passed through the *East-Saxons*, the *East-Angles*, and the *Mercian* Countries: and laden with robberies came to *Crikelade* in *Wiltshire*, whence they departed ouer *Thames* to *Basingstoke* and harrying the land before them, with triumph returned vnto *East-Anglia*. *Edward* thus endangered by these dreadfull euemies, gaue them no aduantage by lingring delays, but followed their tract vnto *Saint Edmunds* *Ditch*, whence in his returne, the *Danes* gaue him bataille, and obtained the victory, though bought with the liues of *Ethelwald* and *Cochrim* their Kings, and losse of many *English*, which made *Edward* the readier to enter a truce with them about the lift of his raigne.

(5) That the *English* were most expert for war in these daies, is witnessed by their resilience of those sturdy *Danes*, against whom the *Commons* many times with victory fought, without either King or Captaine to guide them: and they were likewise famous in other lands: for about this time it was, that the *Englishmen* at the perswasion of the *Gothes*, besieged the great City *Argilla* in *Barbarie*, which they wanne with such slaughter of the enemy, and spoile of the towne, that for thirty yeares after it lay desolate without inhabitants, whereby it was hoped that the *Saracens* would haue departed *Europe*, as *Isaiah* *Las* after hath told vs, who according to the *Saracens* doth refferre this siege to the three hundred and foureteenth of *Mahomet* *Regia*, which meeteth with the yeare of Chrills Nativity, nine hundred and fwe.

(5) The

Styendun liff.
See. Curren.
John Brown.

Richard liff.
Styendun.

or where taken
by him.

Henry liff.

See liff.

St. Edmund's liff.

An.Dogol.

Isaiah Las
Isaiah Las
Isaiah Las

The Dance
brake cruce
with the Eng-
lish.

An. Do. 910.

Swen Danes.
Two Danish
Kings Rises.

Ed. Magnus.

Leif his be-
nigne to King
Edward.

Wandering
of King Edward
midnight.

New Hunting.
An. Do. 911.

Ed. the Duke
of Wiltshire.

She winneth
Brenn & Darby

Many women
planned by her.

(6) The trace yet lasting, the Danes in Northumber-land were nothing quiet, to taily whole irruptions King Edward lent a great power, who harried the Country before them, and with much slaughter returned victorious. These dalliances of Fortune made the Danes very desperate, and therefore to stay the rowling ball before it should passe their goale, they gathered their powers & entered Mercia, where with victory and spoile they raged for a time. But Edward to aid Ethelred his brother in law, and Earle of that Province, mustered his men, and at Wodenfeld neere Wrotham-hampton in Stafford-shire gaue the battaile, wherein the English so behaued themselves that the two Pagan-Kings Canutus & Hæthelwite, the two Earles *For* and *Scafa*, besides other Nobles & Commons innumerable they flew: and now the clouds of these temperatures being driven backe, King Edward Monarchy ascended the Horizon, and the Sunne of his power beganne to shine very bright, therefore he seeking to hold what he had got, let his thoughtes to secure his towne with Castles and walles of defence.

(7) These his proceedings caused him to be both beloued and feared; but his mind full free from any ambitious pride, as may appeare by the intercoure betwixt Leolin Prince of Wales and himselfe, wherof *Wals. Map. an.* maketh mention as followeth. *What time Edward the Elder (saith he) lay at Austline, and Leolin Prince of Wales at Bethelley intending a Party, Leolin refused to come thence, or to craue the Seaunce: whereupon Edward tookt boat and entered the river towards him, when when Leolin saw, and knew who she was, he e off his such robe wherewith he was clad, and which hee had prepared for that small assembly, and entered the river breakt-up, where clasping the boat with an robe, hee submissively said: Most wise and sage King, thy humilitie hath overcome my inferiour, and thy wisdom triumphed over my folly; come, gett upon my necke which I haue (saith as I am) lifted up against thee, so shall thou enter into that land which thy beynie midwinters hath made thee owne this day: and after he had taken him upon his shoulders, he would needs haue him sit down upon his small roole, and so putting his hands roundly one his, did him homage.*

(8) In the twelfth yeare of his raigne, as Henry Huntington hath it, Ethelred Earle of Mercia, who had married Edigea King Edward first, departed this life, he having borne him one onely daughter named Edgwen, whose trauell in childbirth was so grievous, that euer after the forbore the nuptiall imbracements of her husband, alledging that it was an ouer foolish pleasure, which brought with it so great paines; and thereupon changing the wonted affection of her sex from the bed vnto battaile, gouerned Mercia eight yeares after her husbands decease, as another Zenobia, and did not a little assist her brother in his warres: for the Welsh he pursued as farre at Brecknock, which he tooke with their Queene: from the Danes hee wonne the Conney of Darby, and assaunting the towne vpon them, put her selfe in great danger; for enterprising to enter the Gate, she was resisted by whole multitudes of Danes, notwithstanding, she persisted, & got entrance, in which encounter many died, and foure of her chief men of war, being Wardens of her person came full by her side were slaine.

The Danes in Yorkeshire he constrained to bee at her deuotion, so that some of them became her subiects, some vowed to attend in her aide, and some promised to be prest at her dispose. Her policie in warre proved euer the fust; her counsell of State was regarded with the wisest, and her prouidence in building, and repairing Cities for the weale publick, or fortifying places for munition of warre exceeded others: which shee extended vpon Chester, Tamworth, Lichfield, Stafford, Warwick, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Redbury, Sinsbury, Runcorne, Strawberry-Bridge and others.

This renowned Lady giuing place vnto Nature,

left the warres to bee continued by her brother, her daughter at the dispose of her vnckle, and her body to be buried at *Gloster* in the Monastrey of S. Peter, which her husband and her selfe had formerly built.

(9) The last battaile of this King against these vassilate enemies, was in the Country of the *East Angles*, wherof *Edrick the Dane* was King, for hee intending new warres with the English, sought to incite other Danes to his aide, wherof Edward hauing intelligence, preuented his purpose, by his sodaine approach into those parts.

Edrick therefore hauing all in a readinesse, rashly encountered with his enemy, and fought a fierce battaile to the great losse of his Army, and damage of his life; for returning to his Court after so foule a diffamiture, became odious to his owne subiects, who violently fell vpon him and murdered him, and them selves brought low by ciuill diffention were shortly made subiect to the English King Edward, and that Kingdome with Mercia, ioined vnto his *West-Saxons*. And now hauing raigned in great warres and honour the space of twenty foure yeares deceased at *Feringdon in Berke-shire*, the yeare of Christs incarnation, 924, and was buried in the *new-Monastrey of Winchester*, which his Father beganne, and himselfe wholly finished.

His Wives.

(10) *Egwin* the first wife of King Edward, was the daughter of a meane Gentleman named *Brecher*, whose eye-pleasing feature and alluring beauty made her to be educated aboue the degree of her birth, and was brought up by the nurse of King Edward in tender affection and great cheere. It chanced Prince Edward in kindnes came to visite his nurse, where seeing the admirable beauty of the Maide, fell so farre in loue, that he tooke her to his wife without the consent or knowledge of his father: In which regard he is reputed by some Writers rather than his *Cousine* then his Queene, no other cause mouing them but her meane parentage, and secret making and keeping of this marriage, although there bee some good histories and many likehoods to induce that he was his lawfull Queene.

(11) *Edigea* the second wife of King Edward, was the daughter (as *Matthew of Westminster* reporteth) of an Earle named *Ethelwode*, and after the Bishop of *Sherborne* maketh mention of an Earle in *Wiltshire* among the *West-Saxons* of the same name, who was in great fauour with King *Elfred*, the father of this King, by whom hee was sent Ambassador to carry his Almes to *Stephen* the six, of that name Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeare of our Lord 887, and by all probable conference of name, time, and place, hee seemeth to bee the man that was father to this Queene.

(12) *Edgiva*, the third wife of King Edward, was the daughter and heire of Earle *Sigolue* Lord of *Acepham, Culings, and Icanham in Kent*, who was slain in battaile against the Danes, Anno 927. She was married vnto King Edward about the fourteenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Grace, 916. She was his wife ten yeares, and after his death she liued a widow all the times of the raignes of King *Ethelred* her sonne in law, of King *Edward*, and King *Edred* her owne sonnes, of King *Edwy* her Grand-child, and was living in the Raigne of King *Edward* another of her Grand-children, almost fortie yeares after the death of her husband. It is writ of her that in the yeare of Grace, 959. Shee offered her lands and endowes to Christ vpon his Altar at *Canterbury*. Shee deceased the twenty fifth of August in the fourth yeare of the said King *Edgar*, and of Christ, 963.

His Children.

(13) *Ethelflan*, the eldest sonne of King Edward, and the Lady *Egwin*, was borne and growne to good yeeres in the time of the raigne of his Grandfather King *Elfred*, who with his owne hands gaue him the order of Knighthood, after a very honourable man-

Edwin.

Edrick his daughter.

The time of King Edward's reign.
His death and buriall.

Egwin.

Prince Edward married Egwin.

Edigea.

Stephen the six Bishop of Rome.

Edgiva.

Two Kings her sonnes.

Edelflan the first sonne.

W. Malmb.

Edw. the second sonne.

Crowned King in his fathers time.

Edw. the first daughter.
Was, Westminster Priester.

Tamworth Castle.

Edw. the third sonne.

Duried at Winchester.

Edw. the fourth sonne.
W. Malmb.

Tamworth Castle.
Was, Annals of Flanders.

Edw. the second daughter.

Rumsey Monastery.

Edw. the third daughter.

bet of creation, as *William* the Monke of *Malmesbury*, a great observer of such things, hath left in writing: who reporteth, that he put upon him a Purple Robe, and girt him with a girdle wrought with pearly, and a *Saxon* sword in a leasard of gold, hanging at the same. He was the Successor of his Father in the *West-Saxons* dominions, and the *English* *Monarchy*.

(14) *Edfred*, the second sonne of King *Edward* and the Lady *Egna*, is warranted by the testimony of the Bory of *Hyde*, to have been loved of his Father above all his other children, that he caused him in his owne lifetime to bee crowned King, and to sit with him in his Seat of Estate, as his Partner in the Kingdom, and that he enjoyed that great honour but for a small time, deceasing shortly after his creation, and long before his fathers death; and was buried in the New Monastery at *Winchester*, which afterwards was removed to *Hyde*.

(15) *Editha* (whom the *Scottish* Writers call *Beatrice*) the daughter of King *Edward* and the Lady *Egna*, with great honour was married to *Sydrick*, the Danish King of *Northumberland*, in the first yeere of the reign of her brother King *Ethelstan*, being the yeere of grace 915. Within one yeere after her marriage, her husband deceased, and his sonne *Gutfrid* succeeded him in his Kingdom. Wherefore the forsaking that Country, obtained of her brothers gift, the Castell of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwick*, where she began a Monastery of Nuns, and therein lived, and was interred, and both the Monastery and Body afterwards was removed from thence unto *Pellefworth*.

(16) *Edward*, the third son of King *Edward*, &c. the first of Queene *Etheldas* his second wife, was born, as it seemeth, about the beginning of his Fathers reign. He was carefully brought up in the study of Liberal Arts, and in all other princely qualities, so that it was expected he should have succeeded his Father in the Kingdom; but presently upon his fathers death, he deceased himselfe in *Oxford*, and was buried as one time, and in one place with him in the New Monastery at *Winchester*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 924.

(17) *Edwine*, the fourth sonne of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Etheldas* his second Wife, was very young when his father was buried, and his brother *Ethelstan* was crowned. Now in standing a deep idolotie possitting the King, that his title was too neere the Crowne, he caused him to be put into a little Prison, without either Tackle or Oares, one only page accompanying him, that his death might be impured to the waters: whence the young Prince outcome with griefe, and notable to murther his owne passions, cast himselfe headlong into the sea, and his dead body being driven upon the coasts of *Flanders*, was taken up by *Adolph*, Earle of *Belaine*, his cozen-germane, and honourably buried in the Monastery of Saint *Bertin*, in the Towne of *S. Omers*. Which fact was much lamented by King *Ethelstan*, who generously punished the fuggellions of his owne idolotie, and the procurers of his brothers death; lending great thanks to the Earle that buried him, and rich presents to the Monastery which entombed him, and to appease the ghost of his innocent brother, built the Abbey of *Antidunum* in the County of *Durset*.

(18) *Etheldas*, the second daughter of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Etheldas* his second Wife, entered into the orders of Religion, and tooke upon her the profession and vow of Virginity, in the Monastery of *Rumsey*, situated upon the River *Tyff*, in the County of *Southampton*. In which Monastery, she was first a Nunne, and afterward Abbess during the whole time of her life, which was there spent and ended, and her body in the said Abbey buried.

(19) *Egna*, the third daughter of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Etheldas* his second Wife, was the second Wife to *Charles* the third, furnished the Simple King of *France*, son to King *Lewis* the brother of *Judith*, Queene of *England* before mentioned. She had issue by him *Lewis* the third, furnished Be-

yard, because he was brought up here in *England* with his Uncle King *Ethelstan*; and *Giles* Duchesse of *Normandy* married to *Edw. the Dane*: who in regard of his marriage, was allowed to be the first Duke of that Country. This Queene furnished King *Charles* her Husband; and afterwards was remaried to *Herbert*, the younger Earle of *Fernandis*; which marriage was taken for so great an indignity, because Earle *Herbert* the elder, father to this Earle, had caused the King her Husband to die in prison, that King *Lewis* her sonne presently purified her, apprehended, and committed her to the strict custody of Queene *Gerberge* his wife: so as shee had no recourse unto him, nor issue by him.

(20) *Etheldas*, the fourth daughter of King *Edward*, and the third of Queene *Etheldas* his second Wife, followed the example of her elder sister *Etheldas*, and became a Nunne in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Towne, giving name to the whole County of *Wiltshire*, and anciently called *Eldunden*.

(21) *Editha*, the fifth daughter of King *Edward*, and the fourth of Queene *Etheldas* was married to *Hugh* furnished the Great, Earle of *Paris*, Grand-maister and Constable of *France*, in the yeere of our Lord 926. being the third of her brother King *Ethelstan* his reign. This *Hugh* was the sonne of *Robert*, brother to *Edw. King of France*, and father of King *Hugh Capet*, progenitor of the Kings of *France*, ever since unto this day: but she died before him without any issue by him.

(22) *Edgitha*, the sixth daughter of King *Edward* and the fifth of Queene *Etheldas*, was the first wife of *Otho* the first, furnished the Great, Emperour of the West, sonne to the Emperour *Henry*, furnished the *Falconer*. By him he had issue *Ludolf*, Duke of *Swabia*, *William* Arch-bishop of *Metz*, *Landgrave* married to *Conrad* Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Atchold* Abbess of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxonia*: in which Citie she deceased the seven and twenty of August in the yeere of Christs Nativity 947. the eleventh of her husbands Empire, and the first of her brother King *Edreds* reign in *England*. She was buried at the East end of the North side of a Chappell which her selfe had founded in the same Citie.

(23) *Edgna*, the seventh daughter of King *Edward*, and the sixth of Queene *Etheldas* his second Wife, was by King *Ethelstan* her brother, with her sister *Edgitha* sent to the Court of the Emperour, *Henry* the first King of the *Saxons* in *Germany*, who honourably entertained her, brought her up with his owne daughters; and after he had married her elder sister to his eldest sonne, he placed her also in marriage with a Duke of *Italy* about the *Alps*, who is not named of our Writers, but may easily be conjectured by the honourable disposition of the maker of the match, to have been a Prince of note and account, worthy of her estate and parentage.

(24) *Edmond*, the fifth sonne of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Edgna* his third and last Wife, was borne in the twentieth yeere of his fathers reign, being the yeere of the worlds salutation 921. and at his fathers death little more then three yeeres of age, was notwithstanding by the careful provision of his mother, brought up with all princely education convenient for his yeeres and estate, inasmuch as there was generally a great expectation amongst the people conceived of him in the life of his brother King *Ethelstan*, under whom he learned some experience of service in warre, and after whom hee succeeded in the Kingdom of *England*.

(25) *Edred*, the sixth sonne of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Edgna* his third Wife, and the youngest sonne of them both, was borne about the two and twentieth yeere of his fathers reign, and yeere of grace 921. which was not long before the death of his father, who left him a little infant in the custody of his mother, by whom hee was carefully brought up, and prooved a Prince of so great vertue

Her marriage with Herbert dissolved.

Editha the fourth daughter.

Editha the fifth daughter.

Edgitha the sixth daughter.

Edgna the seventh daughter.

Married to a Duke of Italy.

Edmond the fifth sonne.

Three yeeres old at his fathers death.

Edred the first sonne.

A good Prince.

and valour, as after the death of King *Edmund* his brother, in regard of the minority of his Nephews, hee was with the generall consent, and liking of the whole nation, chosen to be his brother's successor in the kingdom and government over them.

(26) *Edburg*, the eight daughter of King *Edward*, and the first of *Queene Edgiva*, in her child-hood had her disposition tried, and her course of life disposed by her Father in this manner: he laid before her gorgeous apparrell, and rich Jewels, in one end of a chamber, and the new Testament and Bookes of princely instruction in the other, willing her to make her choice of which she liked best: the presentlyooke up the bookes, and hee in his armes, and kissing her said, *Go in Gods name whither God hath called thee*, and thereupon placed her in a *Monastery* at *Winche-*

ster, wherein shee did most virtuously spend her whole life, and in that Abbey was buried.

(27) *Edgiva*, the ninth daughter of King *Edward*, and the second of his last *Queene*, whose name shee bare, is reported in the history of the *Monastery of Hyde by Winchester*, and other Writers of our Country, to have beene married to *Lewes* Prince of *Aquitaine in France*, which not long before had beene a *Kingdome* of it selfe, sometime allotted to the portion of *Lewes* the third sonne of the Emperour *Charles the Great*, of which house it seemeth this *Lewes* was; afterward it became a *Dukedome*, and the possession of an other Family by whom it came to be the inheritance after the Conquest to the Kings of *England*, which were descended of the house of *Angvers*.

Edgiva the ninth daughter

April nine before going to England.

Edburg the eight daughter. See 211 p. 4. p. 106 lib. 6 cap. 4.

Ethelstan

ETHELSTAN THE TWENTIE FIFT
KING OF THE VVEST SAXONS, AND
THE TWENTIE SIXT MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS,
AND SUPPOSED ISSUE

Monarch 26



CHAPTER XXXVIII.



Ethelstan, the eldest sonne of King *Edward* (as hath beene said) for the great hopes conceived of him, was crowned with a greater solemnity then any of his ancestors euer before him. The place was *Kingston* vpon *Thames* in the County of *Surrey*, the year

of Christ Iesus 924, where, in the midst of the towne a high Scaffold was built, and thereon the coronation performed to the open view of all, by *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, with shouts of ioy at that of *Salomon*.

(2) His beginnings were with troubles, and that rather by reason of friends then force of foes: for it is recorded, that *Elfred* a nobleman, either in fauour of King *Edward* or other sonnes, holding *Ethelstan* a Bastard, or else vpon an ambitious hope blinded of him-

selfe, intended at *Winchester* to haue plucked out the eyes of his Soueraigne: but his treason being knowne, before the deed could be wrought, he was apprehended & sent to *Rome* to purge himselfe by oath: where, before the *Altar* of *S. Peter* and *Pope John* the tenth, he there abjured the act, and thereupon fell sodainly down to the earth, so that his seruants tooke and bare him into the English Schoole, where, within three dayes after he died: the *Pope* denying him christian buriall vntill he knew King *Ethelstan* pleasure.

(3) These stormes ouerpast, as great a cloude seemed to arise vnto *Ethelstans* light, whose eye of icalousie euer followed the ascent, and his care euer opened vnto the insallations of *Parasites*, amongst whom his Cup-bearer was a chiefe, who brought daily more and more suspicion into the Kings head, that lastly (as wee haue shewed) hee consented to young *Edwin* death, though with too late a sorrow hee repented the same: for besides his fauour years penance voluntarily vndergoe, to pacifie

Pope John the tenth.

Parasites.

Edwin death.

An. Do. 924.

Crowned at Kingston vpon Thames.

W. H. M. M.

The occasion of
the founding of
Melbury and
Melbury Monastery.

His Capteuer
put to death.

Thiribg.
w. Melbury.

A law against
felons.

Godfrey and An-
laf: the success
of Godfrey.

A Ludolf's
Martyr.

An. Do. 937.

An. W. B.
Lond. 937.

King Godfrey
and his Godfrey.

W. L. Melbury.
St. Dun. Trin.
R. M. M. 937.

An. Do. King of
Ireland.

Stellar B. 937.

An. Do. King of
Ireland.

An. Do. King of
Ireland.

the ghost of his betrayed brother, hee built the two Monasteries of *Melbury* and *Melbury*, as for the most part such seed-plots were ever sown in the furrows of blood, which happened upon this occasion: It chanced his Capteuer in his seruice vpon a festival to stumble with the one foote, and recovering himselfe with the other, pleasantly to say, you see how one brother helpeth another; vpon which speech the King with griefe and touch of heart, called to mind the death of his innocent brother, and forthwith commanded execution to be done on him the procurer, to repay his fact with defructed death: & himselfe was ever after more tender and careful towards his other brethren, with a more respectiue regard, and belloved his sisters most honorably in marriage, as hath bene said.

(4) At his entrance of government, to discharge the expectations of his subjects, hee endeavoured both by warres and alliances to make them strong and rich. First, therefore entering friendship with *Sutricke* the Danish King of *Northumberland*, vpon whom with condition that hee should receive Baptisme, he belloved his sister *Eldis* in marriage, he bent himselfe to ordaine *Lanes* for the weale publicke, & those to bind awei the *Clergie* as the *Leyes*, out of which first sprang the attachment of *Fellons*, to take hold of such as stole aboute *rueles* penes, & were aboute twelve yeares of age.

(5) But *Sutricke* the *Northumbrian* dying the first yeare of this marriage, and his *Queene* returning to a religious life, his sonnes *Godfrey* and *Anlaf*, offended that their *Pagan-Gods* were neglected, and onely by the meanes of this their fathers last wife, stirred the *Northumbrians* to disquiet the English, which occasioned *Ethelstan* to invade their country, and forced *Anlaf* into *Ireland*, and *Godfrey* into *Scotland*, which last he wrought with *Constantine* their King, that he undertooke to side in his quarrell, with whom joined *Harold King of Wales*. There in a fierce battle hee outcame and constrained them to submit themselves to his will, who knowing the chance of warre to be variable, and pitying the case of these down-cast Princes, restored them presently to their former estates, adding wishall this princely saying, that it was more honour to make a King then to be a King.

(6) This notwithstanding, the case of *Godfrey* so mooved the spirit of *King Constantine*, that he againe assisted him in his inroad into the English part, which drew againe *Ethelstan* into the North: & coming to *Torkshire* (as he was a man much devoted to God-worsh) turned aside to visite the tombe of *S. Iohn of Beverly*, where earnestly praying for his prosperous successe, for want of richer Jewels, there offered his knife, vowing that if hee returned with conquest, hee would redeme it with a worthy price, and thus armed with hope, proceeded forward pitching downe his tentes at *Barnesbury*, his nauie waffling along those fens.

(7) To the aide of *Constantine* came *Anlaf*, called by writers King of the *Tribes*, and of the *Fles*, who had married his daughter, a man no doubt both hardy and desperate, as appeared by the Action hee underwent; for it is recorded, that as *Elfred* the English had attempted to know the State of the *Danes*: so this *Dane* at this place did to understand the English: disguising himselfe like a Harper, hee went from Tent to Tent, and had access even into *King Ethelstan*'s presence, vntill hee had learned what he most desired, and then returned againe to his Campe, which part of his was no bolder, or more wisely performed, then was kept secret, and after revealed by a most faithfull souldier: for *Anlaf* departed & free from pursue, this Souldier made the act known to *King Ethelstan*: who being fore displeased with his enemies elcape, imputed the fault vnto him the reneger: but he replying, made him this answer: I once served *Anlaf* (said he) vnder his pay for a souldier, and gave him the same faith that I doe now vnto

you; if then I should have betrayed his desires, what trust could your Grace repose in my truth: let him therefore die, but not through my treachery, and by his escape secure your royall selfe from danger, reuenge your Tent from the place where it stands, let it vnrepent hee happily asseure you.

(8) The King seeing the faith of his souldier, was therewith pacified, and forthwith commanded his Tent to be removed, where presently a Bishoppe new come to his Campe pitched vp his owne, and the night following both himselfe and retinue were slaine by the same *Anlaf* that fought the Kings life in assailing the place, and preising forward came to his tent, who awaked with the foddain Allarum, boldly rushed vpon his enemies, & encouraging his men, put them backe with the death of five petty Kings, twelue Dukes, and well nere of the whole Army, which *Anlaf* had brought.

(9) The memory of this man is made the more lasting by a peece of ancient Saxon come of silver, inscribed with his name, ANLAF CYNNE, which for the antiquity of the thing, and honour of the man, we haue here imprinted, & placed though in the texture of our English Saxon King.



(10) To leane a memoriall of *King Ethelstan*'s great victory, I giue me leaue to write what I find, namely, that nere vnto the Cattle *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, hee praying that his right vnto those parts might be confirmed vnto posterities by a signe, at one blow with his sword stroke an elle deepe into a stone, which stood so close a long time after, and vndoubtedly was the whetstone to the first Authors knife: but this is most certain, that hee ioued *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and returning to *Beverly* redeemed his owne knife.

(11) From hence he turned his warres into *Wales*, whose Rulers and Princes hee brought to bee his Tributaries, who at *Hereford* entered covenant to pay him yearly twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of silver, and twenty five hundred head of cattle, with hawkes and hounds to a certaine number, towards which payment by the statues of *Harold Dha*, the King of *Aberfraw* was charged at sixty six pounds, the Prince *Dinawre*, and the Prince of *Pewry* were to pay the like summes.

(12) The Brittaines, which to his time with all equall right inhabited the City of *Excester* with the Saxons, hee expelled into the further pomeuary of *Cornwall*, and made *Tamur* the confines of his owne Empire; so that his dominion was the largest that any Saxon before him had enioied, and his fame the greatest with all forraigne Princes, who fought his friendship both with loue and alliance, by marching with his sisters, and presenting him with rich and rare presents; for *Hugh King of France* besides other vnestimable Jewels; sent him the sword of *Constantine the Great*, in the hilt whereof (all couered with gold) was one of the nails that fastned Christ to his Crosse: he sent likewise the speare of *Charles the Great*, reputed to be the same that pierced *Christ*'s side, as also part of the Crosse whereto hee suffered his passion, and a peece of the *thorny Crowne* wherewith his blessed Temples were bearded, and with these came the Banner of *S. Maurice* so often spread by *Charles the Great* in his Christian warres against the Saracens: And from *Otho* the Emperour, who had married his sister, was sent a vessel of precious stones artificially made, wherein were scene *Lanslops* with vines come, and men, all of them seeming to

W. L. Melbury.

Five Kings and
twelve Dukes
slaine.

Folio. 10. B. 937. B.
Dunbar Castle.

Twenty.

The Princes of
Wales, &c.

Corn. Pal.

W. L. Melbury.

See. Sig. 10. P.
The King of
France his pre-
sents to King
Ethelstan.

Constantine
sweat with a
nail of the
Crosse sent into
England.

nato-

Winefred.

S. Swithuns Abbey

King Ethelstan
beautificence.

John Bar.

Cuthbertus colas.
at 335.

naturally to move, as if they had growne and retained life: And the King of *Norway* sent him a goodly shippe with a galle sterne, purple sailles, and the decke garnished all with gold.

(13) Of these accounted holy reliques King *Ethelstan* gave part vnto the Abbey of *S. Swithun* in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelme* was the foundet, and his *Tutelar Saint*, in honour of whom he bestowed great immunities vpon the towne, and large endowments vpon the Abbey; hee new built the monasteries of *Wilton*, *Macheliffe*, and *Middleton*, founded *Saint German* in *Cornewall*, *Saint Petrus* at *Bodman*, the Priory of *Filton*, new walled and beautified the City of *Exeter*, and enriched every famous Abbey in the land, either with new buildings, Jewels, Books, or Reuenues.

(14) As also hee did certaine Cities with the Mintage of his money, whereof in *London* were eight houles, at *Winchester* sixe, at *Lewis* two, at *Hatfield* two, in *Hampton* two, in *Warham* two, in *Chichester* one, in *Rochester* three, two for the King, and one for the Bishop; at *Canterbury* sixteen; foure for himselfe, two for the Archbishop, and one for the Abbe, although it appeareth the Archbishop had his before the raigne of this King. For among these ancient *Saxon-Coines* we find one of *Cuthbertus*, who saith there Archbishop in the yeare 831. which both for the antiquity & authority of truth wee haue here inferred.



(15) This Prince King *Ethelstan* was of an Indifferent stature, not much exceeding the common sort of men, chearefull in countenance, his haire verie yellow, and somewhat flooped forward as he went, for valour inuincible, in resolution constant, and for his cunctie beloued of all he reigned in great honour the space of fifteene yeares and odde monethes, and decreed in the City of *Gloucester*, vpon wednesday the seuenteenth of October, and was buried at *Malmesbury* the yeere of Christs Nativity 940. hauing neuer had wife mentioned in our histories.

His supposed Issue.

(16) *Leone*, the supposed daughter of King *Ethelstan*, is reported by *John Rous* and *Pepuwick*, writers of the mistrasted story of *Guy of Warwicke* to be married vnto *Reynolds* Earle of *Warwicke*, and sonne to the same *Guy*, whose remembrance and reputation is preferred & kept with no lesse renowne among the common people, for the liberty of *England* saved by his victory in single combate against *Colbrand* the Dane, then was *Heratius* the *Romane* for the preferatiō of *Rome*, whose historie I will leaue for others to enlarge that haue more leasure & better inuention.

Aethelstan
reigns.

The time of his
reigns.

John Rous,
Pepuwick.



Edmund.

EDMUND THE TWENTIE SIXTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, DEATH, WIFE AND ISSUE.

Monarch 27



CHAPTER XXXIX.

An. Do. 940.



Edmund the fifth soane of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queene *Edgiva* his third and last wife, at the age of nineteen yeeres succeeded his brother King *Ethelstan* in his kingdome, and Monarchy: hee began his raigne the yeare of the worlds saluation 940. and with great solemnity was

crowned at *Kingston* vpon *Thames*, in the fifth yeare of *Ordo* the first Emperour of that name, and his brother in law: his valour had often bene tried in the warres of King *Ethelstan* against those stout and sturdy eunies the Danes, *Scots*, *Irish*, and *Welshmen*, that often had assaied to disturbe his peace.

(2) *Aethelstan* deceased, and the crowne scarce set vpon King *Edmunds* head, but that the Danes in *Northumberland*, disliking subiection, called again *Anlaf* out of *Ireland* to be their King: who now in the infancie

Slaves Danes.

W. L. Males.

infancy of *Edmunds* elace, with great power of men purposed to subdue all before him; but *Edmund* as forward, with full resolution ment to keepe what was got, and so gathering his power; proceeded towards the *North*, and at *Leicester* encountered with the *Danes*: howbeit, through the interceding of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Odo* and *Walston*, the matter was mitigated before it came to the vttermoſt.

An.Do. 942.

Odo. mſmſer

W. L. M. M.

An.Do. 944.

Sama. D. 944.

King Edmund.

W. L. M. M.

(3) The next yeare of his raigne, the said *Anſe* (whom some hold to haue benee the King of *Norway*) being dead, an other *Anſe*, ſonne to King *Sithric*, of whom we haue ſpoken, intruded vpon the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. Theſe heads, as *Hidra*, ſpringing vp each after others, drew King *Edmund* againe into the *North*, who raging like a prouoked Lion, lobbard, as he went, thoſe townes where the *Danes* kept, and got from them *Lincolne*, *Leiceſter*, *Darbie*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*, compelling them to receiue Baptiſme, and to become his Subiectes; ſo that the Country was wholly his vnto *Humber*. Theſe his proceedings cauſed *Anſe* and *Reinold* the ſonnes of the *Danish* *Cornes*, ſubduers of *York*, to yeeld themſelues wholly to his deuotion, offering him ſubiectiſon, and withall to receiue the Chriſtian faith; for performance whereof, they likewiſe receiued Baptiſme, vnto whom King *Edmund* was Godfather, to *Reinold* at his Confirmation, and to *Anſe* at the Font: but how ſoone they fell from both, the ſpell ſhewed; for caſting off the faith and fealty thus promiſed, they ſtirred the *Northumbrians* to another rebellion, yet with no better ſucceſſe then deſert; for they were forced into a perpetuall exile, and King *Edmund* adioined that Country to his owne government, withoutt the admittance of any Secondary or Vice-roy to rule there vnder him.

(4) *Cumberland* alſo, which ſeldome was quiet, hauing bene a Kingdome entire of it ſelfe, and now aided by *Leolin* King of *Southwales*, he vtterly waſted; and apprehending the two ſonnes of *Dunmail* King of that Prouince, commanded the eyes of thoſe out-bold Princes to be puld out, and gaue their inheritance to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, to hold the ſame by fealty from him. Thus by power and policie clearing thoſe coaſts whence the ſharpeſt ſtormes had continually blowne, hee returned into the *South*, and there ſet himſelfe to ordaine lawes for the good of his people, the which, 'leſt time the conſumer of all things might chance to obliuete, were by the labours of the learned *Lambert* tranſlated into Latine, and imp rinted in the yeare 1568. next, to ſhew his loue to God, and bounty to his Church, he gaue the towne of *Saint Edmundsbury* with the liber-

ties thereof, wholly to that Marry, and to the Monks that lived in ſeruing at his Altars.

(5) But as each thing hath his ſpring, growth, & decay; ſo all men their dates, howſoeuer eminent in degree, & the ſhank of their *Compaſ* ſo ſet in a center that the Circle of their lines are oftentimes abrupt, before it be drawn to the full roond: for ſo with others, we may ſee in this Monarch, who being ſafely returned from many great dangers of war, at peace in his Pallace, came to a lameable & vncexpected end: for at his Maſoor of *Palekerkes* in the County of *Glouceſter*, whiles hee interpoſed himſelfe betwene his *Sewer* and one *Lenne* to part a fray, was, with a thruſt through the body, wounded to death the twenty fixt of May in the yeare of our ſilurion 946. when hee had proſperouſly raigned the ſpace of ſixe yeares and ſeuene moneths, and his body, with no leſſe ſorrow then ſolemnity, was buried at *Gleſtrebo*.

✠

His Wife.

(6) *Elfgine*, the onely wife of King *Edmund*, hath not her parents declared (for ought I find) by any of our Writers: but this is affirmed, that hee was married vnto him in the fixt yeare of his raigne, which was the yeare of Grace 940. and that ſhe was his wife foure yeeres & vppward, after whoſe ſlaughter ſhe remained a mournfull widow all the reſt of her life, which ſhe ſpent with ſo great vertue and opinion of the people, as by the writers of that age ſhe is commended to poſterity by the name of a Saint.

His Iſſue.

(7) *Edwy*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edmund*, and *Queen Elfgine*, his wife, was borne in the ſecond yeare of his fathers raigne Anno 942. When his father died, hee was but foure yeeres of age, and in reſpect of his minority was not permitted to ſucceed him in the Kingdome, but forced to giue place to his vnckle *Edred*, vnder whom he liued nine yeares; and in the tenth, his vnckle being dead, and himſelfe then growne to the age of thirteene, was admitted to the ſucceſſion of the Monarchy.

(8) *Edgar* the ſecond ſonne of King *Edmund*, and of *Queen Elfgine*, was borne in the third yeare of his fathers raigne, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 943; and was but three yeeres old when his Father died; notwithstanding, hee promed afterward a Prince of great expectation, and in the ſecond yeare of King *Edwy* his brothers raigne, being then but fouretee yeeres of age, he was choſen King by the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, both which people hee governed vnder the title of King of *Mercia*, for the ſpace of ſeuerall yeeres before his brothers death, and then ſucceeded him in the whole Monarchie.

✠ Rapin ſays of he was ſlaid at a publick feaſt by a perſon who hee there knew
to reue
for ſhewing
from Southwales
to ſay ſay: G. a.
C. Mithen.



Edred.

EDRED THE TWENTIE SEVENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE EIGHTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND ISSE.

Monarch 18



CHAPTER XL.

An. Do. 946.



Edred, the sixth Sonne of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queene *Edgiva* his third and last wife, at the age of twenty three yeeres succeeded his brother King *Edmund* in the monage of his children in al his dominions, and was the twenty seuenth King

of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentie eight Monarch of the *Englishmen*. He began his raigne in the yeere of Mans saluation 946. and was annoiued, and crowned at *Kingston* vpon *Thames* in the County of *Surrey* vpon Sunday the seauenteenth day of *August* by the hands of *Odo* Archbishop of *Cantebury*.

(2) His Coronacion robes scarily put off, news was brought him that the *Northmerians* had revolted and stirred a dangerous insurrellion, notwithstanding the Covenants that his brother *Edmund* had made with *Malcolme* King of the *Scots* to secure the same. Therfore lest delays might proue dangerous, with a great Army hee entred into the verge of *Scotland*, without sight of enemy, or any resistance. But peace being concluded betwixt *Edred*, *Malcolme* and the *Northmerians*, yea and the same confirmed strongly by oath, yet was it little regarded of the last named furies; for no sooner was *Edred* returned, but that they sent into *Ireland* for *Anlaf*, the sonne of *Gorme* the Dane, who had beeu expelled the Country as we haue said.

(3) *Anlaf* gathering a heere and forces accordingly, came into *Northmerland*, where he was with great ioy receiued and made their King, which title hee maintained for foure yeeres continuance, banding against *Edred*, and still holding him play, till lastly the *Northmerians* disloyal to both, took their feather out of *Anlaf* his plume, and sent him packing to the place, whence he came, electing one *Har-*

ricus King in his stead.

(4) *Edred* awaked with the waits that they made, prepared a iourney into those parts, where with fire and sword hee bare downe all before him, and albeit he was a man religiously bent, yet spared he not the Abbey of *Rippon* from flames, but laid all vnto ashes as he went, the enemy not daring to shew the face. In his returne suspecting no perill, suddenly an host brake out of *York*, and fell vpon the Rere-ward of his Army, marching but carelessly, and brokes out of their array, whereby many perished before any complete order of resistance could be made. The King seeing this bold attempt of these Rebels, stroke downe his standard, turning his face againe to the North, and threatened the reuenge, with the Countries spoile and their lines.

(5) In this plot of sedition *Wulfstan* Archbishop of *York* had sowne some seed of treason, both in the assistance of action, and counsell for the enterprise, very ill becomming a man of his ranke: this *Wulfstan* therefore hazing thus awaked the Lion from rest, was the onely man that fell in his pawes; for the *Northmerians* expelling their baselesse Heretic with fulminant teares and golden showers, spozified the King, that their offences were therewith cleane washed away: but this good man (a Saint at the last) was mied up in prison (against whom accusations daily came, and namely, that he had commanded fardry of the Burgesies of *Tewkesbury* to bee slaine) where hee abode till he was by *Edred* vpon a reuerent regard of his calling, releafed from thence; for as this King is commended for his lenity towards the vertuous, so is he no lesse for his iustice towards the vicious, and for the practise of his Religion, as forward as any, suffering not onely his manners to be reproofed and corrected, (a quality truly roiall, and best becomming Princes) but also so much below the pitch of soveraigne Maisty) his body to bee chastised at the will and direction of *Dunstan* Abbot

W. Malcolme.

Edred, Wulfstan, Simon Dore.

Wulfstan.

W. Malcolme.

Edred, Malcolme.

Anlaf commeth into Northmerland.

of *Glascubury*, vnto whose custody, he also committed the greatest part of his treasure and richest iewels to be lockt in his chests, and vnder the keyes of this Monastery.

(6) The stately Abbey of *Mitch at Abington* neere *Oxford* built by King *Tuas*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, he newly repaired, indowing it with lands & faire reuencues, and confirmed the Charters with scales of gold: hee also ordained *Saint Germanus* in *Cornewal* to be a Bishops See, which there continued till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Episcopall See of *Kyrtan* in *Deuon*, both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward* the *Confessor* translated to the City of *Excester*: but sith the brightest day hath his night, and the highest tide his present ebbe, what maruail is it, if then *Edred* in the middelt of his strength were seized vpon by sicknesse and death, which surprised him after hee had reigned in great honour nine yeeres and odde moneths, to the great griefe of his Subiects, who solemnly interred him in the old Minster within the City of *Winchester*, the

yeere of Christ Iesus 955. whose bones with other Kings, to this day are preferred in a gilt Coffre, fixed vpon the wall in the fourth side of the Quire.

His Issue.

(7) *Elfred*, the sonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his Father was King; neither find I mention of his Mocher, or any aft by him done; onely in the first yeare of King *Edred* his raigne, which was the yeere of Grace, 952. he is mentioned for a witness to his Fathers grant of lands in *Wittenham*, to *Edelwolves* Duke of *England* in thole daies, as appeareth by the Charter thereof, bearing date in the yeere afore said.

(8) *Therfrid* an other, and as it seemeth an elder sonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his father was King, without any mention also of his Mother, who lining in the second yeare of his fathers raigne, namely *Anno*, 948. was written for a witness in the same yeare, to his grant of lands in *Bedelesing*, to *Cuthred* one of his Barons, the Charter whereof is extant to bee seene vnto this day.



EDVY THE TWENTIE EIGHTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND

TWENTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS,
AND DEATH.



CHAPTER XLI.



Edwy, the eldest sonne of King *Edmund*, after the decease of his vnkle *Edred*, succeeded him in his dominions, and was the twentie eighth King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentie ninth Monarch of the *Englishmen*: he began his raigne in the yeare of the worlds saluation, 955. and was annointed & crowned at *Kingston* vpon *Thames*, by the hands of *Otho* the 23. Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

(1) Yong hee was in yeares, and vicious of life, if the Monkish Story-writers of those times his deadly enemies may be credited, not past thir-

teene when he entred gouernment, and that begun with a capital sinne: for they report, that vpon the solemne day of his Coronation, and insight of his Nobles, as they sat in Counsell, with shamelesse and vnprincelike lust, he abused a Lady of great estate, & his neere kinswoman, whose husband shortly after he slew, the more freely to possesse his lechituous pleasure: and to fill the penne of his further infamy ready to their hands, that wrote his life, hee was a great enemy vnto the Monkish orders (a fore in thole dayes very tender to be touched, and may well be thought the cause of many false aspersions on him,) whom from the Monastery of *Malmesbury* *Glascubury* and others, hee expelled, placing married Priests in their roomes: *Danstan* likewise the Abbot *Saint of Glascubury* hee banished the Realm, for

Edwy.

Monarch 29.

An. Do. 955.

Edwy's Issue.

M. For Acts and Monuments.

for his over-bold reprehensions; if not rather for retaining the treasure deliuered him by King *Edred*, and demanded againe in his sicknesse; when by the voice (forsooth) of an Angell from heauen, his journey was staid, and those rich Jewels not deliuered the King in his life, I will not say kept backe, left *Dunstan* with *Balaam* (whose stories are not much vnlike) should bee thought to follow (as he did) the wages of deceit.

(3) Howsoever, the reuerent opinion of the *Monks* single life, and the conceiued holines of Abbot *Dunstan* in those misty times, did daily counterpoize young *Edwy* in effeeme, which made his best acts construed, and recorded to the worst, inasmuch that his Subjects minds, ebbing as the Sea from the full, drew backe the current of their subiectiue affections, and set the eye of obedience vpon Prince *Edgar* his Brother: and albeit his young yeeres may seeme to cleare him from the imputation of so lustful a fact, as he is charged with, at the day of his assuming the Crowne, and the separation from his wife, (as too neere in consanguinity) wrought griefe enough in his distressed heart, yet pitilesse of his estate, and carelesse of their owne allegiance, the *Mericians* with the *Northumbrians* did vterly cast off obedience, and sweare their fealty to *Edgar*, not fully

fourteene yeeres aged: *Edwy* then reigning in a still decaying estate, was held of such his Subjects, in no better esteeme, then was *Ishuram* of *Judah*, who is said to haue liued without being desired: for very griefe whereof after foure yeeres raigne hee ended his life, the yeare of our Lord 959: whose body was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Mide* at *Winchester*, erected without the Wall in the North of that City.

His Wife.

(4) *Ethelgine*, the wife of King *Edwy*, was a Lady of great beauty, and nobly descended, yea, and by some deemed somewhat too neare in the blood roiall, to be matched with him in spousall bed: her fathers name is not recorded, but her mother was *Ethelgine*, whom some scandalized to haue bene his Concubine, and the onely cause of *Dunstan* banishment. The Subjects disliking of this vnlawfull marriage, & further instigated by the Monkes, (whose humorous pleasures, or displeasures could very much sway the state in those daies,) failed by degrees to performe their duties to their King, and her they likewise enforced to a separation, in the third yeere of his regardlesse government, and of Christ Iesus, 958. without other mention of her life or death.



EDGAR SVRNAMED THE
PEACEABLE THE THIRTIETH
MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS
RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES AND
ISSUE.



CHAPTER XLII.



Edgar, the second son of King *Edmund* hauing reigned two yeeres ouer the *Mericians* and *Northumbrians*, in the dayes of *Edwy* his Brother, to the great impairing of King *Edwy*s reputation and effeeme; after his death at sixteen yeeres of age was cholen to succeed in all his dominions, and was the thirtieth

Monarch of the Englishmen, or rather now of whole *England*, all other titles of Kingdomes falling vnder his scepter, and becoming Provinces annexed vnto his absolute *Monarchie*.

(2) He beganne his raigne in the yeere of Christs Nativity, 959. and was crowned (as some write) the same yeere at *Kingston*, vpon *Thamesis*, by Orso Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But *Randolphus Higden* in his *Polychronicon*, referreth it to the twelfth yeere of his raigne: *William Monke* of *Malmesbury* to the thirtieth yeere of his age, and the *Saxon Chronicle*

Chr. 11. 11.

John Higden.

Monarch 30

Polychronicon
Ran. Higden
W. L. Monke
Saxon Chronicle

of *Worcester* Church, to the yeere of Christ, 972; and that in the City of *Bath*, hee was annointed and consecrated with great solemnity by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

(3) The raigne of this King is said to have bene altogether in a calme tranquillity, and therefore hee was furnished the *Peaceable*, his vertues were many, and vices not a few, the one gloriously augmented, and the other fairly excus'd, by those *Monkish* writers, vnto whose professions he was most fauourable: his Guides were *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ethelwald* Abbot of *Glastonbury*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, three stout Champions against the married Clergie, (for women in those dayes were great bugs in their eyes,) therefore the married Priests hee displaced, & brought in Monks of single life to possesse their roomes, whose liues of incontinency grew after to be great, as the world did then witness, which caused *Trensis* the translator of *Hyden*, to blame King *Edgar*, charging him to be lewdly moued in following their counsell against married Clerks.

(4) So doe *Malmesbury* and *Hyden* taxe him with too fauourable affections towards the *Dames*, who dwelled alike in eury town with the *Englishe*, though formerly they had sought the destruction of all, and still lay in wait attending for the spoile of his true subjects, who age enough vnto cull, turned the beauly sinne of quailing, and emptying of cups, which King *Edgar* was enforced to redresse, by enacting a law against excessive drinking, ordaining a fine by certayne pennes in the pot, with penalties to any that should presume to drinke deeper then the marke.

(5) His policie was no lesse prudent (but much more successefull) for the destruction of *Wales*, that in his daies did great annoyance to the land; for the tribute imposed vpon the Princes of *Wales* by the *Englishe* King *Ethelstan* (as we haue said) be wholly remitted, and in lieu thereof appointed certayne numbers of *Wolues* yearly to bee paid, and *Leauf*, or *Lage* Prince of *North-Wales*, did for his part pay him yearly three hundred, which continued for three yeeres space, but in the fourth was not a *Wolfe* to bee found, and so the tribute ceased.

(6) His *Naine* royal, containing three thousand and sixe hundred shillings, hee diuided into three parts, appointing eury of them to a severall quarter to waite the Seas and secure the coasts from Pirates, and forraine enemies, wherein himselfe eury summer would faile with those in the East parts, vnto those in the West, and sending them backe to their charge, would with the West faile into the North, and with the northerne flecte compassie againe into the East, whereby the seas were sowerd, and his Kingdom exceedingly strengthened.

(7) The like custome vsed he in the winter season in his kyalls, and circuits throughout his Country, so to take account of the administration of his lawes, and the domeinour of his great men, especially of his *Iudges*, whom severely he punished, so often as he found the execution of their places ballanced either with bribery or partiality; so that there was neuer lesse robbery, deceit or oppressions, then in the raigne of this worthy King.

(8) His state thus flourishing in peace and prosperity, hee caused diuers Princes to bind themselves vnto his allegiance, but perchance it may iustly be doubted, whether in such performance of homage and seruice, as *Malmesbury*, *Florentius*, *Randolphus*, *Mercurius*, *Homerus*, and other writers affirme to haue bene at the City *Chesler*, where (they say) *Kennadie* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, *Maximus* an Arch-Pirate, with the petty King of *Wales*, *Duffnell*, *Gottifrid*, *Hauall*, *Jacob*, and *Indulth*, did wth their owne row his Barge vpon the river *Dor*, from his Pallace to *Saint Iohns* Church, and thence againe backe to his Pallace, himselfe the while steering the helme, and saying in his glory that then his forefathers might trulie

account themselves *Soueraigne Kings* of *England*, when they caryed such a Prerogative of sublimity, and supreme honour: although (saith *M. Fox*) he might much better, and more Christenlike haue said, God forbid that I should reuer, but in the Cradle of our Lord *Iesus* Christ.

(9) Warres hee had none in all his raigne; onely towards the end, the *Welshmen* moued some rebellion, which to prevent, hee assembled a mighty Army, and therewith entred into the County of *Glamorgan*, sharply punishing the ringleaders thereof, but his souldiers doing great harms in the country, laden with spoiles for the returne, the King out of his bounty commanded all to be againe restored, whereby hee purchased singular loue and honour of the inhabitants.

(10) To his magnanimity was ioined much deuotion, but most especially towards the *Monks*, for whom, and for *Nunnes* hee built and repaired forty leuen *Monasteries*, intending to haue continued their number vnto fifty, as himselfe testifies in the words of his his Charter.

The *Monasteries* of all *Monks* as of *Virgins* haue bene destroyed, and quite neglected throughout *England*, which I haue now determined to repaire to the glory of God for my soules health, and so to multiply the number of Gods seruants and handmaides: and now already I haue set vp forty seuen *Monasteries* with *Monks* and *Nunnes* in them, and if Christ spare me life so long, I am determined in offering my diuinitie sacrifice to God, to proceed to fifty, even to the last number of a laboure.

And by this his Charter did not onely approve the enlargement of *S. Maries Monastery* in *Worcester* and the restoring of *Varities* in stead of married Priests, but himselfe either new founded or repaired many others, as the house of *Ely*, *Glastonbury*, *Abington*, *Burgh*, *Thorney*, *Ramsley*, *Wilton*, *Wenton*, *Winborne* and *Thameslocke* with great cost, and large endowments, hauing the Clergie in an high and reuerent esteeme, and most of all his Countesse for *Dunstan*: but with this wheate, there were tares growing, though the late *Monkish* Writers bind them vp for good corne: for some men tell (saith *Randolphus* *Hyden*) that *Edgar* in his beginning was cruel to *Citizens*, and lecherous to maidens, whereof these his actions ensuing beate sufficient witness.

(11) The first was committed against the virgine *Welfield*, a sacred Nunne as some affirme, though others fowm haue maligning that sacrilegious offence, haue reported, that she to avoid his filthy and lasciuious lust, was forced to take the habite of a *Monachion* vpon her, and in the same brought to his bed, when in the chaff *S. Edith* was begot, and for whom, say they, hee underwent his seuen yeeres penance without the wearing of his Crowne.

(12) A like offence hee committed against the virgine *Ethelfleda*, the daughter of *Ordmar* a Duke among the *Engl-Angles*, who for her surpassing beauty was furnished the *White-ro* whom hee begat his eldest sonne *Edward*, for which fact as *M. Fox* affirmeth, hee did his seuen yeeres penance in prison by *Dunstan*: and indeed by *Otkene* it appeareth, that *Edward* was not legitimate, where he writeth, that the child begotten of the harlot, hee baptized in the holy fontaine of regeneration, and so gaining his name to be called *Edward*, did adopt him to bee his sonne. With whom agree *Nicholas* *Trivet* in his *Englishe* story, written in *French*, *Iohannes* *Paris* in his *French* story, written in *Latine*, both of them calling *Edward* a sonne illegitimate, as also doth *Phocasius* and *Antoninus*, howbeit *William* of *Adamalbury*, *Mathew* *Paris*, *Mathew* of *Westminster*, *Randolphus* and others, will haue her his first and lawfull wife, and *Edward* a true matrimony to haue descended from them.

(13) An other instance of his lasciuious life in produced by the forenamed Writers, and thus both occasioned and acted. It chanced *Edgar* to heare a Virgine and daughter to a Westerne Duke, exceeding

Edgar the Peaceable

Foliot. lib. 2. cap. 9.

vill. Malmesbury.

cap. 38. fol. 2.

Cron. Wald.

Malmesbury. Alred. Roud. Ann. Reg.

Edgar. vobell. vglary.

P. vobell. regne. vob. d. vobell. regne.

Gold. 14.

P. vobell.

Monastery. vobell. by King Edgar.

L. vobell.

M. Fox in his Acts and Monuments.

R. vobell.

vill. Malmesbury. Alred. Roud. Ann. Reg.

Foliot. lib. 2. cap. 9.

Otkene in vob. Dunstan.

Nicholas. Trivet. Iohn. Paris.

Phocasius. Antoninus.

Edgar. vobell. regne. vob. d. vobell. regne.

dingly praised for her incomparable beauty, the touch of which firing from his care refused to his heart, and as it drew him presently into those parts; where coming to *Andreas*, commanded the damself to his bed: The mother tender of the Virgins honour, brought in the darke her maid, but not her daughter, who, all as well pleased the King in his sinfull dalliance: the day approaching, this late laid maid made haste to arise; but the King loth to part yet with his supposed faire Lady, demanded why she made such haste? who answered him, that her task was great, and hardly would her worke be done, if day should prevent her ere the rose; but yet being blaid about her howre, upon her knees she made this humble Request, that she might be freed from her frowde dame, alleading, it was not fitting, that the woman who had talied the pleasures of a Kings embracements, should endure a servitude vnder the rule of any other. The King perceiving the deceit, and therewith moued to wrath, yet could not recall what hee had done (or rather undone) and therefore turned his copricined wrongs vpon a sick; but so, that hee both sharply checked the deceiver, and kept this damself, (whose night-work and pleasure had fully wonne him) for his Concubine, whereby the rule them that lately had the command of her and to wife the words of *Nathan*, hee loued this Concubine most entirely, keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntill the time hee married for his lawfull wife *Elfrida* the daughter of Duke *Ordgarus*.

(14) His last lasciuious Act, was as *David* ioyned with blood, and wrought in manner as followeth. Fames lauish report of beauteous *Elfrida* (the paragon of her sexe, and wonder of Nature) the only daughter of *Ordgarus* Duke of *Deuonshire*, sounded so loud in those Westerne parts, that the Echo thereof was heard into *King Edgars Court*, and eured his eares, which euer lay open, to giue his eyes the scope of desire, and his wanton thoughts the raines of wilk: to trie the truth whereof, hee secretly sent his minion or favourite Earle *Ethelwald* of *East-Angles*, who well could iudge of beauty, and knew the diet of the King; with Commission, that if the Pearele proved so orient, it should beesteed for *Edgars* owne wearing, who meant to make her his Queene, and *Ordgarus* the Father of a King.

Ethelwald a iolly young Gallant, posted into *Deuonshire*, and guest-wise visited Duke *Ordgarus* his Court, where seeing the Lady furpassing the report, blawed Fames over-light for founding her praise in so base and leaden a Trumpet; and wholly surprised with her looe, himselfe beganne to wooe the Virgin, yea, and with her Fathers good liking, soas the King would giue his assent. Earle *Ethelwald* returning, related that the maide indeed was faire, but yet her beauty much augmented by babling reports, and neither her feature or parts any wise befitting a King. *Edgar* mistrusting no corniall in his looe, nor dreaming false fellowship in wooing, did with a slight thought passe ouer *Elfrida*, and puche his affections the fatter another way. Earle *Ethelwald* following the game now a foot, desired *Edgars* assistance to bring it to a stand, pretending not so much for any liking to the Lady, as to raise his owne fortunes to be her fathers heire, to which the King yielded, and for his minion solicited *Ordgarus*, who glad to be shrowded vnder the fauours of such a favourite, willingly consented, and his daughters destinies assured to Earle *Ethelwald*.

The marriage solemnized and the fruits thereof a short time enjoyed, the fame of her beauty beganne againe to bee spread, and that with a larger Epithite then formerly it had bene: Whereupon *Edgar* much doubing of double dealing, had his angle faire to take this great gull; and bearing no shew of wrong or suspect, inuited himselfe to hunt in his Parks, and forthwith repairing into those parts, did not a little grace his old seruant, to the great ioy of

Ordgarus the Duke: but *Ethelwald* mistrusting the caule of his coming, thought by one policy to disappoint another: and therefore recasting the truth to his wife, how in his proceedings hee had wronged her beauty, and deccared his Soueraigne, requested her louing assistance to face now his endangered life, which lay in her power, and of the meanes hee thus aduised:

"Like as (said he) the richest Diamond cough and vncut, yields neither sparkle nor effluence of great price, nor the gold vnburnished giues better luster then the base brasse; so beauty and feature clad in meane aray, is either slightly looked at with an vnfix'd eye, or is wholly vnregarded, and held of no worth; for, according to the Prouerbe, cloth is the man, and man is the wretch: then to prevent the thing that I feare, and is likely to proue my present ruine, and thy last wracke, conceale thy great beauty from King *Edgars* eye, and giue him entertainment in the meanest attires: let them (I pray thee) for a time bee the nightly curtaines drawne about our new-Nuptiall bed, and the dayly cloudes to bide thy splendent Sonne from his sharpe, and too too piercing light, whose vigour & raies will soone set his waxen wings on fire, that ready are to melt at a furre hotter heat. Pitch (thou seest) desist the hand, and we are forbid to giue occasion of euill: vaine then thy fairenesse with the scarres of deformity, from his oner-lust and vnmaistered eye; for the fairest face draws euery gaze, if not the attempts, and natures endowments, are as the bulke for the wine, which being immediately taken doth surfeit the sense and is a gaine cast vp with as loathing a taste. Of these dredd drunke *Amass* after his fill of fine *Thomy*, *Herald* of *Anthony*, & *Emm* of *Didon* yet, and not to lette examples fyre off, King *Edgars* variation in his vnstedfast motion doth easily bewray it selfe: for could either holy *Walffild*, beautiful *Ethelred*, or the wanton Wench of *Andreas*, keepe the needle of his compasse certaine at one point nothing lesse, but it was filld by the loadstone of his eart mutable and turning affections. But thou wilt fay, hee is religious, and by founding of Monasteries hath expiated those finnes. Indeed many are built; for which time and posterities may thanke holy *Dunstan*, from whose deuotion those good deeds haue sprung: but is thy person holier then sacred *Walffild*, thy birth and beauty greater then *Ethelred* the White, daughter also to a Duke? the former, of an holy Votary, hee made the sinke of his pollution; and the latter is branded to all ages, by the barefall name of a Concubine, and her sonne among vs esteemed for a Bastard. These should bee motives to all beauteous and vertuous Ladies, not to sell their honours at so low and too-late repented a price. Neither think (sweet Connetesse) that thy husband is ienious, or suspects thy constancy, which I know is great, and thy selfe wholly compleate with all honourable vertues: but yet consider I pray thee, that thou art but young, & mayst easily be caught, especially of him that is so old a Master of the game; neither perswade thy selfe of such strength, as is able to hold out so great an assault; for men are mighty, but a King is much more. I know thou art wise, and enough hath been said, onely let mee add this, that euill beginnings haue neuer good ends, and so with a kind kisse, hoping hee had wonne his Wife to his Will, prepared with the first to welcome King *Edgar*.

Lady *Elfrida* thus left to her selfe, began seriously to thinke vpon this Curtaine Sermon, whose text she distilld, being taken out of an ouer-worne and threed-bare cloth prouerbe, as though her fortunes had been wholly reiding, and altogether constiaing in her parentage and apperell, but nothing at all in any parts of her selfe.

"Hath my beauty (thought she) been courted of

Ethelwald
proceeds in *Elfrida*

S. Sam. in
Isidore,
Virg. Aeneid,
Amour and
Thamur.

W. F. H.
Isidore

Isidore does.

Stiff a King

Maine, *de*, *ver*, *g*, *u*, *o*.

Duke *Ordgarus*.

Ethelwald.

Edgar a fauor for *Ethelwald*.

Edgar plots to discomert *Ethelwald*.

11 a King, famous by report, compared with *Helens*,
12 and now must be hid? Muſt I falſitie and bely Na-
13 tures bounties, mine owne value, and all mens re-
14 ports, only to ſave his credit, who hath impaired
15 mine, and belied my worth? And muſt I needs de-
16 ſoule my ſelfe, to be his only faire ſoule, that hath
17 kept me from the State and fear of a Queene? I
18 know the name of a Counteſſe is great, and the
19 Wife of an Earle is honourable, yet no more then
20 birth and endowments haue assigned for me, had
21 my beauty been far leſſe then it is. He warnes me of
22 the end, when his owne beginnings were with tre-
23 chery: yet he the examples of others, but obſcures
24 none himſelfe: he is not ſelous, forſooth, and yet I
25 muſt not looke out; I am his faire, but others pitch
26 fire, wine, buſh, and what not? Not ſo holy as *Wol-*
27 *ſeld*, nor ſo white as *Ethelred*, and yet that muſt now
28 be made far worſe then it is. I would men knew the
29 heate of that cheeke wherein beauty is bla-
30 zed, then would they with leſſe ſuſpect ſuffer our
31 faces vntameth, to take aſſe of their eyes, and wee no
32 whit condemnable for ſhewing that which cannot
33 be hid, neither in me ſhall come of it what will.

And thus reſolving to bee a right woman, deſired
nothing more then the thing forbidden, and made
preparation to put it in praſtiſe. Her body the en-
dowed with the ſweeteſt balme; diſplayed her haire,
and beſpangled it with pearles, beſtrewed her breſts
and boſome with rubies and diamonds, rich Jewels
glittering like ſtarrs depended at her necke, and her
other ornaments every way ſutable. And thus, rather
Angell, then Lady-like, ſhe attended the approach
and entrance of the King, whom with ſuch faire obe-
diſſance and ſolemly grace he receiued, that *Edgars* gre-
die eyes preſently collecting the rakes of her ſhining
beauty, became a burning glaſſe to his heart, and the
ſparkle of her faire falling into the traine of his lo-
ve, ſet all his ſenſes on fire: yet diſſembling his paſſions,
he paſſed on to his game, where hauing the faire *E-*
thelred at advantage, he ranne him through with a
laſtine, and tooke faire *Elfrida* to his wife.

(15) Theſe were the vertues and vices of this
King, little in perſonage, but great in ſpirit, and the
firſt vneſtled Monarch of the whole Land, whom all
the other Saxons acknowledged their ſupreme, with-
out diſſion of Provinces or title. He reigned ſixteen
yeeres and two moneths in great tranquillity and hon-
our, and died vpon roſeday the eighth of July, the
thirty ſeventh of his age, and yeere of Chriſt 975.
whoſe body with all ſuneral ſolemnitie was buried
in the Abbey of *Gleſſenbury*.

His Wives.

(16) *Ethelſeld*, the firſt wife of King *Edgar*, was
ſurnamed in the Saxon Engliſh *Eneba*, in Latine *Ce-*
caſſida, which with vs is *White*, becauſe of her exceeding
great beauty. Shee was the daughter of a Duke a-
mongſt the *East-Angles*, named *Ordmar*, and was mar-
ried vnto him the ſecond yeere of his raigne, and the
eighteenth of his age, being the yeere of Chriſts Na-
tiuitie 961. She was his wife not fully two yeeres, and
died the fourth of his raigne, in Anno 962.

(17) *Elfrida*, the ſecond wife of King *Edgar*, was
the widow of ſlaughtered *Ethelred*, of whom wee
haue ſaid. She was daughter to *Ordgarne*, and ſiſter to
Ordulfe, both of them Dukes of *Deuonſhire*, and the
Founders of *Tauſſieke* Abbey in that Countie: a Lad-
die of paſſing great beauty, and as ambitions as faire;
for after the Kings death, ſhe procured the murder
of King *Edward* her ſonne in law, that her owne ſonne

Ethelred might come to the Crowne: and afterwards
to pacifie his and her firſt husbands gholt, and to ſtop
the peoples ſpeeches of ſo wicked a fact, ſhe founded
the Abbeyes of *Ambreſſery* & *Wharwell*, in the Coun-
ties of *Wulſſore* and *Sauſh-hampton*.

His Children.

(18) *Edward*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edgar* and
Queene *Ethelſeld* his firſt wife, was born in the fourth
yeere of his fathers raigne, and a little before his mo-
thers death, in the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 962. He was
a child diſpoſed to all vertue, notwithstanding great
meanes was made by his mother in law for the diſin-
hering of him, and the preſerment of her owne ſon
to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne: yet by provident
care taken in the life time of his father, he ſucceeded
him after his death, as right heire both of his king-
dome and conditions.

(19) *Edmund*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Edgar*, and
the firſt of Queene *Elfrida* his ſecond wife, was born in
the ſeventh yeere of his fathers raigne, being the
yeere of grace 965. He liued but foure yeeres, and
died in his infancy, in the twelfth yeere of his fathers
raigne, and was honourably entered in the Monaste-
rie of Nunnes at *Tauſſie* in *Hampſhire*, which King *Ed-*
gar had founded.

(20) *Ethelred*, the third ſonne of King *Edgar*, and
the ſecond of Queene *Elfrida* his ſecond wife, and the
laſt of them both, was borne in the eighth yeere of his
fathers raigne, and yeere of ſituation 966. He was ver-
ruſſouſly inclined, beautilfull in complexion, and com-
ly of ſtature; at the death of his father being but ſe-
uen yeers old, and at his brothers murder ten; which
deed he ſore lamented, to the great diſcontentment
of his mother, who for his aduancement had com-
promiſed the ſame, and wherein at thoſe yeeres he vn-
willingly ſucceeded him.

(21) *Edgah*, the naturall daughter of King *Edgar*,
had to her mother a Lady named *Walſeld*, the daugh-
ter of *Walſelm*, the loane of *Wyrding*, the ſonne of *Ne-*
ſing, the two latter bearing in their names the memo-
rie of their fortunes: the laſt of them being found in
an Eagles neſt, by King *Elfred* as he was on hunting.
This *Edgah* was a vailed Nunne in the Monastery of
Wyrdin, and according to ſome Authors, made Ab-
beſſe thereof by her father at ſixteen yeeres of age,
ſaith her Legend. She died the fifteenth day of *Se-*
ptember, the yeere of her age twenty three; the ſixth
of her brother King *Ethelred* his raigne, and of Chriſt Ieſus
984. By all which accounts it is manifeſt, that ſhe was
borne before *Edward*, and by Maſter *Fox* proved, that
for him, and not for her, King *Edgar* did his ſeven
yeeres penance. She is greatly commended for her
chafitic and beauty, which later ſhe ſomewhat ag-
mented with more curious attire then to her profeſ-
ſion was beſeeming: for which Biſhoppe *Ethelſeld*
ſharply reproveth her; who answered him roundly,
that God regarded the heart more then the garment,
and that ſins might bee cooered as well vnder rai-
gs as robes.

This *Edgah*, as *Iohn Capgrave* reporteth, after the
ſlaughter of her brother *Edward*, the holy Archbiſhop
Dunſlas would haue aduanced to the Crowne, & in-
neſted her againſt *Ethelred* the lawfull heire, had hee not
by the late experience of *Edward* ſhe fall, vterly reſuſed
that title, which neither belonged to her right, nor
was ſafe for her perſon to vnderake. Her body
was buried at *Wilton*, in the Monastery and Church
of *Saint Deniſſe*, which her ſiſter had cauſed to bee
built.

W. I. Maitland.

Edward the el-
deſt ſonne.Edmund the ſe-
cond ſonne.Ethelred the
third ſonne.

Edgah.

A. A. and Mon-
mouth, as was
Edgar.

Polydore Sib. &c.

Iohn Capgrave,
as was ſaith
Edgah.

Edward.

EDVVARD SVRNAMED T HE
MARTYR THE THIRTIE ONE
MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS
RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 31



CHAPTER XLIII.

An.Do.975.
Edward the
Martyr.



Great were the troubles & findings that presently ensued the death of King Edward, about the election of one of his sons to succede Queen Efrida with Alferius Duke of Atercia, and many other Nobles combined for young Ethelred, disavowing Prince Edward

as illegitimate, and therefore not reputable for succession: against them and Ethelred stood Dunstan and the Monks, holding their lives dangerous, & their new-gotten footing unsafe, if in the sonage of the King, their their opposites should rule all vnder him, whereas Edward was altogether wrought in their mould, & whose title they abetted, as being lawfully borne, and begot in the nuptiall bed of Queene Efrida. Their claims thus banded amongst these Statesmen, began to be diversely affected amongst the Commoners, and had put the game to the hazard, if the wisdom of Dunstan had not scene to the chace; for a Council being assembled to argue their rights, the Archbishop came in with his banner and crosse, and not staying for further debating *de iure*, did *de facto*, present Prince Edward for their lawfull King, and the assembly consulting most of Clergy-men, perswading peace, drew the approbation of the rest, and so was the Prince admitted and proclaimed their Sovereigne.

An.Do.975

(2) He beganne his raigne at twelve yeares of age, in the yeare of Salvation 975, and was soone after by Archbishop Dunstan crowned King at Kingston vpon Thames: being the thirtie one Monarch (since Henric) of the Englishmen. His beginning was miserably afflicted with barrenesse of the ground, famine amongst his people, moraine of cattle, and to their further terror, a fearfull Comet appeared:

which men thought to bee signes from heauen, as sent from God, for the sinnes committed against the married Clergy, whose cause was much pursued, especially of the Nobles, & whose complaints of wrongs they intandly urged, that without delists they were expelled from their ancient possessions; a thing which neither God nor goodmen ever allowed, and was contrary to the perscript rule of Christ, that wille vs to doe, as wee would be done vnto: whereto the Monks answered, that Christ respected neither the person nor place, but onely them that tooke vp the Crosse of Penance and followed him, as themselves in their single life pretended to doe. But they good men little knew the incumbrances of wiuing; for otherwise they would haue felt, that the condition of the married, was more truly a suffering of the Crosse, and enduring of Penance.

(3) Their Church men thus diuided and rent, were diversely sided as affection did moue, and their not onely of the meaner sort, but euen of the Nobles & great Ones; for the Atercian Duke Alferius fauouring the iust cause of married Priests, destroyed the Monasteries in his Prouince, cast out the Monks, & restored againe the ancient reuerence to them & their wives: contrariwise, in East-Angles the Priests went to wracke, where the Monks were maintained by the authority of Eadwin their Duke, who in their quarrell, with the assistance of his brother Alfred, and of Brightwells Earle of Essex, raised a mighty Army, and stood with that power for their defence.

(4) The fire thus blown from a sparke to a flame, was feared to moue higher, if not quenched in time, and therefore by mediation, armes laid aside, the cause was referred to be heard in Council, & at Winchester first the assembly was held, where after long dispute, and much against the Monks, it was greatly suspected their side had gone down, but that the matter was referred from them to the *Roode*, placed vpon

with Malin.
Fon.

W.L. Malin.
Edward the
Martyr.
An. 975.
John Capgrave.
in vna hystoria

on the reſtorative Wall, where the Councell ſate. To this great Oracle S. Dunſon, deſired them devoutly to pray, and to giue diligent care for an anſwere: who, with as great bounty, as they in deuotion, made it not ſqueuiſh to giue them this aduice. *God forbid it ſhould be ſo, God forbid it ſhould be ſo* (ſaid he,) *you ſhould well ſee, and to change that againe is not good.*

This was authority ſufficient to ſuppreſſe the Priests, who now with their wives went downe the wind; and indeed too blame they were to ſuſpect this their fudge, who neuer was heard to giue wrong ſentence before: but they vnſatisfied men, thought once more to blow the coale, though therewith they were likely to burne their owne lips; for perſwading the people, that this was but a ſubtile pra-ctiſe of the *Ateneis*, in placing behind the wall a man of their owne, who through a troucke vttered thoſe words in the mouth of the *Reader*; it was therefore inſtantly deſired, that the *cauſe* might once more come to ſpawning.

(5) This laſtly was granted, and a great aſſembly congregated at *Glouc* in *Wiltſhire*, whither re-quired the Prelates with moſt of the States of the land, beſides Gentlemen and Commons an innumerable ſort.

This Synode being ſet, and the controuerſie propounded, a hote and ſharpe diſputation enſued, and a while was maintained with many bitter inuecti-ues, ill beſeeming ſuch perſons: But whether through the weakeneſſe of the foundation, or the ouer-pretſe of weight, or both, the ioyſts of this vpper-loſt, wherein the Councell was held, ſuddainly brake, and down fell the ſcore with all the people thereon, whereof many were hurt, and ſome ſlain outright, onely Archbiſhop Dunſon then Preſident, and moſt of the *Ateneis* remained vnhurt: for the Poſt whereon his chaire was ſet (and not without miracle) ſtood wholly vntouched.

Thus by this fall, ſet the cauſe of the ſecular Priests; and the Monkiſh foundations vnderpropped with more ſurer pillars, Dunſon vnburdened of many imputations, the peoples affections drawne to the Monks, and the Priests at liberty now to accom-pany their wives without any cure, though not without care; and all this was wrought by the providence of Dunſon, and his ſuage preſeruation on the poſts no leſſe wonderfull then that which with the like truth is related of him, how when a huge beam of a houſe was ſuncke out of the frame, and like to ruinate the whole building, with onely making of the ſigne of the Croſſe thereon, with his fingers hee made it returne to his former place: ſo wonder-fully potent was he in ſuch wooden miracles. To which, why ſhould wee not giue credite, ſince the very Harpe which hee had touched could worke miracles? as when of it ſelfe it ſounded melodious-ly that *Hymne*, *Gaudet in celis anima Sanctarum*, &c. Yea ſith the bleſſed virgine *Mary* her ſelfe, is ſaid to haue come to ſolace him with her ſongs, *Cantemus Domino Sicut Erre*. For, as for Angels ſinging familiarly vnto him, and Diuels in ſhape of dogs, foxes and beeres, whipped by him, that was but ordinary; as likewiſe his making the ſhee-dial to roare, when coming to tempt him to dalliance, in ſhape of a beautifull laſſe, hee caught her by the noſe with hore burning pinners, and ſo ſpoilde a good face. But to leaue thoſe ſignments wherewith our Monkiſh ſtores are ſtuffed to the deluding of their Readers, and diſhonouring of thoſe, whom thereby

they thinke to magnifie, let vs looke backe to yong Prince Edward.

(6) Who in all princely parts was an imitator of his Father, and for his modeſt gentleſſe worthily favoured of all men: but as enay is alwaies the at-tendant of vertue; ſo had he them that much ma-ligned his life, namely, the favourites of Prince *E-thebert*, whereof *Queene Elfrida* his mother was chiefe, who laſtly betrayed him, and that in this maner.

(7) King Edward for his diſport was hunting in a forreſt vnto the ſea, vpon the ſouth-eaſt ſhore of the County *Dorſet*, and in the Iland *Parbeck*, not farre off, vpon a ſmall riuer, ſtood pleaſantly ſeated a faire and ſtrong Caſtle called *Elfrida*, where his mother in law *Queene Elfrida*, with his brother Prince *E-thebert*, were then therein reſiding: Edward that e-uer had bene louing to both, held it a kind office, now being ſo neere to viſite them with his preſence, and thereupon either of purpoſe or chance ſprung from his attendants, hee ſecretly ſtole from them all, and came alone to the caſtle gate.

(8) The *Queene* who had long laine in wait for occasions, now tooke this as brought to her hand, and therefore with a face as meaning no guile, ſhee humbly and cheerefully gaue the King welcome, de-ſiring him to grace her and her ſonne with his pre-ſence for that night; but hee with thanks reſuſed the offer, as fearing leaſt his company would ſoone find him miſing, and craued onely of his mother a cup of wine, that in his ſaddell hee might drinke to her and his brother, and ſo be gone. The cuppe was no ſooner at his mouth, then a knife in his backe, which a ſervant appointed by this trecherous *Queene* ſtroke into him; who feeling himſelfe hurt ſet ſpurs to his horſe, thinking to eſcape to his more faithfull company.

(9) But the wound being mortall, and hee fainting through loſſe of much blood, fell from his horſe, and one foot entangled in the ſtirrups, hee was thereby rofully draged vndowne through woods and lands, and laſtly left dead at *Caſes-gate*: which hapned the eighteenth day of May, after hee had reigned three yeares and fixe (ſome ſay eight) monethes, the yeare of his age ſixtene, and of Chriſt Ieſus 979. His body found, was firſt buried at *Warham* without all funeral pompe, but after three yeeres by Duke *Aſſerus* remoued, and with great celeberty entered in the *Muſey of Shuſterbury*; and for this vntimely death, hee gained the ſurname of *Martyr*.

(10) *Queene Elfrida* ſore repenting her cruell and ſtep-motherly faſt, to expiate her guilt, and pacifie the crying blood of her ſaine ſonne, built the two ſaid Monasteries of *Almſbury* and *Worwell* in the Counties of *Wiltſhire* and *Southampton*, in which la-ter the ſiued with great repentance and penance vntill the day of her death, and in the ſame lieth her body enterr'd.

Theſe and other the like foundations built vpon the occaſion of rapine & blood, how ſooner they may them the ſorrowfull repentance of their found-ers: yet their ſtones being laide with the firmmond of murder, and the mortar tempered with blood, haue felt the wrath of him, who by his Prophet hath pronounced, that from the wall the ſtone ſhall erie, and the beam out of the timber ſhall anſwere it, *Woe vnto him that buildeth a towne with blood, and erecteth a City by iniquity.*

Dunſon con-ſults.

The Priests ſat-irize on the Monks.

An. Do. 977.

A heavy miſ-chance.

Priests ſit at a table.

Priests without cure, but not without care.

St. Dunſon.

Saints as geſſes Princes.

Saints.

St. Dunſon, who was King's Chaplain.

Almſbury Town. St. Dunſon's Church. Synodical Book.

Queene Elfrida's Priſon.

St. Dunſon's Priſon. St. Dunſon's Priſon.

Priests, who were not without care.

Almſbury and Worwell Monasteries.

Halicar, &c.





ETHELRED COMMONLY CALLED THE VNREADIE, THE TVVO AND THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WARS, RAIGNE, WIVES AND ISSVES.

Monarch 32.



CHAPTER XLIII.

Ethelred.

An. Do. 979.

1011. Malmesbury. 5 penit. 10 penit.



*E*thelred the sonne of King Edgar, & brother to King Edward the Martyr, at the age of twelue yeers entred his government ouer the Englishmen, the yeere of mans saluation, 979, and was the two and thirtieth Monarch since King Henric: he was crowned King at Kingston vpon Thames the foureteenth of April, being Easter day, by the hands of Dunstan Archbisshoppe of Canterbury, who did it much against his will.

(2) He was a man neither forward in action, nor fortunate in proceedings, and therefore commonly called the *Vnready*: his youth was spent in idleness, feeding his senses with all voluptuous baies, his middle yeeres with a careless government, maintaining civil dissensions, and his latter end deservingly in continuall reluctance of the blood-thirsty Danes. With these imputations by writers hee is taxed, though we find no such iust cause in recording his life, but to such extremes are euen great Monarches themselves brought, that their breath and dignity once left and laid downe, they are subiect to the censures of every affectionate and malignant reporter. And that this King lay lyable to such mens humors, the working of Dunstan euer against him, is a sufficient witness, who not onely did refuse to ad his Coronation, but would haue preferred Lady Edgib a bastard before him to the Crown, as we haue said. And besides the generall quarrell of the Monkes and married Priests, to which laier himselfe and his Abettors were better inclined; his iust indignation conuincet against the Bishop of Rochester, and that not pacified without the Bishops

submission and payment of money, was cause inough for those Monkish Writers to brand the *Lords Anointed* with their marks of infamie, vnto whom they impute the miseries of those times, and the destruction of the English by the intruding Danes.

(1) These Danes had kept quiet euer since the disliked raigne of King Edgar, without any notable attempts, for the space of twenty two yeeres: but now perceiving the hearts of the subiects to bee drawn from their Soueraigne, they thought it a sufficient occasion to forward their intendement; and omitting no time, in the second of his raigne with seven ships they arrived vpon the coast of Kent, spoiling the Countrey, but most especially the land *Thames*, from whence they did greue hurt likewise to the towne of *Southampton*.

The English led in dislike of young Ethelreds government, were the rather drawne to impute these and other aduersities to this vnfortunate Prince, by reason of a prediction of Dunstan, who had prophesied, *That they should not be free from blood and sword, till there came a people of an unknowne tongue, that should bring them to therallens*: and that opinion was skrewed deeper into their fearefull conceit, by a cloud appearing of blood and fire, immediately after his vnaffected Coronation.

(4) The next yeere, those rousing Danes entred the *Wintsh Sea*, and confining to *Canterbury* destroyed there the Abbey of Saint Patrick, *Perland* in *Deuonshire*, and many other places vpon those shores, the like was done vnto *Cheshire* by the *Norway-Farotes*, which broke into those parts in the same yeere.

(5) And these calamities were seconded with others as fearefull; for in the yeere 982. the City *London* was miserably destroyed and defaced by fire, whose beauty then chiefly extended from *Ludgate* wehward, for, that within the walles, and where the

An. Do. 980.

1011. Malmesbury.

An. Do. 981.

1011. Malmesbury.

1011. Malmesbury.

An. Do. 982.

1011. Malmesbury.

Ethelred the Unready.

Ethelred.

1011. Malmesbury.

heart of the City is now, was then neither beautiful, nor orderly built; what time also raged a sickness till then unknown in England, which was a strong burning fever, and bloody flux, as also scarcity of victuals, and murraine among cattle. This hand of God thus correcting the sinnes of all, was received as sent for the offences of some few, and wholly imputed to the King and his Rulers; *Danstan* full prophesying further woe to the land, when him selfe should be dead.

(6) The *Danes* hereupon more boldly assailed each shire, and in so many places at once, that the *Engls* were to leske, where first to withstand. In the *West* they were encountered by *Gode Earle of Deuonshire*, as faith *Simon Dunelmensis*, by whom they were overthrowne, though with the losse of his life, as also of *Sturme*, a man of great cieme and valour in those parts, who stroue there vnder him.

(7) In the East their leaders *Instone* and *Guthmond* warred with better success; for at *Malden* in Essex they gaue *Brighten* the Earle, a great and bloody battaile, wherein him selfe with most of his people were slaine. The *Danes* thus prospering, more boldly went forward; and where they set their tallants, there they held fast, and lay on the land like unto *Grashoppers*. These euils King *Ethelred* could not redresse, his strengthes being small, and his subjects affections lesse; therefore calling to Counsell his *Statesmen* & *Peeres*, demanded their aduice what was best to be done. Some few of these proffered the King their assistance, but more of them perswaded vnto a composition, whereof *Scriuu* Archbishop of *Caterbury* was chiefe; and in fine, ten thousand pounds paid to the *Danes* for their depaer.

(8) This golden Mine once entered, was more eagerly digged into, by these still-thirsting *Danes*, who finding the branch to be profitable at first, hoped the vein in following, would prooue farre more bountifull, and therefore regardless of promise, the next yeere prepared themselves againe for England, and with a great fleet dispatched to sea: the newes whereof stricke such terror into the *Engls* hearts, that despairing of hope, they accounted themselues the bond-slaves of misery: The King therefore with much adoe prepared a *Nasir*, whereof hee made *Elfrick Earle of Mercia*, who setting from *London* vnto the sea, had power sufficient to put backe the enemy: but hee once a traitor could neuer proue true; for, hauing beene banished, forgiven, and neuer taken into fauour, found meanes to be false, and to betray his charge; and sending the enemy intelligence of his power and intents, gaue the way to their escape; and another fleet of *Danes* encountering with the Kings, at first hee faintly and faintly fought against; and lastly, turned to their side; through which treason many *Englismen* died, and the Kings Fleet and power was greatly weakened; but hee escaping due punishment him selfe, left his sonne to answer the fault, whose eyes King *Ethelred* caused to be put out.

(9) About which time also another *Danish Fleet* entering *Humber*, wailed the countries of *Torkshire* and *Lyndsey*: against these King *Ethelred* sent his power, vnder the charge of three valiant but treacherous Captaines, namely, *Frena*, *Goderic* and *Frederick*; for the battie but began, these with their followers fled away, which was the occasion of a great overthrow of the *Engls*, notwithstanding the country people notable to digest their intollerable dealings, fell vpon the *Danes*, slew some, and chased the rest. At what time also other of the *Danes* with ninety foure ships sailed vpo the river *Thames*, and laid their siege against *London*, giuing it a great assault; but the Citizens thereof so manfully defended themselves, that they chased the *Danes* thence to their shame and great losse: yet fell they so foule vpon *Essex*, *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Hampshire*, that the King was enforced to compound a peace, with the

payment of sixteen thousand pounds: for confirmation whereof, *Ethelred* sent to *Southampton* for *Aulaf* these *Norwegian King*, and honourably entertained him at *Andover*, where the same time hee received Baptisme, King *Ethelred* taking him to the Font for his God-fonnes, and with great gifts returned into *Denmarke* without any further harme done to the *Engls*.

(10) But God and destiny suffering it, (that would haue the *Saxons* to fall before the *Danes*, as formerly the *Brittans* had done before them) no covenant could be so surely made, but was as flackie in the performed; for albeit this *Aulaf* honourably kept both faith and promise, yet others of his Country continued their inuasions, and as another *Hydra* shewed their still-reuiuing heads.

(11) For the nineteenth yeare of King *Ethelred* most troublesome raigne, and of our situation 997. the *Danes* with a great fleet sailed about *Cornwall*, and came into the mouth of *Seuer*, robbing as they went, *Deuonshire*, *Cornwall*, and *South-Wales*; and marching further into the Countie, consumed *Lydford*, and the Abbey of *Saint Ordulf* at *Essex*; thence passing through *Dorsetshire* with fire & sword, found not a man in the way to resist them, and wintering in the winter liued by spoiles gotten in *Hampshire* and *Sussex*.

(12) The next Spring they put into the mouth of *Thames*, and so by the riuer *Medway* arrived at *Rechefer*: thither the *Engls* with their strengthes repaired, but vnfavourably fought, and left the field to the *Danes*, who shortly after boyled their sailes, & with a merry gale arrived in *Normandy*.

(13) King *Ethelred* thus rid of these his vnlooked for guests, sought to remove those leigers that lay in *Cumberland*, whither hee repaired, and with sore warre wasted the Countie, before whose sword the *Danes* were not able to stand; which somewhat encouraged the spirits of his people, and bettered their conceits towards him: but farre this sunne past not without a cloud, nor was his successe enuiable to be fortunate.

(14) For the next yeare, those *Danes* that departed from *Kent*, came now from *Normandy* with their full sailes, and landing in *Exmouth*, their first and greatest fury was against the City of *Exeter*, when they heretofore besieged, they were so valiantly beaten by the Citizens, as that enraged above measure with the ignominy of that repulse, they thence as a sodaine flood bare downe all that flood in their way; and then plainly beganne to appeare the rise of the *Danes*, which euery where lorded it, where they had to doe, and the fall of the *Saxons*, whose overtopped Monarchy, and weak wailes now wanted props to hold vp the weights for the Captains of the *Engls* (faith *Hyde*) wanting lore in deeds of Arms, their direction neuer prospered; if ships were made they neuer sped well, but were either chafed of the enemy, or destroyed by tempest: if the Nobles euer assembled to consult of the State, that time was rather spent in whetting the spleene each against other, than jointly agreeing how to redresse their present danger, or to repress the common enemy: for most of the Nobles were allied into the *Danish* blood, whereby not onely the secret of those consultations were revealed, but being employed in seruice, many of them reuolted to the enemy. The Clergy as backward as any, denied the King their assistance, pleading their exemptions from warre, and priuledge of the Church, when the land lay bleeding and deploing for helpe, and scandalized all his other proceedings for demanding their aide: to these were ioined scarcity, hunger and robberies. These miseries caused the summes of their compositions to be augmented, whose last was sixteen thousand, now twenty thousand, immediately twenty four then thirty and lastly forty thousand pounds, vntill the laud was emptied of all the coine; the Kingdome of her glory: the Nobles of courages, the

Matt. 119.
Sama. 22.

An. Do. 997.

An. Do. 998.

An. Do. 999.

An. D. 1000.

Exeter. 1192.
An. 1000.

Hyde.
Cont.

The Clergy con-
municate.

The effects of it.

Polychron. 29. A.
cap. 3.

W. L. Melanbury.
M. 119. 119. 119.
Sama. 22.

An. Do. 998.

An. Do. 991.

M. 119. 119. 119.
Sama. 22.

An. Do. 992.

W. L. Melanbury.

W. L. Melanbury.
M. 119. 119. 119.

An. Do. 993.

Sama. 22.
Polychron. 29. A.
cap. 3.

A Fleet of Danes
besiege London.

Commons of their content, and the Sovereign of his wonted respect and observance,

(15) The *Danes* thus prevailling, did not a little glory in their fortunes, and grieved the poore *English*, whose service they employed to ease and till the ground, whilst themselves sate idle, & ate the fruit of their paines, abusing the wives and daughters of their hosts where they lay, and yer in every place for feare and reverence were called the *Lord-Dames*, (which afterwards became a word of derision to such sturdy and lazy loach) so that the like daies of miserie the land neuer felt. To redresse which, the carefull King *Ethelred* was farre too weakke, and therefore intending to doe that by polley, which he could not by strength, he deuised a desperate stratagem that proued the destruction of the *Saxons* to all blood, and conquest of the land to another nation.

(16) For seeking to disburden the Realme of these devouring *Danes*, which by open force hee could no waies doe; he attempted in a bloody massacre to destroy them, giving a secret commission vnto every City within his dominions, that at an appointed time they should set vpon, and kill all the *Danes*; the day was the thirteenth of *November*, being the festiuall of *S. Brice*, the year of Christ Iesus 1002, and presently after his marriage with *Emma*, the Bowet of *Normandy*, in confidence of which affinity, hee presumed to do what he did. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in *Oxford* the fearfull *Danes* for refuge tooke into the Church of *S. Frideswyd*, as into a Sanctuary of venerable antiquity and privileged among ancient Kings; but they in fury regarding either place nor person, set the Church on fire, whereas were burned a great sort of those *Danes* with many rich ornaments, and the Library thereof vtterly defaced. At which time (if *Malmsbury* say true) King *Ethelred* himself was in that City, and had summoned a Parliament both of *Danes* and *Engliss*, with which euen the King was much grieved: and therefore at his very great cost heauenfully repaired the Church, and all the losses accruing by the fire, endowing it with large perailledges and donations, as appeareth by his owne Charter, mentioning the tenour of that *Daniſh* laughter.

In this massacre, Lady Gunbold, sister to *Swinone* King of *Denmarke*, a great and continual friend to the *English*, with her husband and sonne, together were slaughtered, although she lay in hostage vpon conditions of peace, whose husbands name was *Palmer* (saith *de la chery*) an Earle of great might, & both of them Christians.

(17) Newes brought into Denmarke of this Suddaine Inuasion, no neede there was to venge them to svenge, or to adde more fuel vnto that ouer kindled fire, for preparation being made, the yeere ensuing, *Scoten* with a great Navy landed in the *West*, spoiled the Countrey, and gaue assault to the City of *Essex*, which by the treachery of one *Hugh a Norman* (whom in the fauour of the Queen, King *Erlieard* had made Gouvernour of that City) he razed and scouell'd with the ground, all along from the *Esstate* to the *West*.

This treason and stirres great of themselves, but made much more ruffill in the relating, caused *Enkel* presently to muster his men; over whom he made *Earle Arsk* for his coeuten lincs furnished *Stretton* his Generall, who bare a braue shew till he came to the path, and day of battle: but then to cover his treason, he fained him selfe sicke, and left his soldiers to shift as they could. The *Danes* hereupon fortified *Widen*, and passing forward tooke *Salisbury* in their way, to which they were as welcome as water into ships; but hearing that the King himselfe in person was preparing to give them battle, they left the land, and tooke againe to sea.

(18) The next yeare following, (which was the twenty foure of King *Eshebede* raigne, and of grace one thousand and foure,) King *Swaine* with a mighty flette of ships arrived vpon the coasts of *Norfolke*

where landing his men, hee made spoile of all before him, and coming to *Norwich* sacked the City, with great laughter of the Citizens; then tooke *Thesford*, and set it on fire, notwithstanding he had entred a truce with them: but for want of victuall which then was scarce in the land, he returned to sea, and so into *Denmarke*.

(19) Where making preparation for another expedition, increased his Naumic and number of men, and the next Spring arrived at *Sandwich*, miserably defolating the Countries along the sea side, now staying in any certain place, but to prevent the King's Forces roamed from coast to coast, ever carrying their ships their hooties and prayers, and to encrease the calamitie, the harvest was neglected, and in many places spoiled, both for the want of labourers, by the feet of the soldiers which lay in field that season, who from place to place trauailed, and though in vaine-

Towards the Winter the *Danes* took into the *Isle of Wight*, and in the deepest time thereof, passe through *Hampshire*, into *Berkshire*, vnto *Reading*, *Wallingford*, *Colsey*, and *Elington*, making clean work wheresoeuer they came, for that which they could not carry they consumed with fire, with triumphe returninge to their ships.

(20) The King lying in *Shrewsbury*, vnable to rise, called to him his Councell, to consult what was best to be done; whereof *Edm.* was a principall, and in so high esteeme with the King, that he created him Duke of *Norfolk*, and gaue him his daughter *Eggh* in marriage: notwithstanding, these plotes of fauours wrought onely the digestion of falshood in him, who could not nothing vniuerselle it was faulsh with treason. This man, when the Kings onely *Chapellain*, perswaded him to pay thirty thousand poundes to the *Danes* for their peace, whereof no doubt some fell into his owne Coffers.

(21) This insupportable imposition extorted of the Subjects especially at that time when the land was leathable, made many suspect great matters against *Edrik*, and some did not feare to accuse him to his face, to be the onely cause of this payment, charging him as over-affectionated to the *Danes*, and have bewrayed the Kings secrets and designs unto them: but he seated in the heart of his Sovereign rubbed off this stain with a few fawnings, and a flattery, being a man in wit subtle, in speech eloquent and for riches inferior to none, (a thought that could carrie even great fireames aside) so that these suspicious of treasons (as proceeding from envy to him for his good services) gave him greater trust, and sent he was Ambassador to the *Danes* to mediate for peace: where revealing the weakness of the land, and the fears which the *English* conceived of conquest, treacherously dissuaded them from giving ear to any motions of Truce.

(22) The State of the land thus standing, or rather hanging at suspence, King *Esbeked* gave order that out of euery three hundred and ten hides of land a shippe should bee built, and of euery eight hides a complete Armour furnished. These meeting at *Sandwich* and furnished with souldiers, made shew of such readinesse, as had not-beene seen, although the cause was nothing but a shew. For *William* a Noble man of *Staffe* (banished for some offence by King *Esbeked*) with twenty Sailer rowed vpon the coasts, and by Piracy did much hurt among the English Marchants: wherefore *Brittain* the brother of *Esbeked* to winne himselfe honour, got the Kings consent to pursue this grand-Piracie, with fourscore Gaile of the foresaid ships, threatening to bring in *William* either dead or alive: but his fall being spread vnder a faire wind, a violent tempest suddenly arose, and detragiously droue his ships vpon shore, where distressed and come, their boatsmen lay vnable to recouer themselves, or the Sea: *William* taking advantage of this present misfortune, fell fiercely vpon them, and after much slaughter

their weather-beaten warders, for them all on fire, so that all this preparation proved not onely vaine, but also very hurtfull.

(23) At the receipt of the said thirty thousand pounds, the Danes departed, in semblance satisfied, and friends with the English; but how long that lasted the sequel shewed: for the next harvest, and yeere of saluation 1009, a great flecte of their ships throngly appointed landed at Sandwith, vnder the conduct of three Danish Princes, *Turkil, Hering* and *Anlafse*: these coming to *Canterbury*, were compounded with the Citizens, paying a thousand pounds for their departure; who thence in the *weight, Suffex* and *Hampshire* made hapoke of all.

King *Ethelred* seeing no truth in their promises, nor quietnesse, in State, his land thus exhausted of provision and coine, thought it best to adventure once for all, and to commit his cause vnto God, by the fortune of warre. To which end hee gathered his power, and comming vnlooked for, when the enemy was altogether vnprepared, and taken at disadvantage, he had made an end of the quarrell if wicked *Edrick* had not perswaded him from fight, and put him into a custlesse feare with his forged tales. The Danes thus escaping returned to *Kent*, and the winter following lodged their ships in the fiuer *Thames*, whence often they gaue alliaies for *London*, though to little purpose.

(24) Then took they through the *Chiltern* woods vnto *Oxford*, which they fired, and in their returne wasted all the countries on both sides of *Thames*, but hearing that *London* was prepared against them, they crossed ouer at *Stanes*, passing through *Surrey* into *Kent*, where they fell to amending their ships, and thence sailing about the coasts of *Suffolke*, tooke *Ipwich*, and pitched their battle vpon *Rigmer*, against *Fikel* (Governour of *Norfolke*) and his English, vpon the first of *May*, where they wonne the day with a great slaughter made of the *Suffaxe, Norfolke*, and *Cambridge-shire* men, and after harried those Countries with the borders of *Lincolne* and *Huntingfordshire*; burning *Thetford* and *Cambridge*, and rifling all the *Abbies* and Churches that stood in their way, and then through *Essex* returned vnto their ships.

(25) Neither rested they there long in quiet, ere, as people wholly deuoted to spoile, they brake into *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Norhampton-shires*, the chief Towne of which last, they set on fire after much slaughter of the Inhabitants; and thence entering *Wiltshire* depopulated all before them, which was the fewest Shire in number that they had laid waste like a solitude.

(26) And now not satisfied with spoil nor blood-spilling, they prepare a new expedition for *Canterbury*, and in September beleaguered the Citie, which by treason of a Church-man they wonne, tooke *Elphegus* the *Arch-Bishop*, and few nine hundred Monks and men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy: for they tished the captiue multitudes after an inverted order, slaying all by nines, and restoring onely the tenth to live; so that of all the *Monks* in the towne there were but foure saved, and of the lay people foure thousand eight hundred, by which account *M. Lambert* collecteth that there died in this massacre forty three thousand and two hundred persons.

The *Archbishop Elphegus*, for that he refused to change his Tenants with three thousand pounds to pay for his ransom, they most cruelly stoued to death at *Gretenwich* the nineteenth of *April* following.

Turkil the Leader of these murderers, tooke into his possession all *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, ouer whom he tyrannized in most lauage manner. The rest compounding with the English for eight thousand pound forwarne a while quiet among them.

(27) But King *Swaine* hearing of the diffusions, and weaknesse of the land, in the yeare of Grace,

1013, with a great number of ships arriued in the mouth of *Humber*, and entering *Trent* landed at *Gainsburgh*, whole terror stroke so deepe into the *Norhambrics* concities, that they with them of *Lyndsey* yielded themselves to the yoke of his subiection, so that now ouer all the *North* from *Wallingfleet* he reigned sole King, and exalted pledges from them for their further obedience. From the *North* hee sought to spread his wings farther into the *South*, and leauing his sonne *Cano* to take charge of his shippes, and new conquered countries, sped himselfe through *Mercia* to *Oxford* and *Winchester*, bringing all vnder the power of his command: with which gales of his fortunes, hee was so puffed vp, that thinking nothing vnpossible for him and his Danes to doe, in the heat of his courage he came vnto *London* and presently begirt the walles with a streit siege.

(28) In the Citie lay vnfortunate King *Ethelred*, who (as *Simon Monke of Durham* reporteth) had with him, and vnder his pay *Turkill* the Danish Prince before spoken of, and forty five Danish ships to defend the coasts. King *Swaine* at his first comming fiercely assaulted the Citie, hoping his fortunes would haue proved as before; but the presence of the King, and *London* the eye of the land, made the Citizens about measure courageous, who beat the Danes from their walles, and iallying forth of the Gates, slew them on heapes, so that *Swaine* himselfe was in great danger, had hee not desperately runne through the midst of his enemies, and by flight escaped their swords marching both day and night in great feare vntill hee had entred *Bath*, where *Ethelmers* Earle of *Devonshire* with his Welshire people submitted themselves vnto him. But this last overthrow, and wast of victuals, caused him after he had received a certaine summe of money, to hark into *Denmarke*, minding with more power, and better advantage to prosecute the quarrell.

(29) Not long it was ere he returned, and immediately was met by the English, where betwix them was stricke a fierce battaile, which had been with good successe, had not the treasons of some hindered it, in turning to the Danes. King *Ethelred* therefore seeing himselfe, and land betrayed in this manner, to those few true English that were left, heeuid this speech as followeth.

(30) If there wanted in me a fatherly care, either for the defence of the Kingdome, or administration of iustice in the common wealth, or in you, the courage of Souldiers for the defence of your native Country; then cruelly silent would I bee for euer, and beare these clamories with a more dejected mind: but as the case stands (be it as it is) I for my part am resolved to rush into the midst of the enemy, and to lose my life for my Kingdome and Crowne. And you (I am sure) hold it a worthy death that is purchased for the liberties of your selues and kindred, and thereto I pray you let vs all die, for I live both God and death against vs, and the ruine of the English nation brought almost to the last period; for wee are overcome not by weapons and hostile warfare, but by treason and domesticall falshood; our Navy betrayed into the Danes hands, our battaile weakened by the reuolt of our Captaines, our designs betrayed to them by our owne Counsellors, and they also inflicting compositions of dishonourable peace, I my selfe distressed, and in some tearmed *Ethelred* the cowardly, your valour and loialties betrayed by your owne leaders, and all our poverty yeerly augmented by the payment of their *Dane-gilt*, which how to redresse God onely knoweth, and we are to seek; for if we pay money for peace, yea, and that confirmed by oath, these enemies soone breake it, as a people that neither regard God nor man, contrary to equity and the lawes of warre, or of nations: and so farre off is all hope of better successe, as we haue cause

Sime Dan.

Canoe.

London besieged

Simon Daniel, He is Swaine's master, Henry Hunt.

Polynes

W. Malm, He is Swaine's master.

A Battelle betweene Danes & English.

Ethelred's Oration.

Money paid the Danes.

An.D.1009.

Three Danish Captaines.

Money paid the Danes.

Three thousand Pound, with Swain Dan.

Ethelred against the Danes.

An.D.1010.

Henry Hunt.

The Danes fire the Convent betwix them

An.D.1011.

Henry Hunt.

Falconer.

Added April.

W. Lambert in Verse.

Falconer &c. 16.

An.D.1012.

Money paid the Danes.

An.D.1013.

"to spare the loss of our Kingdom, and you the
"extinct of the English nations renown; therefore
"seeing the enemies are at hand, and their hands at
"our throats; let vs by forelight and counsell save
"our owne lives, or else by courage sleaeth our
"foes in their bowels: either of which I am wil-
"ling to enter into, to secure our estate and nation
"from an irrecoverable ruine.

(31) This lamentable Oracion deliuered from
the passions of a fully-penitent King, touched the
hearts to the heares, and asmuch distracted their
afflicted minds; to abide battell they saw it was
bootlesse, the treason of their leaders in many times
defeating their victories; to yield themselves to the
enemy, would but beginne their seruitude and mis-
ery, and to flee before them, their eternal ignominy
and reproch.

Thus their opinions were vanused, but nothing
put in practise, whereas meane whiles the Danes
went forward with victories, and had got the most
part of the land, yea and London also by falshe-
hood, wherewith vntowardly Ethelred more and more de-
ceited, sent his wife Emma with his two sonnes by
her, vnto her brother Richard Duke of Normandy,
and for his owne selfe refuge committed himselfe
vnto Turkel the Dane, in whose shippes he remained
a while at Greenwich, and from thence went into the
Isle of Wight, where he abode most part of the win-
ter, and thence sailed into Normandy to his wife and
brother, leasing the Danes lording it in his realme.

(32) These were the daies of Englands mourn-
ing, free being vnable to maintaine her defend-
ers, and yet enforced to nourish and cherish her de-
uourers: for the Danes in two factions most cruely
afflicted the land like two millions crathing & grind-
ing the grain. Swaps an absolute King, extorted of
the English both victuals and pay for his souldiers:
and Turkel on the other side, in defranchise of the Eng-
lish, commanded the like for his ships and men; so
that the Danes had all land the English maintained at.
Neither were churches free from their spoils, (whom
other Conquerors haue held most impious to vio-
late,) but either suffered the flames of their con-
suming fire, or were forced to purchase their standings
with great summes of money. Such composition
King Swaine demanded for the preferuacion of S.
Edmunds Monastery in Suffolke, which because the
Inhabitants refused to pay, he threatened spoile both
to the place, & to the Martyrs bones there entred;
in the midst of which iollity (saith H. rounde) he fu-
dainly cried out that he was stricken by S. Edmund
with a sword, being then in the midst of his No-
bles, and no man seeing from whose hand it came:
and so with great horrour and torment, three daies
after vpon the third of February ended his life at
Thetford (others say at Gainsborough) but with his
death diuined not the title of the Danes, who im-
mediately aduanced Canutus his sonne for their King.

(33) The English that liked nothing lesse then
bondage, especially vnder such tyrannizing in-
terdors, thought now or neuer the time to shake off the
yoke; and therefore with great ioy and ball sent in
to Normandy for their native King. Ethelred now
not credulous for the recouering of his right, fore-
closed no meanes either to halten or strengthen the
enterprise, and hauing the assistance of his brother
of Normandy, in the Lent following landed in
England, vnto whom resorted the people from all
parts, accounting it their gratefull ioy to see the face
of their King.

(34) Canutus then at Gainsborough, Souldier-like
maltered and managed his men, and holding it good
politic to keepe that by bouney, which his father
had got by tyranny, made no spare to purchase
the hearts of the English, by which meanes those
of Lynsey became his Creatures, with an agree-
ment to hind him both horse and men against their
owne King and Countrey.

Ethelred therefore now raging for reuenge, with a

mighty host entered Lynsey, where he burnt all
the Countrey, and put the inhabitants to the sword.
Canute not able to resist this puissant Army, held
the sea more safe for him then the land, and en-
tering Humber, sailed to Sandwich, where being fore-
griued at the miseries of these his confederates, re-
quested King Ethelred friends with the like, and
commanded that those pledges which had beene
deliuered by the Nobles vnto his Father, should
haue their owne life, and their hands cut off: which
cruelly acted, hee failed to Denmark, as hope-
lesse of any good issue in England.

(35) But Turkel the Dane, retained (as we said)
into King Ethelreds pay, seeing successe so sodainly
altered, sore repented him of his treult from the
Danes, and knowing now the time to recouer his
reputation, with nine of his shippes sailed into
Denmark, instantly importuning Canute to addressse
against England: alledging the feares and weak-
nesse of the people, the beauty and fertility of the
land, an Eden, in respect of their owne barren sea,
and (which did most moue) himselfe would assist
when the English least thought it: with these and
the like hee spurred him on, who of himselfe was
forward in a full carriere.

Canutus therefore with the aide of his brother
Harold, rigged forth a Naue of two hundred saile,
all furnished with souldiers and abiments of warre;
whose terror landed in England before him, and his
power by report made greater then it was; and to
encrease the terror of this fearefull enemy, the sea
with a spring-tide brake into this land, and destroyed
both townes and many inhabitants: a signe fore-
showing (as was thought) the successe of this fleet,
borne hitherward vpon those waves, and to encrease
the English miories, thirty thousand pound was
then collected by way of Tribute to pay the Danish
auxiliary Naue lying before Greenwich. The States
also conuening in a grand Councell at Oxford to
determine vpon the great affaires of the Kingdom,
were diuided into factions, and two Noblemen of
the Danes there murdered by praefille of Edrick the
Traitor. These (say) were accouted ominous
amongst the English, that made each mole-hill to
seeme a mountaine, and euery shadow the shew of an
enemy.

(36) In the meane while Canutus had landed at
Sandwich, and giuen a great overthrow to the Eng-
lish; entred Kent, and by his sword had made way
through the Countreies of Dorset, Sommerfet, and
Wiltshire.

Ethelred lying dangerously sicke at Causton, the ma-
naging of these warres was transferred to Prince
Edmund his sonne, who preparing to meete the
enemie with his Army in the field, had sodainly
noticed that Edrick his brother in law ment to betray
him into his enemies hands; which newes stricken
a great astonishment vnto his heart, and caused him
to retreat his host into a place of security; wherby
Edrick perceiving his trecherous purposes were
discovered, gaue more open proofe of his intend-
ments, flying to the enemy with forty of the Kings
shippes; wherupon all the west Countreies subma-
ined themselves vnto Canutus.

(37) By this time King Ethelred had recouered
his sickness, and minding reuenge on his most wil-
ked sonne Edrick, with purpose to trie his last for-
tunes by hazard of fight, summoned all his forces
to meete him at a certayne day and place; where
being assembled, he was instantly warned not to
giue battall, for that his owne subjects ment to be-
tray him.

King Ethelred euer vntowardly in this, to find
treasons amongst them that ought him most trust,
withdrew himselfe to London, whose seruice against
the Danes he had lately scene, and therefore accoun-
ted his person most sure in their walls. Prince Ed-
mund with his power posted ouer Humber, where
obtaineing Earle Ered to side in his quarrell, entred

He is chased by
diversed.

March, Wilt.
Wiltshire.

Turkel in the
Canute against
England.

Canute and his
Naue.

Money collected
for the Danes.

Wiltshire, Dorset,
Sommerfet, Kent
Dorset.

March, Wilt.

Canute's ship.

An.D. 1016.

London safety.

Hamming for
Lion.

Henry Hunting
James Dan.

An.D. 1014.
An. Reg. 35.

Swaine and Tur-
kel's connecting.

Wounded, Ethel-
red's priest,
D. Canute's priest,
D. Canute's priest,
D. Canute's priest,
D. Canute's priest.

An.D. 1015

Canutus wished
Ethelred's
English.

the Countreies of *Stafford, Leicesters, and Shropshires*, not sparing to exercise any cruelty vpon their inhabitants, as a condigne recompence for their revolt. Neither did *Canute* for his part spare the Kings subiects, but through *Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Lincoln, and Yorkshires*, made spoile of all, so that the miserable *English* went to wracke on all sides, insomuch that *Vreda* so forsaking *Edmund*, became subiect to *Canute*: whereupon *Edmund* halted to *London* to ioinc his strength with his Fathers, and *Canute* with no lesse speed sailed about the Coast into *Thames*, preparing his Armie for the siege of *London*.

(33) At which time King *Ethelred*, either faine into relapc of his last sickness, or tired with the many troubles, and daily renewed treasions against him, gave vp his ghost, and found rest by death, which neuer hee could attaine by life, the twenty third of *April*, and yeere of our Salvation 1016, when he had most vnfortunatly reigned thirty seven yeeres, and nine daies: his body was there buried in the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul*, and bones as yet remaine in the north-wall of the Chancell in a chest of grey-Marble, reared vpon foure small pillars, covered with a copped stone of the same, adjoining to another of the like forme, whercin *Sebbi* King of the *East-Saxons* lieth intombed.

(39) Of Parsonage he was very seemely, and of countenance gracious, affable and courteous to his Subiects, and a maintainer of iustice among them, as by his excellent Lawes which himselfe made, and by his sharpe, but godly and wife censures against valcarned, bribing, delaying, partiall Iudges & Lawyers, and their purloining officers (at large let down by *M. Fox*) is very apparant. Very loeing and tender affectionated he was to his brother King *Edwards* for whose death he made such lamentation, that his mother beat him with a taper of waxe that hood before her, yea and so fere that he could neuer after wel endure the sight of a taper. Favourable he was to the married Priests, and least esteemed the opulent and idle lines of the Monkes, whose pens therefore (as in such cases we euer find them partial) have been very laith in his dispraise, accusing him with sloth and vnreadinesse of Armes, of voluptuousnes and lechery, conceitnesse, pride and cruelty: whereas in following the records of his life, laying aside the *Danish* mallice, we find no such liues, neither any mention of Concubine that euer hee kept, or name of child vnlawfully begot, having had many by his wives, which were as followeth.

His Wives.

(40) *Elgiva*, the first wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of an *English* Duke named *Thored*, who is reported in the history of that time, to haue done great seruice against the *Danes*. She was married vnto him when he was seauenteene yeeres of age, in the first of his raigne, being the yeere of grace 984. and was his wife seauenteene yeeres, who deceased in the twenty foure of his raigne, and of Christ Iesus, 1003.

(41) *Emme*, the second wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Richard* the second Duke of *Normandy*, and sister of Duke *Richard*, and Duke *Robert* Father to *William* the Conqueror, her mother was sister to *Herfast* the *Dane*, Grandfather of *William Fitz-Osbert* afterward Earle of *Hereford*. She was a Lady of passing beauty, and therefore commonly called the flower of *Normandy*, married vnto him in the twenty and fifth yeere of his raigne, & yeere of Salvation, 1003, with whom she liued thirteene yeeres, and suruiuing him was remarried to King *Canute* the *Dane*.

His Issue.

(42) *Ethelstan*, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelred* and of *Queene Elgiva* his first wife, was borne about the eight yeere of his Fathers raigne, and yeere of Christ, 986: hee liued vnto the age almost of twenty yeeres, being then by great likelihood yet off

by vnaimely death in the warres of the *Danes*, raging then most extreemely, which was the thirte chird of his Fathers raigne, and of Christ Natiuitie 1012.

(43) *Egbert*, the second sonne of King *Ethelred*, and *Queene Elgiva* his first wife, seemeth to haue bene borne two yeeres after his brother *Ethelstan*, in the tenth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and yeere of our Lord 988, and to haue deceased in the very prime of his youth before the death of his father, or of his elder brother, and before hee had done any thing in his life worthy of remembrance after his death.

(44) *Edmund*, the third sonne of King *Ethelred* & *Queene Elgiva* his first wife, was borne in the eleuenth yeere of his fathers raigne, and of Grace 989 and of all his fathers Children proued to be the only man that let his helping hand to the redresse of the estate of his Countrey distressed by the miserable oppressions of the *Danes*, which hee pursued with such exceeding toyle, and restless hazards of his body, as he was therefore furnamed *Iron-side*, and when hee had followed those warres with great courage the space of seauenteene yeeres vnder his Father, being come to twenty seuen of his owne age, hee succeeded him in his Kingdome and troubles, as presently shall be shewed.

(45) *Edred*, the fourth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of *Queene Elgiva* his first wife, was borne about the fourteenth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of Grace 992. His name is continually set downe, as a witness in the testies of his fathers Charters, vntill the thirte fifth yeere of his raigne, by which it appeareth that hee liued vnto the two and twentieth yeere of his owne age, although I find no mention of him, or of any thing done by him in any of our histories, and it seemeth he died at that time, because his name is left out of the Charters after that yeere.

(46) *Edwy*, the fifth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and *Queene Elgiva* his first wife, suruiued his father and all his brethren, and liued in the raigne of *Canute* the *Dane*, who being iealous of his new-gotten estate, and fearefull of the dangers that might accrew vnto him by this *Edwy*, and such others of the English blood retall, practised to haue him murdered, which was accordingly done by them, whom hee most fauoured, and least suspected, the yeere of our saluation, 1017.

(47) *Edgar*, the sixth sonne of King *Ethelred* and of *Queene Elgiva* his first wife, was borne about the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of our Lord God nine hundred ninetie and eight. He seemeth by the Testies of his fathers Charters, to haue bene liuing in the one and twentieth of his raigne, but being no more found in any of them after, may be supposed by all coniectures, to haue died in, or, about the same yeere, being but the eleuenth after his owne birth, and the seuenth before his fathers death.

(48) The eldest daughter of King *Ethelred* and *Queene Elgiva* his first wife, although her name be not to be found in any writer of those times, appeareth notwithstanding, to be married to one *Ethelstan*, a Noble man of *England*, who was the principall Commander of *Cambridge-shire* men, at the great battle fought betweene them and the *Danes*, wherein the *English-men* had the ouerthrow, and this sonne in law of King *Ethelred*, with the rest of the chiefe Leaders, were slaine in the yeere of Christ Natiuitie 1010, being the two and thirtieth of his father in lawes raigne.

(49) *Edith*, the second daughter of King *Ethelred* and *Queene Elgiva* his first wife, was married to *Edrik* Duke of *Mercia*, who for his countourlesse in getting was furnamed *Streathme*: This *Edrik* was the sonne of one *Egbert* furnamed *Leofwin*, an elder brother to *Egbert* the grandfather of *Canute* Duke of the *West-Saxons*; and being but meanelly borne, was thus highly aduanced by this King; notwithstanding be

Canute's death

Richard's death

The time of his raigne

His Tomb in S. Paul in London

Fox's History in King Ethelred's life in 1016

Edgar's death in 1017

Elgiva the first wife, by some called Ethelred

Emme the second wife

Edith the eldest daughter

Edgar the second sonne

Edmund the third sonne

Edred the fourth sonne

Edwy the fifth sonne

Edgar the sixth sonne

The eldest daughter

Edith the second daughter

he was ever a traitor to his Countie, and a fauourer of the *Danes*, betraying both him, and King *Edmund* his sonne to King *Canut*, that he thereby might gette new preferments by him, who worthily rewarded him as a traitor and put him to death.

(50) *Elfgone*, the third daughter of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgisa* his first wife, was the second wife of *Vired* surnamed the *Bold*, sonne of Earle *Waldefe* the elder, Earle of *Northumberland*, by whom shee had one onely child, a daughter, named *Aldgith*, married to a Noble-man called *Ataldred*, the sonne of *Crinan*; shee was mother of *Cassatrice*, who was Earle of *Northumberland* in the time of *William* the Conquerour, and forced by his displeasure to fly into *Scotland*, where hee abode and was ancestor to the Earles of *Dunbar* and of *March* in that Countie.

(51) *Gode*, the fourth and youngest daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgisa* his first wife, was first married to one *Walter de Maigra* a Noble-man of *Normandy* greatly fauoured by King *Edward* her brother; who liued not long after the marriage, and left issue by her a sonne named *Redulfe*, whom King *Edward* his vncke created Earle of *Harcford*. This Earle *Redulfe* died the one and twentieth of December, in the thirteenth yeere of his vncles raigne, and was buried at *Peterborough*; leaving issue a young sonne named *Harrold*, created afterwards by King *William* the Conquerour, Baron of *Sudeley* in the Countie of *Gloucester*, and Ancestor to the Barons of that place succeeding, and of the Lord *Chandell* of *Sudeley* now being. This Lady *Gode*, after the deceate of the said *Walter de Maigra*, was remarried to *Bosface* the elder,

Earle of *Bouligne* in *Pictury*, a man of great valour in those parts of *France*, and a most faithfull friend to King *Edward* her brother; which Earle was grand-father to *Goffrey* of *Bouligne*, King of *Iherusalem* albeit it seemeth he had no issue by this Lady.

(52) *Edward*, the seventh sonne of King *Ethelred*, and his first by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was borne at *Slupe* in the Countie of *Oxford*, and brought vp in *France* all the time of his youth, with his vncke *Richard* the third of that name, Duke of *Normandy*, mistrusting his safety in *England* vnder King *Canut* the Dane, although he had married his mother; but hee found the time more dangerous by the vsage of his brother *Edfred*, at his being heere in the raigne of King *Harrold* sonne of the *Dane*. Nowwithstanding hee returned home, when *Harold* the other sonne (being his halfe brother) was King, and was honourably receiued and entertained by him, and after his death succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England*.

(53) *Edfred*, the eighth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and his second by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was conueied into *Normandie* for feare of King *Canut*, with his eldest brother *Edward*, and with him returned into *England* to see his mother, then being at *Wincheſter*, in the second yeere of King *Harrold* surnamed *Harcote*; by whose practise hee was trained towards *London*, apprehended by the way at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, deprived of his eie-sight, and committed prisoner to the Monastery of *Eberis* his *Normans* that came with him most cruelly murdered, and hee himselfe soone after deceasing, was buried in the Church of the said Monasterie.



EDMUND

SURNAMED IRON-

SIDE THE THIRTIE THREE MO-

NARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS

WARRES, ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE,

AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XLV.



Edmund, the third sonne of King *Ethelred*, and the eldest liuing at his Fathers death, succeeded him both in his dominions, & in his troubled estate against the *Danes*; entering his government in the moneth of *April*, and crowned at *Kingſton* vp-

on *Thameſe*, by *Liutgus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the yeere of mans ſaluation 1016. Nowwithſtanding a great part of the Engliſh, conſidering the puiſſance of the *Danes*, both feared and fauoured *Canut*, eſpecially, a great part of the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, ſwearing to him the fealty of true ſubiectiō; but the *Londoners* ſtood moſt firme to Prince *Edmund*, and were principall Actors for his election.

(1) In reuenge whereof *Canut* who had beſieged

Elfgone the third daughter.

Gode the fourth daughter.

Edward the fifth sonne.

Edfred the eighth sonne.

Edmund.

Monarch 33

An.D.1016.

Edmund the third sonne.

Henry Myring,
Sunder Dux.

Proffer of single
combat.

AN.D. 1016.
In the Regation
week.

Polish.

Sunder Dux,
Henr. Myr.

W. L. Malwood,
Edrik's cousin.

Edrik's cousin.

Canst marched
to London.

Defended by
Edmund.

Edrik wished
council.

Henry Hunt.

Edmund's people
rushed.

Polish.
Folow.
Henr. Myr.
W. L. Malwood.

A battle be-
tween Edmund &
Canst.

W. L. Malwood,
Sunder Dux,
Henr. Myr.

ged the Cite before the death of King *Ethelred*, caused his ships now to be towed, and drawne vp the *Thames* vnto the west side of the bridge, and from the river with a deepe and large Trench encompassed the City, shutting vp all entrance or egress of any: but the Citizens manfully stood in resistance, whereto the coming of their new King for their succour, did not a little encourage them, and daunted the *Danes*, who now thought it best to breake vp their siege and be gone: and the latter (as the Author of *Economicum Ennema*) for that King *Edmund* sent *Canst* a peremptory challenge of single combat, which he neither accepted, nor yet staied the siege to trie his chance; but waying his anchors sailed along the Coast to the Ile of *Sheppey*, where he wintered with his Naue and men.

(3) But looke to lose opportunity, when time served for warre, on the fodeane he assailed the west of *England*, and brought much of those parts vnder his command: to meet whom the restless *Iron-side* prepared, and with such small power as his leasure would admit to leaue, he halted into *Dorsetshire*, where *Canst* was forwarding his owne fortunes, and at *Penham* neere *Gillingham*, each met other in the field, wherein a fore battle was fought, and bloody to the *Danes*, where many of them were put to the sword, and the rest to flight.

(4) *Canst* immediately tooke into *Winchester*, to secure himselfe from danger, and therest escaped towards *Salisbury*, and there begit the Cite with a strait siege. King *Edmund* as ready to succ, as they to destroy, made presently thitherward with his small and outwired company; whom *Canst*, waiting for advantage, followed with a great host, and in *Wiltshire*, at a place called *Sherston*, in the sight of his enemy pitched his battail. To the aide of *Edmund* came many of the *English*, so that his Army was greatly encreased, and their courages inhaumed, which made the *Danish* souldiers somewhat to droope.

(5) Notwithstanding, vpon the twentieth of *June*, 1016. their battails joined, and with equall fortune continued all the day, vntill the night constrained them to part.

(6) But their blood not cold, the next day they buckled together againe with no lesse courage then before, till at length the *Danes* were going down, & the *English* in great forwardnes of victory: which when the Traiour *Edrik* perceived, he cut off the head of a souldier, whose name was *Osmear*, like vnto King *Edmund* both in haire and countenance, and shakng his bloody sword with the halfe-gaping head, cried vnto the host of the *English*: *For see wretches, flee, and get away for your King is slain, behold here is his head, therefore seeke now to save your owne liues.*

(7) But *Edmund* having present notice of this treacherous stratageme, and seeing his men ready to gae ouer the night, halted himselfe where he might be best seene, encouraging his Army to stand to it like true Englishmen, and posling from ranke to ranke, both performed the parts of a wise General, and vnderwent the dangers of the meanest souldier. his men seeing his presence, & the apparant treachery of Duke *Edrik*, bent their bow against the traitour, and had shot him to death, had he not presently avoided to the enemy: but the night approaching, patred againe the battail of this second day: Duke *Edrik* excusing his fault, as being moerely mistaken in the countenance of the man, and thirsting to saue the blood of the *English*, was taken againe into favour, and bare himselfe outwardly faire for his Country.

(8) The third day appearing, both the Armies prepared for battail, but yet stood still without any attempt, onely refreshing their wearied, and almost tired bodies, and burying the dead slaine in the two daies fights before.

(9) The night following, *Canst* in great fa-

lence brake vp his Campe, and marched very fast towards *London*, against whose Citizens he carried great spleene, and most earnestly desired the conquest of the Cite, which in a fort was still besieged by the *Danish* ships.

(10) The Centinels the next morning certified King *Edmund* (who was addressing himselfe for the battail) of the suddaine departure of his enemies, wherupon hee as ready to prevent their designs, followed them by traile euen vnto *London*: where with small adoe, hee removed their siege, and entered the City in manner of triumph. The *Danes* thus discomited, great hope was conceiued, that these faire proceedings would haue a prosperous end.

(11) *Edmund*, therefore following the aduantage of their discouragements, two dayes after at *Brentford* had them battail, and that with their great ouerthrow; notwithstanding, in passing the *Thames* at the same place, he lost many of his men, who were drowned before they could recover the shore: vpon which losse the Traiour *Edrik* plained, who earli had much feared the downfall of the *Danes*. For hereupon hee perswaded his brother in law King *Edmund* to come to tract with *Canst*, which as he confidently assured, should be to the great benefite and contentment of *Edmund*: *Canst* himselfe so plotting it, that by his meanes he might continue his hopes, and bring his enemy into his danger.

(12) The affaires thus standing, King *Edmund* returned into the West, and *Canst* with spoiles vnto his shippes that were in *Medway*, not far from *Rochester*, where hea while lay still to learne what *Edmund* meant to doe; who contrariwise louing nothing lesse then to linger his busineses, made preparation against those truce-breakers that had wasted the Countrey in their recurrence with a great Army cutted *Kent*, where he pitched down his tents neere vnto *Oxford*.

Canst, who had prepared himselfe in most warlike array to meete his approach, beganne the battail in a furious manner, which continued verie bloody for foure howres space, vntill the foot of his vaward beganne to shrink, which when hee perceived, he drew his horsemen for their aide; but whilst the one gaue hastily back, & the other made as slowly forward, the array of the whole army was broken, and the *Danes* slaine on all hand: for it is reported that *Canst* lost foure thousand five hundred men, (and King *Edmund* onely six hundred) the rest of these *Danes* trusting to their legs: whom if *Edmund* had pursued in chase, it is thought, that day had ended the warres betwixt those two Nations for euer: but Destiny, that would haue the *Saxons* downe, who had raised themselves by the fall of the *Britainer*, made *Edrik* her instrument, & mall of the *English*, who kept King *Edmund*'s halfe foot from following his enemies, by guilefull vying the danger of ambush, and the ouer-weared bodies of his souldiers, so that *Canst* thereby had leasure in safety to passe ouer into *Essex*.

(13) Where beginning againe, with the increase of his power to depouler the Countrey before him, brought fesse to the inhabitants, and to himselfe submission of many *English*. King *Edmund* therefore made preparation thitherward, and at *Abstone* three miles from *Saffron-Walden*, gaue battail to *Canst*, wherein a bloody slaughter ensued, though a while with equall chance of foile or of victory, vntill lastly the *Danes* beganne to giue backe, which when the euer-traitorous *Edrik* perceived, he went with his strength, vnto their side, and maintained their battail, which otherwise was at point to be lost, whereby the *Danes* regained the day, and the betrayed *English* the ouerthrow. There died of *Edmund*'s Nobility, Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Gostwin*, Duke *Aethelward*, Duke *Aethelwin*, and Earle *Willel*, with Caduoth Bishop of *Lincolne*, and Welfy Abbot

of

of *Kauky*, besides other of the Clergy that were come thither to pray for the preservation of the King and his Army. The remembrance of which fact is retained unto this day, by certain small hills there remaining, whence have beene digged the bones of men, Armour, and the water-chains of horse-bridles.

(14) King *Edmund* thus traitorously forced to retire from the field, on foot marched unto *Gloucester* with a very small Army, leaving *Cannet* overthrown in conceit for this his great victorie, unto whom then the *Londoners* submitted, and so did many other great townes of *Name*; after which hee followed *Edmund* into the West, who now like a Tygar robbed of her Whelpes, seeking the revenge of his lost day, gathered a most puissant Army, meaning to trie the viertmost chance of Fate, or Battaille. Their hostes meete at *Deerhurst* were unto the river *Suonne*, where they were refolowed byns to establish the onestate with the others downfall; and now being ready to ioyne, a certaine Captaine of valentine name, slept forth (as is reported) betwixt the two Armies, and vntered in effect this speech.

"(15) Many battailles have bene fought, and too much blood already spilt for the soveraigntie of this Land, betwixt these two fierce Nations, and the valours of the Generals, Capraines and Souldiers sufficiently tried; wherein euen fortune her selfe seemeth to have bene conquered; for if one Battaille were wonne, it was not long kept, neither the loser so weakened, but that hee had both courage and power to winne the next: what is the marke then that you aime at? is it honour and fame? Titles indeed which accompany war; but neither long enjoyed, nor much attained unto by the common Souldiers, hy whose valours and blood it is for the most part wonne. Let him therefore that would weare the Duademe, beare the hazard himselfe, without the consoule of so many men, and either trie the fortune of a single combat, who shall command, and who obey, or diuide betwixt them the Kingdom, which may suffice two, that hath maintained feren.

(16) Some affirme that this speech was Duke *Edrick*; but I hardly believe so good a motion should proceede from so bad a man, by whom so euerttered, it was acceptably received by *Edmund* and *Cannet*, who therupon in sight of their Armies, entred into a small bland, embraced about with the armies of *Suonne*, called *Alney*, adjoining unto the City *Gloucester*, where those princes in complete Armour at first assailed each other most dangerously on horiebacke, and after as valiantly on foot. The *Ironside* was strong, and fought for his Kingdome; the *Dane* not so tall, but every way as stout, fought for his honour, and so the combat continued with an absolute resolution, till at length *Cannet* having received a dangerous wound and lacing himselfe overmatched in strength, wished a compromise, and thus spake to *Edmund* with a blood voice.

"What necessity should thou move vs most valiant Prince, that for the obtaining of a Title, we should thus endanger our lives? better it were to lay man and Armour aside, and to be condempned to a lasting agreement: let us therefore now become fverne brothers, and divide the Kingdome betwixt us, and so such league of amity, that each of us may be the other part as his owne; so shall this land be peacefully governed, and mutually assigant to each others necessity.

Wherupon they both cast downe their swords, embracing as friends with the great ioy and shooting of both their Armies, who stood before doubtfully wauncing betwixt hope and feare, and looking for their owne fortuace, according to the successe of their Champions.

Thus was the Kingdome divided betwixt those two Princes; *Edmund* enioying that part that lay coasted vpon *France*, and *Cannet* entring vpon the rest.

(17) Thus then the *Saxons* Monarchy spent to the last period, and their tottering crowne fast graiped with a hard *Danish* hand, was suddainely torne from the *Ironside* helmet, by his complicted and hastined death. For Duke *Edrick* a very compound of treacions, glutted with the furoars of both these Kings, to scue himselfe deeper into *Cannet* his conceit, contrived the end of renowned *Edmund*: who being retired to a place for matures necessity, was thrust from vnder the draught into his body with a sharpe speare; which done, the treacherous *Edrick* cutting off his Soueraignes head, prefined it to *Cannet* with these fawning salutations. All haste, thou new false Monarch of England, for, here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off.

Cannet, though ambitious inough of soveraignty, yet of princely disposition abused, & sore grieved at so voworthy and dishonour an attempt, replied, and vowed, that in reward of that service, the braverer head should be advanced about all the power of his kingdome. Which high honour whiles this prodigious wretch greedily expected, (and indeed for a time, such *Malmesbury*, hee found some sort of favour with the King;) soone after, by the Kings command, his head had his shouldlers fawcill, and was placed vpon the highest Gate to overlooke *London*.

(18) The traitorous death of this worthy Prince, as some affirme, was acted at *Oxford*; yet the Author that wrote *Examenium Emmae*, and liued the same time, blancheth the matter, saying that hee died of a natural death in *London*: God minding his owne doctrine, that a Kingdome divided in it selfe, cannot long stand, and pitying the English, took away *Edmund*, lest if the Kings had continued long together, they should both have liued in danger, and the Realme in continual trouble.

That hee died in *London*, *Simon* the Monke of *Durham* agreeth, and saith further, it chanced about the Fealt of *S. Andrew* and *Marianus* is of the same opinion, being the yere of *Christ*, 1016. Whensoever, or howsoever, his Raigue was but seven monethes, and his body buried at *Gloucester*; were unto his Grandfather King *Edgar*.

(19) Hee was of personage tall, for courage, hardy, strong of limmes, and well could endure the trauels of warre, in somuch that some deeme the surname *Ironside*, given him onely vpon that occasions. With him fell the glory of the English, and the aged body of their fore brused Monarchy seemed to bee buried with him in the same Sepulchre.

His Wife.

(20) *Alghis*, the wife of King *Edmund*, was the widow of *Sigefrith*, the sonne of *Engin* a *Danish* Nobleman of *Northumberland*; which *Sigefrith*, with his brother *Mercar*, was murdered at *Oxford* by the trealon of the neerer-faithfull *Edrick*: & this Lady being of great beauty, and noble parnage after the death of her husband, and the scisure of his lands, was by King *Ethelred*, committed in charge to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, where *Edmund* lacing her, grew in great love, and there married her against the liking of his father, in *June* 1015.

His Issue.

(21) *Edward* the eldest son of King *Edmund*, and Queen *Alghis* his wife, was surnamed the *Outlaw*, because hee liued out of England in *Hungary* as a banished man, through the raigue of *Cannet*, and of his sonnes the *Danes*. But when his vnckle King *Edward* the Confessor, had obtained the English crown,

The Kingdome parted betwixt these two.

Edmund married his daughter.

Cannet took this children.

His Majesty.

Old Monarch, before his death.

Simon Dore, Monke of Durham, testifies, Edmund was buried.

The features of Edmund.

Alghis.

Edward the outlaw.

Edmund put to rest.

Land was yielded to Cannet.

Mat. Westm. Party der.

The advice of a Captaine for single combats.

Mat. Westm.

Edmund and Cannet in single fight.

Mat. Westm.

Cannet to Edmund.

he was by him recalled, and most honourably in his Court entertained, till lastly, hee was taken away by death in the City of *London*, the yeere of Christ, 1057. He married *Agatha* sister to Queene *Sapaea*, wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and daughter to the Emperour *Henric* the second; by whom hee had *Edgar*, surnamed *Etheling*, confirmed heire apparent by *Edward* Confessor, his great Uncle; which title notwithstanding, proceeded no further, for that hee was deprived thereof by *Harold* his Protector.

The daughters of this *Edward*, as after shall be said, were *Margaret* and *Christina*, the younger of which became a valed Nunne at *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*, where shee in that deuotion spent her life, and was there interred.

Margaret the elder, and afterward sole heire vnto the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third of that name, King of *Scotland*, and commonly called *Canmore*: from which princely bed in a lineall descent, our high and mighty Monarch, King *JAMES* the first, doth in his most roiall person vniue the *Brittaines*, *Saxons*, *English*, *Normans*, and *Scot-*

ish imperiall Crownes in one.

(22) *Edmund*, the second and yongest sonne of King *Edmund*, and of Queene *Alghith* his wife, after his fathers deccesse being a Child, was with his brother *Edward*, sent by *Cnut* to *Olave* King of *Sweden* his halfe brother, to the intent, that he by murder should make them both away: but this King taking pittie on the innocent Childrens estate, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, to the intent to haue them suued, where they were receiued with great fauour and honour: and *Mathew* of *Westminster* reporteth, that this Prince married the daughter of the same King; and other Writers of thier times, that he died in the same Country without any issue of his body.

(23) These two ionnes of the *Transe* thus posied away, and the crowne already set vpon the *Danes* head, had not the means of themselves to displace it, nor the *English*, hearts to assist them to their right: so that they rather secured themselves from violent deaths in this their exile, then made claime to that which was vurecoverable; and left the *Danes* quietly to possesse the land, which so long they had molested with their sturdy Armes.

• The End of the Seuenth Booke.



THE



THE ORIGINALL OF THE
DANES. THEIR MANNERS, RELIGI-
ON, AND INVASIONS OF ENGLAND, THE
'RAIGNES OF THEIR KINGS HERE, UN.
TILL THE CROWNE REVERTED AGAINE TO
THE SAXONS, WORNE BY KING EDWARD
THE CONFESSOR, AND AFTER HIM
BY HAROLD THE LAST KING
OF THEIR RACE.

CHAPTER I.



He Spirit of God in his
sacred writings, to these
his all-commanding pow-
er over Kingdomes and
Nations, compareth the
transigrations of peo-
ple from country to coun-
try, vnto the transiſion
of wine from vesseſ to ves-
ſell: and those that are at

rest with sinne, to the setting vpon their lees, as *Mo-
ſes* did, against whom hee cursed that hand that
was negligent in his worke of reuenge, and the sword
that was not sheathed in their bloud. Euen so the
ſinners of the *Saxons* growne now to the full, and
their dregs as it were Iuncke vnto the bottome, they
were emptied by the *Danes* from their owne vessels,
and their bottles broken that had vented their red &
bloody wines: in lieu whereof, the Lord then gaue
them the cuppe of his wrath, whose dregs hee had
formerly (by their own hands) wrung out vpon other
nations.

(2) For these *Saxons* that had enlarged their king-
domes by the blood of the *Brittains*, and built their
neſts high vpon the Cedars of others, (as the Pro-
phet speaketh) committed an euill couenent vnto
their owne habitations, and were stricken by the
ſame meaſure that they had meaſured vnto others.
Whenas the *Danes* often attempting the lands in-
uaſion, and the ſuborſion of the *Engliſh* estate, made
way with their ſwords through all the Prouinces in
the realme, and laſtly advanced the crowne vpon
their owne helmets; which whiles it ſo ſtood, was
worne with great honour, eſpecially of *Canute* the
firſt and their great ſt.

(3) As touching this Nations originall, and firſt
place of reſiding, ſeeing themſelves know nothing
at all, we cannot determine, but ſuppoſing them
with *Franciſcus Irenicus*, to be a branch of the an-
cient *Germani*, and knowing them by the teſtimonies
of others, to inhabit in the ſame Country among

them, we need not to doubt, but that their condi-
tions and cuſtomes were much alike. Of the for-
mer, what we haue obſerued, is already ſet downe,
where we ſpoke of our *Saxons*, & now of theſe latter,
what is ſuppoſed for truth ſhall be produced.

(4) Theſe *Danes* ſo often mentioned by our hiſtori-
ans, for the great afflictors of the *Engliſh* ſtate and
peace, were a people deſcended from the *Scythians*,
as *Andrew Felley* a learned *Danish* Writer reporteth:
but *Dudo of St. Quentin* (an ancient Author) will haue
them to come from *Scandia*, a ſmall ſituated
north-ward, not farre from the continent of *Den-
marke*: which his opinion ſeemeth vnto ſome to be
ſtrengthened by *Ptolemy* the *Alexandrian*, who in his
Geography placeth the people *Danones* (the ſuppo-
ſed Anceſſors of thoſe *Danes*) in this Iſland *Scandia*,
at ſuch time as himſelfe wrote, which was in the
raigne of *Hadrrian* the Emperour, and about the yere
of Chriſts natiuitie 133. But whereſoeuer the root
had beginning, the branches did ſure ſpread them-
ſelves into the vpper *Germany*, and parts of *Norway*,
and *Swedon*, whole faire fruit more particularly il-
led that promontory, which tongue-like lieth into
the Ocean on the north, being anciently called of
the learned, *Cambroica Cheſneſſus*, where (as *Tacitus*
ſaith) was the *utermoſt end of Nature, and of the world*, a
ſtrange conceit indeed; and yet more ſtrange was
their opinion, who were perſwaded that the ſound
and noiſe of the Sonne was there heard at his daile
riſing and ſetting in thoſe ſeas. But from more
warrantable wiſedoms it is reported, that this was the
very place which the *Inter* and *Angles* abandoned,
when they remoued their Colonies for *Britaine*.

(5) In this place then the *Danes* had firſt the founda-
tion of their Kingdom; which, from the word
Mare, ſignifying not a limbe, but a region, was named
Deno-mare. But touching the former part of that com-
pounded name, the truth and originall ſhall not be
ſo ſoone found out: for the leaſching eye of truth
hath long ſince ſene into the receiued fable of *Dana-
nus* their firſt King, and Guene-like ſonne of *Hamburgh*
though

And. Felley.

Dudo. S. Quentin.

Ptol. Geograph.
where hee ſaith
Danones.

Tacit. Deſſ.
Germ.

Andrew Vellay.

1604. 1611.

1611. 1617.

1611. 1617.

*Perfogus, Act.
cap. 6.*

though *Perfogus* of late holds it more certaine in the search of originals, to follow the grounded opinion that ancient Tradition hath held, then at random to seeke them else-where: as these *Danes* (saith he) from *Dan*, and the *Britaines* from *Brute*; which truly for truth I hold much alike, and will herein make doabt as many more of riper iudgement before me haue done.

*Isidorus, Antiq.
lib. 14. cap. 6.*

(6) For *Caropius Romanus* deducteth the name *Dane* from *Dan-hen*, signifying a Henne, or rather (as some will) a fighting Cocke; *Tanum*, from *Des*, signifying Fire-mee, which the name there abound. *Andreas Vellus* from a people in *Scythia* named *Daha*, of whom *Isidorus* maketh mention in his eighteenth booke, and placeth them by the *Saxa*.

Jonas Lamb.

Ethelward our English historian will haue them named from the faire City *Dania*. And *Iomas Lambardus Penolanius*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, out of *Pempanius Antels*, findeth the names of certaine *Reys*, opening into those parts, which now the *Danes* inhabit, to haue beene ancientlie written *CDAN* and *CDANONVM*; which Orthographic and Pronuntiation to the Latines was both harsh and hard, and therefore they added a vowel, and wrote *CODANVM* and *CODANONIA*, whereof (it may be thought) these people giue much to piracies, were knowne and called by that name, as breaking out of those *Codanus* seas. Some others from *Ptoleme* haue thought, that from his *Deaciones* placed in *Scandia*, and corruptly so written for *Danciones*, the name of these *Danes* hath beene deriued; whereto the neere-ness of the place induceth much.

Dudo.

(7) For Nations Originals may well bee compared vnto a spring, whose current furcharged with continuall supply of more, first filleth the neere Channels; which done, they passe further, and at length are (oftentimes) diuided into many and great streames: and euen so these *Danes*, (saith *Dudo* of *S. Quintin*) after they had in heart, and lasciuious lust ingendred an innumerable offspring, swarmed out of *Scandia* like bees out of their hives, & that both on diuers occasions, and in very barbarous manner; for growne to ripeness of yeeres, & falling at strife with their Fathers and Grand-fires, yea, and most commonly, among themselves for lands and liuely-hood, necessity compelled them to disburden the land thus ouerflowed, for the better maintenance of the residue, and to banish by lot (after their ancient custome) a multitude of their youth, that might conqueere by their swords, in forraigne Realmes, places to liue in.

These then thrust out of their owne, fell vpon other lands with no lesse danger then the falling of a fire out of the sheath, or rather, as the breaking

in of a tempestuous sea vpon the neighbouring grounds, sore distrelling their neighbour nations; & among them *England* not the least, as shalbe said.

Cambd. Britan.

(8) And yet their name was not much notified to the world before the reaigne of *Iulianus* the Emperour, about the yeere of mans saluation, 570, but then rising vpon the coasts of *England*, & *France*, in exercising Piracies, were noted by writers by the name *Wicingi*, for that *Wicinga* in the *Saxen* tongue, as *Africanus* witnesseth doeth signifie a Pirate; they were also called *Pagani*, for that they were not Christians; but by the English *Densican*, and alio *Heathen-men*, as being *Ethellic*.

The Religion of the Danes.

(9) The manner of their Religion, or rather superstition and Idolatry, was much like vnto the other *German* and *Saxen*, whose principall God and Nationall reputed-Patron, was *Thor*, vnto whom the fourth day of the weeke for his seruice was assigned, whereof as yet it beareth his name *Thurs* day; who in his robes was set vpon a sumptuous bed; the Canopie whereof was belagued with flares of gold; vnto him they performed their chiefe deuotions, and ascribed all their fortunes in their affaires; as the foretold *Dudo* doth more particularly relate. They (saith he) sacrificed vnto *Thor*, whom they worshipped in old time as their Lord, for whom they killed not many sheepe, oxen, or other cattle, but offered vnto him mens blood, thinking that to be the most pretious oblation of all others; whom, when the Priest by calling of him had designated to death, they were all at once deadlie smitten vpon the head with necyres, and eury one thus chosen by lot, hauing at one stroke his braines dashed out, was laid along on the ground, and there with a narrow prying was sought out the *Yfira*, or veine of the heart on the left side, whence drawing the blood, as their custome was, and therewith besmeuring the heads of their dearest friends, forthwith they hoise sailes, thinking their Gods well pleased with such sacrifices, and fere-deeming happy success to their intended voyage.

Perfogus.

Dudo.

(10) *Disinarius* the Bishop (somewhat auienter then *Dudo*) recordeth another detestable superstition vied by the *Danes* to purchase the fauour of their Gods. Because (saith he) I haue heard wonderfull reports of the ancient sacrifices which the *Danes* and *Normans* used, I will not let them passe vntoucht. In those parts there is a place, and the chiefe it is of that Kingdome, called *Ledcrum*, in a Province named *Selon*, where eury ninth yeare, in the month of *January*, after the time in which we celebrate the Nativity of our Lord, they all assemble together, and there they kill and sacrifice vnto their Gods ninety and nine men, and as many horses, with dogs, and also cocks, in stead of bowles, offering themselves; that hereby their Gods are fully pleased and pacified. And thus much may serue for a taill and view of their customs, names and originals.

Cambd. Brit.





THE DANES FIRST AT-TEMPTS AGAINST ENGLAND.

CHAPTER II.

An. Do. 787.



Though many were the Piracies of the Danes on the coasts of France and this our Island in former times; yet their arrival here, which gave first breath to their ensuing conquests, was not till the wane of the Saxon Monarchie, about the yeere of Christs Incarnation seven hundred eighty seven, in the raigne of *Brightrik* King of the *West-Saxons*; in whose dominions, after some prosper at *Forland*, they first came to land at *Teigne-mouth* in *Deuon-shire*; becoming sent then with three Ships onely, to espie the wealth of this Countrey, the forces of the Inhabitants, the commodities of the Hauens, and aduantage of arrivall for a greater power, which was to follow them. The Kings Lieutenant and Prefect for that place, vnderstanding of their landings, went himselfe to demand the reason thereof; and attempting to lay hands on some to carrie them to the Kings presence, hee was there slaine; which they tooke as a fortunate preface of the victories wherewith they afterward overranne this Kingdome; though for the present the inhabitants enraged with the losse of their Chiefe, addresting them in great numbers to revenge, forced some to lose their liues by the sword, the rest to save them by flight to their ships.

Consider in Danes, John Grew, Lambert in Pres. ent, mention with their Landing at Teigne-mouth in the North, the necessity of the name (it becomes) descended him.

An. Do. 800.

See the seventh Booke chap. 31.

Warden 1541

Fabian. cap. 38.

(2) Notwithstanding their former preparations, they were contented to deferre their returne till the dayes of *King Egbert*, whose raigne (as elsewhere we haue touched) they disquieted with three several insasions; the first in the North, the second in *Wales*, the last in *Kent*; in all which, the King though with many losses, and hazards of his own person, yet with great resolutions persisted, till hee had disburdened his land of so dangerous guests. But those *Flesh-fur* having once tasted the sweet, though often beaten off, would not long bee kept away, but could easily take, or make occasions of fresh attempts; insomuch that after their first footing they continued here their cruelties, rapine and spoile the space of two hundred and eightene yeeres, neuer intermitting, till they had got the garland vpon their owne heads. The way wherunto was made vpon this ensuing occasion.

(1) *Oswight* a *Northmerian* Victroy, deputed by the *West-Saxons*, by chance, as hee followed his disport in Hunting, came to the house of a Noble man, named *Bearn-Bador*, whose Lady of passing stature (in his absence) gave him honourable entertainment, and intreated both himselfe and traine, to repose themselves there a while, after their wearisome delights. The *Fier-ray* already ensnared with her beauty, accepted her courteous offer, not so

much to tast her meates, as to surfeite his eyes with her rare beauty, and lasciuiously to dote in his owne affections. The dinner ended, and all ready to depart, as though some weighty matters were to be handled, he commaunded an avoidance from the Presence, and taking the Lady into a withdrawing Chamber, vnder pretence of secret conference, greatly tending to the aduancement of her Lord & selfe, most vnnobly, being not able to preuaile by smooth persuasions, did by force violate her constant chastity. Which dishonour thus received, and her minde distracted like to *Thamar*, at her husbands returne, all ashamed to behold his face whose bed had so become wronged, with fouds of teares there thus let open the fluxes of her passions.

a. Sam. 13. 19.

(4) Had thy fortunes accorded to thine owne defect, or thy choice proceeded as by vow was obliged, then had no stain of blemish touched thine honour, nor cause of suspicion once approached thy thought: or had my selfe become my selfe, these blushing cheekes had not inuited thy sharpe piercing eye to looke into my guilty and defiled breast, which now thou maist see disurailled of honour, and the closer of pure chastity broken vp; onely the heart and soule is cleane, yet feares the tainture of this polluted caske, and would haue passage (by thy reuenging hand) from this loathsome prison and filthy truncke. I must confesse our lexe is weak, and accompanied with many faults, yet none excusable, how small fouler; much lesse the greatch, which shame doth follow, and inward guilt continually attendeth; yours, is created more inuolable and firme, both against allurements and enforcements: by whose constancy as our flexible weakness is guarded, so our true honours by your iust Armes should bee protected. O *Bearn-Born*, (for husband I dare not call thee) reuenge therefore my wrongs, that am now made thy shame and scandale of my sex, vpon that monster, say Diuell, *Oswight*, (O that very name corrupts my breath, and I want words to deplore my griefe) who hath no law but his lust, nor measure of his actions but his power, nor praisledge for his loathsome life, but his greatness; whiles we with a selfe-fear, and servile flatterie make our baseness with crouching obedience, & beare the wrongs of his most vile adulteries. Thou yet art free from such delected and degenerate thoughts, nor hast thou smoothed him in his wicked and euil-working vices: be still thy selfe then, and truly Noble as thou art. It may be for his place thou owest him respect; but what therewith the losse of honour thine affection, but not thy bed; thy Loue but not thy beloued, yet hast thou lust at once all these; and he thy only beuauer: thou wast my stay whilest I layed by thee; and now being downe, re-

"venge my fall: the instinct of nature doth pitty our
"weaknesse, the law of Nations doth maintaine our
"honour, and the sword of Knighthood is sworne by
"to be vnbeate for our iust defence; much more
"the linke of wedlocke claimes it, which hath lockt
"two hearts in one; but alas, that ward is broken,
"and am thy shame, who might haue bene thine
"honour. Reuenge thy selfe therefore both on him
"and mee, else shall this hand let out the Ghost that
"shall still attend thee with acclamations, till thou re-
"uenge my stained blood.

(5) *Born* vnwonted thus to bee welcommed,
much amazed at his wifes maladies, with gentle
words drew from her the particulars of her inward
griefe, who revealed (as well as shame, and teares,
and sobs, would suffer) the manner of the deed, full
vrging reuenge for the wrong. *Born* touched thus
to the quick, to pacifie his distressed wife, did not
a little dissemble his wrath, and exculing the fact,
with the power of a Prince that might command,
and her owne weaknesse vnable to resist the strength
of a man: Comended much her loue and constan-
cy, and allcading his wrongs to bee equal with
hers, if not greater, in regard of their sexe, willed
her to set her firing to his true till fire opportu-
nity would ferue to strike: but thee distilling that
sweet comfort, wrestled her passion into so high a strain,
that nothing could be heard but reuenge & blood.

(6) *Born* thus infligated by the continual cries
of his wife, whose rape already of it selfe had given
sufficient cause of wrath: first consulting with his
nereest friends, was offered their assistance against
that wicked and libidinous Prince, and then repai-
ring to his Court, in presence of them all, made
knowne his vnusuall wrongs, and with vtter de-
fiance departed, threatening his death.

This Nobleman in his youth had been brought
vp in *Denmarke*, and is reported to haue beene ali-
ed into the *Danish* roiall blood. Hee therefore ac-
counted this nation the surest vnto himselfe, and
the surest will and power to enter his quarrells so
comming to *Godenot* King of that Country, made
his case knowne, instantly desiring his aide against
the villanie of *Osberg*.

Godenot glad to haue some quartrell to enter *Fri-
tane*, leured an Armie with all speed, and preparati-
on made for all things necessarie, sendeth forth *In-
guar* and *Habba* two brethren to command in chiefe,
ouer an innumerable multitude of his *Danes*: which
two hee thought at this time the fittest for the at-
tempt, not onely for their well approved resolution
and valour, but also for that hee knew them to bee,
on particular motives (which usually more affect
then doth a common cause) implacably enraged a-
gainst the *Englysh*, on an occasion vnfortunately hap-
ping, but most lamentably purified: which it will
not bee amisse here to rehearse.

(7) A certaine *Danish* Nobleman of the roiall
llage named *Lathbroke*, Father to this *Inguar* &
Habba, being vpon the shore, his Hawke in fly-
ing the game fell into the Sea, which to recouer,
hee entered a litle Schiffe or Cock-boar, nothing
foreseeing the danger that immediately did ensue: for
a fadine tempest arising, carried the boat into the
deepe, and droue him vpon the coast of *Norfolke*,
where hee came to land at the Port called *Radham*,
and was no sooner scene, but hee was taken for a
spie; and presently sent to *Edmund*, King then of
that prouince, who in his answers sufficiently cleared
that suspition, when also declaring his birth &
misfortune, he was honourably entertained in the
Court of the *East-Engles*: whom the King much
esteemed for his other good parts; but for his
dexterity and expertnesse in hawking, held him in
a speciall regard; in somuch that the Kings Falconer
named *Berke*, conuicted both such secret enuie and
deadly hatred thereat, that hauing him alone in a
wood, he cowardly murdered him, & hid his dead
body in a Bush.

(8) *Lathbroke* in the Kings presence and Court
was soone mist and diligent inquisition made could
not bee found vntill his Spanell, which would not
forsake his dead Masters corpe, came fawninglie
vnto the King, as seeming to begge reuenge on so
bloody an Act, which he did more then once, &
at length being obserued and followed by the trace,
the dead body was found; and *Berke* conuicted for
the murder, his iudgement was to bee put into *Lath-
brokes* bow, and that without either tackle or Ore, as
he thereto arrived, and so left to the fies mercy to be
sued by destiny, or swallowed vp by iust delect.

"But behold the event; the Boat returned to the
same place, and vpon the same coast arrived from
whence it had bene driuen, even in *Denmarke*, where
Berke being known, and hands laid on him, to free
himselfe from the punishment of his butcherly fact,
he added treason to murder, laying it to the charge
of innocent King *Edmund*.

(9) In reuenge whereof, and likewise in *God-
enots* quartrell, *Inguar* and *Habba*, sons to the mur-
thered Prince, being now made Generals of the
Army of the *Danes*, first arriving at *Holdernes*,
burnt vp the Countrey, and without mercy mas-
sacred all before them, sparing neither sexe, nor cal-
ling, nor age; and surprizing *York*, which *Osberg*
had taken for his refuge, there slew that illustrious
Prince with all his forces, and possessed that City;
and afterwards barling into *Norfolke*, sent this mes-
sage vnto King *Edmund*. *That* linguist the most vi-
cious Prince, dread both by sea and land, hauing sub-
dued diuers Countreies vnto his subiection, and now ar-
riued in those parts where hee meant to winter, charged
Edmund to disdaine him his riches, and to become his
vassall and seruant.

The King aloued at this strange and vnexpected
Ambassage, consulted with his Councell, where one
of his Bishops (then his Secretary, and a princi-
pall man) vied persuasions to him to yeeld, for pre-
uenting greater mischief; who notwithstanding re-
turned this answer: *God tell your Lord, that* *Edmund*
the Christian King, for the love of his temporall life,
will not submit himselfe to a Heathen and Pagan Duke.
Whereupon *Inguar* and *Habba*, with the furious
troupes of their *Danes*, pursued the King to *Thes-
ford*; and (as *Fabian* saith) to *Framingham*, others to
Halesden; where hee pitying the terrible slaughter of
his people, yielded himselfe to their persecutions;
and for that hee would not deny Christ, and his
Christian faith, was bound to a tree or Stake, and
with their arrowes so shot to death: whose body
was afterward there buried, and thereupon tooke
the name of *S. Edmunds-bury*; as we haue formerly
touched in his raigne, Lib. 7. cap. 11.

(10) Whether these were the very true causes, or
some other, which drew these *Danes* hieher, most
certaine it is and too lamentable experience shew-
ed, that hither they came (by Writers account) of
about the yeete of Christ eight hundred, and in the
daies of King *Erighelm*. Neither want there Au-
thors who ascribe certain predictions to haue fore-
runne the yeere 800. made vnfortunate by their
first attempts; fore-shewed seven yeeres before, by
showes of blood falling from heauen, and bloody
Crosses made therewith vpon the garments of
men, reported by the learned *Aluianus*, who was in-
structor to *Charls the Great*, and borne in the ciu-
city of *York*, where this wonder happened: which
himselfe saw & testified vnto *Enkelbert* King of that
Province, as *Malambury* hath written, and was
thought by *Horden*, *Higden*, *Fabian* and others, to
haue bene sent for signes before their bloody af-
faires, which beganne at the day-spring of the *Sax-
ons* Monarchy, when it promised a most faire al-
scent to their heires succeeding, but mounted to the
highest, againe declined as the setting Sunne, and
fell vnder the cloudes of their owne ruine, so car-
ried by the iust reuenging hand of God: for those
Saxons hauing by blood and warre vntaunted the *Bri-*

March 23. 100.

S. Fabian, cap.
104.
Prophet. 8. c. 20. 21.
Aluian. Histor.
cap. 10.

Aluianus.

Willelmus,
Erighelm,
Erighelm,
Erighelm.

Flora Infirmitas
• That is Les-
that death.

Bloud reuenged
with bloud.

lames of their land and right, by blood and warre, were by these *Pagan Danes* so vncessantly molested, that no place was freed from their tyranny, nor any state sure, long to hold that, which they enjoyed, nor their liues secured from a daily expectation of their savage swords.

(11) Whole many insasions and cruell proceedings against this land and nation, are already shewed in the reigns of these *Saxon Kings*, who then felt their heavy brookes in warre, hauing nothing almost memorable otherwise, to enlarge their fames and floecies with, besides these their valours in resisting so mighty and almost vnrepugnable an enemie. Therefore omitting to repeat such things as in their successions are handled, we will fall neerer the time of the wished harvest of their full Conquests: some what remembering the Reader here, of those bloodie affaires, which the *Engls* at severall times felt and endured.

(12) Such was the murder of holy *Edmund King* of the *East Angles*, with *Danish* arrows martyred to death as hee stood bound vnto a stake, euer-calling on the name of Iesus: Of *Ella* and *Osbert* Gouernours of *Northumberland* by them slaine, and that Prouince for a long time after by them enioyed, and made subiect to their furies: Of *Burdeth King* of *Mercia*, by them expelled, who with his Queene *Ethelfrith*, were forced to abandon their Kingdome, leauing it to the possession of these *Pagan* intruders, and to seeke their securities in forreine Countreies, where at *Rome* in *Italy* hee dyed, and at *Padua* his wife, as hath bene said: Of *Ethelred King* of the *West-Saxons*, that in one yeeres continuance fought nine bloodie battles against them, in the last whereof at *Merton* hee receiued his death wound, and this Kingdome an vncurable blow: Of *Elfred* that most famous and learned King of the *West-Saxons* also, shruen by them to such distresse, that hee was forced to leaue his Princely Court, and to remaine secret in a

poore Cow-hearts house vnknowne and disguised, in the life of *Ethelone* in the Countie of *Somerset*, and thence to aduantage himselfe among the *Danish* host, as a base Minstrell and Contemptible make-sport, till hee had perfectly learned their secrets, and after with his sword through the thickest of those Enemies, made a way to his owne most glorious Monarchie.

(13) To speake nothing of the desolations left in euerie Prouince, Towne, and Place, where they came, laying all leaue with the ground, as prints of their loote-steppes where they had troden: Their cruell and merclesse dealings towards holy and religious persons, with the iunation of Churches, and other places for Oratorie, is most lamentable to bee rehearsed or remembered: and among many others, the faire & beautifull Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterbore*, *Ely*, and *Collesingham*, were made subiect to their desolations: In the last wherof, Lady *Ebbe* with her chaff *Nunner*, to auoid their usage and filthy pollutions, curse off their owne noses and vpper-lippes, least the baste of their beautes should prouee the bane of their bonodors & house.

The most greivous tribute and exactions laied vpon the poore Inhabitants in generall, and great sums of money, paid in such afflicted & vnfortunabie times, impuled by the name of *Dane-gilt*, did from ten thousand, arise to forty thousand pounds, yearly gathered for them in *England*. Their sturdy behaviour and Lord-like carriage against the *Engls*, in all places where euer they ioiournd, was with such subiection of the poore Owners, that they abused both wife, daughter, and maide, and were of all called the *Lord-Dane*, till lastly they were Lords in deede of the Land, and swaied the Scepter at their owne pleasures; which how it was attained vnto, we haue before declared, and how it was worne and continued, wee are now presently to speake.

Henry II. King of
Engl. 1155.
Redd. 1155.

John 5. King.
1155. 1156.

Some say Henry
was slain at
Merton 1156.



CANVTVS THE FIRST DANISH
KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND AND
THE THIRTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF
THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS,
RAIGNE, WIVES, AND
ISSUE.



CHAPTER III.

An.D. 1017.



He failes of the *Danes* thus ouer-filled with the gales of their swelling fortunes, and themselves arrined at the Port of their long fought soveraignty, cast anchor as it were at the haven of their wished desire, and prepared themselves to a settled rest: for

Canutus possit of halfe the Kingdome by composition with *Edmund*, now after his death seized vpon the whole, and that all things (as was pretended) might proceed with iustice, and concord, he called a Councell of the *English Nobility at London*; wherein was propounded, whether in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claime of title to the Crowne, had beene referred, for King *Edmunds* brethren or sonnes. The *English* that had paid a very deere rate for their ouerbold resistance before, not daring now to buy, with too late repentance, the wrath of this *Dane*, absolutely answered, No; and having learned to appeale Princes with flattery, offered their words against any such claimes, and tooke themselves the Oath of allegiance vnto *Canutus*; who beeing a very wife and politicke Prince, thought neuer the better of them for such their doings; whose truths thus failing towards their naturall Princes, could neuer (hee well knew) stand firme for him or his foereine posteritie.

(3.) But being thus cleared of all other opposites, hee prepared with great roialty for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Lynningus* surnamed *Elyssaw*, Archbishop of *Canterburie*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 1017. beeing the second King of *Denmarke* of that Name, the first of *England*,

and the thirty fourth Monarch of this Land. His first designs for the establishment of the Crowne to himselfe and *Danish* issue, was a care to prevent others neere vnto the claime, and therefore, taking counsell with *Edrike*, brother of *Edwin*, who for his melancholy and regardless deportment, was commonly called, the King of *Charles*, son of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*; notwithstanding, hee was guilefully recalled, and treacherously murthered by his owne men, whose bodie they buried at *Taneford* in *Deuonshire*.

(1.) One cloud thus ouer-blowne, two others appeared, far more dangerous to *Canutus* sight; namely *Edward* and *Edmund* the sonnes of the *Ironside*, whom albeit their yongae yeeres might haue freed from suspicion of conspiracies, and their gentle dispositions from enuying his glory, yet the bright raies of a *Diadem* so dazzled his ielous eye, that euer he saw (to his owne seeming) the reflection thereof shine from their faces: but ashamed (such *Hizden*) to lay hand on them himselfe, sent them to his haife brother of *Sweden*, to be made away, as we haue said. In the doubtfull times betwixt *Edmund* and *Canute*, when the scale of warre was held of either hands alike, *Queene Emma* had sent *Edward*, and *Affred* (her sonnes by King *Ethelred*) vnto her brother Duke *Richard* of *Normandy*; whereby (we see) the Land was emptied of the *English* blood Roiall, and the Crowne left for the *Dane* without competition.

(4.) Who now seeking to hold fast the Scepter thus grasped, sought the alliance of the *Norman* Duke by the cōpousing of his sister, faire *Emma*; a suite sounding but harshly in the eares of the *English*, yea and most of all vnto her selfe, as deeming the linke of loose verie slender, that might bee broken by the same hand, which was the death of her Husband: Notwithstanding,

Canutus care and policies to settle his Crowne.

Popish Hist. 1017.

Feare makes flatterers.

Brake 7. 1017. 46. 1017. 20.

Ed. Malin, Henry II. 1017. 20.

Emma in service of Queen Emma.

Eme a very
pious Lady.

withstanding after good deliberation, knowing him
childlike of my lawfull successor, vpon councaine
agreed, that the life of her body by him, should
inherit the English Crowne: the suit was granted,
hoping also, if that failed betwixt them, to establish
her other loones by King Ethelred.

This pious respect pleased the subjects,
that it both drew the hearts of the English vnto
Canute, and their looe vnto Emma in a surpassing
measure, as the booke penned to her praise, and written
in that age, intitled *Encomium Emmae*, sufficiently
doth shew.

Mat. 209.

(5) Neither was her louing care limited onlie
to her sonnes, but further extended towards the
Common-wealth, being much pestered then with his
Danes, that lay lazie and idle as drones in the hie:
who at her intigations were sent into Denmark; &
left they should through discontents make any stirres
either here or there, had a largesse (to buy their contentment)
of fourecore and two thousand pounds.

(6) Canute his next cure for the maintenance of
his owne safety, and the continuance of his new got
Empire, was the establishment of good lawes (which
if duly executed, are the very finewe and strongest
guards of all States) to be administered and practised
both on the English and Danes alike: wherefore
calling a *Parliament* of his Peeres vnto Oxford, where
established many wholsom Acts both for the Clergy
and Laie to obserue, some of which were dis-
tinguished by the praise-worthy care of a studious Antiquarie,
and a few as touching Religion, as a reliquie of the
rest, we thinke it not amisse to giue the Reader a tall
of.

(7) And first, for the celebration of Gods most
diuine service it was ordained, that all decent cere-
monies tending to the encrease of reuerence and deuotion,
should be vied as much required.

That vpon the Lords Sabbath, publicke Faires,
Markets, Synods, Conuenticles, Huntings, & all secular
actions should not be exercised, vnlesse some
weighty and vrgent necessity required it.

That every Christian should thrice in the yeere
address himselfe to the receiving of the blessed sa-
crament of the Lords Supper.

That if a Minister of the Altar killed a man, or
else committed any notorious crime, hee should be
deprived both from his order and dignity.

That the married woman consorted for adultery
should haue her nose and eares cut off.

That a widow marrying within the space of twelue
moneths after her husbands decease should lose
her iointure.

(8) Theft & many other were made, whereby sinne
was much restrained, and this realm peaceably and
iustly gouerned. As likewise sundry other Coun-
tries were by his godly and toall cares, as is especiall
is recorded of a young Gentleman of the Danish roial
blood, named *Odin*, whom King Canute brought o-
uer with him into England, to be here trained vp in
learning, where he profited so well, as also by his
travells through France (whereby hee much encreased
both his knowledge and experience) that he attained
the surname of *Sapient*, and the *Philosopher*, and
therefore was called *Odin-cher*, for the deepe
echeane wherein all men held him. This man by
his preaching in Finland, Zealand, Scandie, and Swe-
dland, conuerted great multitudes to the faith of
Christ.

(9) But in Denmark things proceeded not so well,
for in the absence of Canute, and year of Christs hu-
manity to 1019, the *Fandals* fore annoid his subjects:
hee therefore, in the third of his reigne, with a
great host of the English passed ouer the sea, and bad
his enemies battell, which as *Matthew of Wymsins-
ter* writeth, went fore against him the first day and
preparing againe for the next, *Earle Godwine*,
who was Generall of the English, attempted a great
enterprise: for in the dead of the night, hee with
his souldiers set vpon the Campe of the *Fandals*, and

with a great slaughter of their souldiers, made the
two Princes, *Vilue* and *Aslane* to flee the field.

Canute ignorant of this acted enterprise, had notice
in the morning that the English were fled, for that
their station was left, and not a man founde where-
fore following the track, euen to the enemies campe,
by streames of blood, and dead bodies of the *Fan-
dals*; hee saw the great overthrow that the English
had giuen them, for which hee euer after held them
in great estimation.

(10) *Albertus Krantz*, the Danish histon, reporteth
that *Olafus King of Sweden*, having assisted *Canute*
against *Edmund the Ironside*, and seeing himselfe
to be neglected in the composition betwixt them,
moued such stirres in Denmark, that Canute was
forced thither againe; where by the prowess of his
English hee repulsed *Olafus*, who lastly was slaine by
his owne subjects.

(11) *William of Malmebury* and *Mathew of Wymsins-
ter* record, that in the yeere 1032, hee under-
took an expedition into *Scotland*, with prosperous
success against *Malcolme* the King thereof, with two
other Princes called *Malhelme* and *Teismar*. But be-
ing at length overburdened as it were with his own
greatesse, and surfeited with glory, which sometimes
he had so greedily desired (as euen the greatest earth-
ly delights haue their fumes) hee rested on a
more placable course of life, and to assest a higher
and heavenly glory, which hath neuer satiety or end.
And therefore his deuotion being great vnto God-
ward, on a zealous intent, (such a zeale as *S. Paul*
commended in the deuout Israelites) hee tooke
a iourney to *Rome*, to visite the sepulchres of *S. Peter*
and *Paul* in the fifteenth yeere of his reign; & thence
sent his letters to his English Bishops and Nobility,
beginning thus.

(12) Canute King of all England, Denmark, Nor-
way and Sweden, to *Albanus* Metropolitan, &c.
Wherein hauing first set downe the reason of his
pilgrimage to *Rome*, which was especially to honour
S. Peter, as hee had bene taught by *Wijconen*, that *S. Peter*
had received from Christ the great power of
binding and loosing, and was also the *Key-bearer* of
heauen-gates, for which cause (left *S. Peter* should not
open the same vnto him when hee should come thi-
ther) he held it most behoofull for him to procure
his Patronage more then all the rest of Saints; then
making relation of his honourable entertainment
with the Emperour, Pope, and other forreine Prin-
ces, thence with what complaint hee had made agai-
nst the excesseive exactions and huge summes of money
extorted by the Pope from the English Arch-Bishops,
at such time as they received their *Pallies* from *Rome*,
for redresse whereof, and of other abuses, the Pope
in a solemne assembly of foure Arch-Bishops, twenty
Bishops, and an innumerable multitude of Princes and
Nobles obliged himselfe: And thence proceedeth
in vowing the whole remainder of his life and reigne,
to the ouerly seruite of God, and due administration
of iustice to his people; to which end, hee first giues
command to his Counsellours, that thence forward
they dare not, for whatsoever respect, to giue way or
coniuinace to any the least iniustice in his Kingdom;
and next to his Officers of iustice, that as they ten-
der his toall fauour and their own liues, they sweere
not from Equitie in execution of their places, in re-
spect of any man whatsoever, no not, for the enrich-
ing of the Kings owne Coffers, because (saith hee)
*I hold it not needefull, that treasure should be heaped to-
gether for me, by any vnjust exactions: and to con-
cludeth with a strict charge to all his Bishops and iusti-
ces, vpon their allegiance both to God and himselfe,
to take order in his absence, that Gods Church, and
his Ministers, bee not defrauded of their Tithes and
rights, whereof hee vovues at his returne to take a most
seuer account.*

(13) By this his great care of his owne saluacion,
and his peoples tranquillity, we may see the zeale of
those darke daies, to haue bene accompanied with

Henry Hunting-
Polymer.
Folios.

Al. Krantz.

An.D. 1028.
W. Malmebury.
Mat. Wymsins-
ter.

Rom. 11.

W. Malme.

Cont. compli-
ment of the Pope
excesses in
England.

His godly re-
solution was
his own advice.

Touching his
Counsellours.

Touching his
Iudges and iusti-
ces.

Touching his
Treasures.

Touching Gods
Church.

the workes of true pietie; whose carnall applications of the spirituall texts, may well condemne these cleer-
times, and daies of more brightnes, wherein wee know, that this *Key-keeper of heauen*, is no other but the verie *Christ*, who hath the *Key of David*, which *openeth, and no man shutteth, and shutteth, and no man openeth*. And that this Kings scale might bee further sente, by his magnifick workes, he beganne to manifest it even at *Rome*, where gaining many large gifts vnto *S. Peters Church*, hee also made free the *Saxons* Schoole from all tribunes.

(14) In *Essex* hee built the Church of *Abdon*, where hee had the victory against King *Edmund*. In *Norfolk* the *Abbey of S. Benez*, which *saui* he greatly reuerenced; and in *Suffolke* with an especiall deuotion built and endowed the Monastery of *S. Edmund*, which Saint he most dreadly feared: for it is reported, that the seeming-ghost of *Edmund* often affrighted him; for which cause, as also to expiate the finnes of his father, who had done great damage to his possession, hee incurred the same with a deepe ditch, and offered vp his Crowne vpon the Martyrs Tombe. Most rich and roiall Jewels hee gaue the Church of *Winchester*, wherof one, is recorded to bee a *Crosse*, worth as much as the whole reueneue of *England* amonned to in one yeare: vnto *Canterbury* hee gaue the Arme of *S. Augustine* the great Doctor; which he bought at *Bapa* in his returre from *Rome*, and for which hee paid an hundred talents of siluer, and one of gold.

(15) The magnificent greatnes of this glorious King, is outflowed in the mouthes of his flatterers, that they extolled him, with *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and *Cesar*, and to be possessed with power, more then humane: to conuict these his fawning over-prizers, being then at *Southampton*, he commanded (saith *Henry of Huntington*) that his chaire should be set on the shore, when the sea beganne to flow, and then in the presence of his many attendants; spake thus to that Element. Thou art part of my dominion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, neither was there euer any that durst disobey my command, or breaking it, escaped vnpunished; I charge thee therefore presume not vpon my land, neither wet thou these robes of thy Lord: but the Sea (which obeyeth only one Lord) giving no heed to his threats, kept on the usuall course of tide, first wetting his skirts, and after his thighs; when suddenly rising to gage way for the still approaching waves, he thus spake in the hearing of all: Let the world inhabitants know, that vaine and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy the name of King, but he that keeps both heauen, earth and sea in obedience, and bindeth them in the enchainling law of subiection. After which time he would neuer suffer the Crowne to bee set vpon his head, but presently crowned therewith the picture of our Saviour on the Crosse at *Winchester*: vnto such strong illusions were those godly Princes lead, by the guises that euer made gaine of their deuotions.

(16) From the example of this *Canutus* (saith *Peter Pi Ganensis* Chancellor of *Paris*) arose the custom to hang vp the Armes of worthy men in Churches, as offerings consecrated vnto Him, in whose battails they had purchased renowne, either by victory and life, or in their Countreys seruice attained to an honourable death. And surely, howe soeuer this King is taxed of ambition, pride and vaine-glory, for which some haue not sticke to say, that he made his iourney to *Rome*, rather to shew his pompe and riches, then for any humble deuotion or religious intent; yet by many his intercurrent actions and lawes of piety enacted, hee may iustly bee cleared of that imputation; as also by the testimony of *Simon Monk of Durham*, who reporteth his humility to be such, that with his owne hands he did helpe to remoue the body of *S. Aspley* at the translation of it from

London vnto *Canterbury*, whom the *Danes* (notwithstanding his Archiepiscopall & sacred calling) before had martyred at *Greenwich*: and by the testimony of *Gauis*, *Polydore*, *Langset* and others, he was a Prince of such temperance and iustice, that no other in this West of the World was so highly renowned, or might bee compared vnto him in heroicall vertues, or true humiliry.

(17) *Saxo Grammaticus*, & *Althelm Krantius* the Writers of the *Danish* histories, deduce *Canutus* by a lineall succession through the line of their Kings in this manner: Hee was (say they) the sonne of King *Swane* (furnamed *Ting*) beg by *Sigred* his wife, the widow of *Erck*, by whom she had *Olofe Skotterning* King of *Sweryden*: vnto which *Swane* she bare also *Ofrid* a daughter, the mother of *Thora*, the mother of King *Syngne* the yonger. The elder *Syngne* was the sonne of King *Harald*, furnamed *Baatand*, by *Gombild* his Queene, who bare him also *Ting* King of *Northumberland*, and *Gombild* Queene of *North-Wales*. The father of *Harald* was King *Gormund*, whose Queene was *Thora* the daughter of King *Eilfred*, the twenty third Monarch of *England*, who bare vnto him the said *Harald*, and another *Canute* both most valiant Princes; which two Gallants inuading this land, were (for their braue resolutions) by their Grandfather proclaimed heires appaunte to all his dominions: the credie of which relations I leane to my forenamed Authours; but *Canute* (the elder brother) died very soone after, being deadly wounded in the siege of *Dublin* in *Ireland*; where perceiving death at hand, hee gaue first charge to his attendants, to keepe the same verie secret till the City were taken, that so neither his owne Army should be daunted, nor the enemy encouraged by the losse of the Generall. *Gorme*, his aged Father, (to digresse but in a word) so incredibly loved him, that hee had vowed to kill with his owne hands any person whoe soeuer that should tell him the newes of his sonnes death: which when *Thora* his mother now heard of, free vied this policie to make it known to the King her husband. Shee prepared mourning appaurell for him, and all other things fitting for funnell exequies, laying aside all Regall robes, and ceremonies of princely state, without inuiming any cause of this sad solemnity; which the old King no sooner perceived, but he lamentably cried out, woe is me, I know my sonne is dead; and with exertsue griefe he presently died. But to returne from that *Canutus*, to close vp the raigne of this our *Monarch* in hand.

(18) In whom the *Danish* glories hauing ascended to the height, beganne now againe to decline towards their wane by the death of this great King; who, after hee had in great glory reigned aboue nineteen yeeres, deceased at *Shetisbury* in the county of *Dorset* the twelfth of *November*, the yeere of Christs Incarnation, 1035, and was buried in the Church of the old Monastery at *Winchester*, which being after new built, his bones with many other English Saxon Kings were taken vp, and are preserved in gylt coffers fixed vpon the walls of the Quire in that Cathedrall Church.

His Wives.

(19) *Aelgine*, by most writers, a concubine to King *Canutus*, was the daughter of a *Mercian* Duke named *Elsheime*, who is said to haue bene Earle of *Northampton*; and her Mothers name was *Ylfrune*. Inheritor of the Towne *Hampton* in *Staffordshire*, from her called *Ylfrun-Hampton*, now *Wellerhampton*: This Lady *Aelgine* to make *Canutus* more firme to her loue, her selfe being barren, is reported to haue fained Child-birth and to haue laid in her bed the sonne of a Priest, whom *Canute* tooke to be his owne, and named him *Swaine*; him afterwards hee created King of *Norway*, which lately hee had conquered from *Olofe* called the *Martyr*. The like policie, saith *Higden* and others,

Apoc. 3.7.

His Manifeste

His magnificent building, &c.

Tyr. 1. de trans. land.

S. Augustine came at a high rate.

Canutus his flatterers.

Henry Hen.

Hist. 1. 17. Book 1. 1. 1.

His humility.

Peter Pillan.

John Cefar.

Simon Don.

Polydore high. Ang. lib. 9. Langset.

Saxo Grammaticus. Althelm Krantius.

Ammenius. Ptolemy.

Higden translation of Ireland.

Abbot. Cronicon.

others, then wiled in bringing forth *Harold* her second sonne, who was (say they) the sonne of a Sowter; notwithstanding I thinke the condition of the mother, who lived in disdaine, and died in disgrace, rather caused this report to be blazed, then any such balaines of birth in the sonnes.

(20) *Emma*, the second wife of King *Canute*, was the widow of King *Ethelred* the *First*; and from the time of her first marriage was called in *England*, *Elsigine* after the name of most of the former Queens, which had succeeded *Saint Elfgut*. Shee was married vnto him in the moneth of July, and yeere of Christ Iesus one thousand and fowerenteen, beeing the first yeere of his raigne: whose wife shee was eightene yeeres, and disuruing, kept still at *Winchester*, vnto which Church shee gave nine Manours, according to the number of those fure Plow-shares that shee was forced to goe vpon, for her purgation, in the raigne of *Edward* her sonne, as shall bee said. This Church shee adorned with many goodly vestures, and verie rich Jewelles: and deceasing in this City the sixt of March, the yeere of Grace one thousand fiftie and two, and ninth of her sonne King *Edward* raigne, was buried in the Church of *S. Swithune* neere vnto *Canute* her husband.

His 1st Iue.

(21) *Sweyn*, the eldest sonne of *Canute* by Lady *Elfgine*, was borne before his father was King of *England*, and before his fathers death, was constituted King of *Norway*, lately conquered from King *Olofe* the Martyr: where hee beganne his Raigne, in the yeere of mans saluation one thousand thurty and foure, beeing the eighteenth of his fathers Raigne in *England*; and after he had with dislikes ruled that Realme, the space of five yeeres, hee was reiected of the *Norwegians* his subjects, and deceasing without heire of his body, left the Kingdom to the naturall heire, *Magnus*, the sonne of *Olofe*, who had bene wrongfully dispossest by *Canute*.

(22) *Harold*, the second sonne of King *Canute* and of Lady *Elfgine*, was also borne before his father obtained the *English* Crown, & for his exceeding swiftnesse was furnished *Hare-foot*. He remained with his father in *England*, after he had dispoled of *Denmark* to *Harold*, and *Norway* to *Sweyn*, his brethren, expecting something in reuerfion. But perceiuing at his fathers death, that *England* was also appointed to his brother *Harold*, hee tooke the aduantage

of his absence, and assumed the Souerainety of this Kingdom to himselfe.

(23) *Harold*, the third sonne of King *Canute*, and his first by Queene *Emma* his wife, was borne about the beginning of his fathers Raigne, and towards the end of the same, was constituted King of the *Danes*, and deligned to succede him after his death in the Kingdom of *England*: But beeing absent then in *Denmark*, was disappointed by his brother *Harold*, who succeeded his father, after whose death he also succceeded him.

(24) *Gunkilda*, the daughter of King *Canute*, and of *Emma* his Queene, was the first wife of *Henric* the Third, *Roman* Emperour, sonne of the Emperour *Cosmo*, the second of that name furnished *Salke*: shee was a Lady of a surpassing beauty, which either moued her husbands mind vnto lechouie, or the ouer-lustie report thereof to breede farmize of incontinencie; for accused shee was of adulterie, and to defend her causie by combat, none could be found, till lastly her Page, brought with her from *England*, seeing no other would aduenture for her innocencie, entered the list, himselfe but a youth, in regard of the other Combatant beeing a Giant-like man; yet in fight at one blow, cutting the sinewes of his enemies legges, with another hee feld him to the ground, where presently with his sword, hee tooke his head from the shoulders, and so redeemed his Ladies life. After which hard viage, the Emperesse *Gunkilda* forsooke her husbands bed, and by no meanes could bee brought againe vnto the same, but tooke the holy vaine of a Nunne in the Town of *Burgen* in *Flanders*, where shee spent the rest of her life, and after her death was buried in the Collegiate Church of *S. Donatian*, being the principall of that town; where her Monument remaineth besides the north dore of the same Church vnto this day.

(25) Another Lady of the like sanctity, is reported to be the daughter of King *Canute*, and the second wife of *Godefricke* Prince of the *Fendels*, by whom hee had *Henry* King of that Nation. They both are said to haue suffered Martyrdom for the faith of Christ; he first at the City of *York*, and the after at *Nicholsburg*, being most cruelly tortured to death with whips. This Lady vpon sundry strong inducements cannot be reputed legitimate, which moued *Andrew Felley*, a *Danish* Writer in our time, to be therein of a diuers opinion from *Adam of Breue*, and *Helmoldus* who liued five hundred yeeres before him,

W. Maitland's de
gest. regum. Angl.
cap. 10.

Sam. Higdon in
Popishd. h. 11.

Henry Mart. Lib. 4.
Marian. Sec. 4.
Rob. Fabian.



HAROLD, THE SECOND DANISH KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE FIFT MONARCH OF THE LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND ACTS.



CHAPTER III.

An.D.1036.

Mat. Westm. 1036.

Peter de John.

Henry Hunt.

Fleming's.



ANVTYS being dead, & *Hardecante* his sonne by *Queene Emma* then in *Denmarke*, *Harold* his elder (but base brother) foreflew not the opportunity offered, for seeing himselfe in his fathers life time neglected, and by will at his death, Eng-

land with that of *Denmarke* heaped vpon *Hardecante*: as quicke in apprehension, as hee was of footman-shippe (whereof arose the surname *Hare-foot*) made through his side by the *Londoners* and *Danets*, *Mercians*, & *Northumbrians* very many, yea and some great Personages amongst them, affecting his claime: but *Godwin* of *Kent* who had the *Queene* and her treasure in keeping, stood in his way, pretending himselfe *Guardian* of her Children, & the will of *Cannus*, who appointed his sonne by her to succede.

(2) The opposition grew strong, and the factions ripened, euen ready to feede, onely the lingering of *Hardecante* gaue leaue vnto *Harold* to better his side by daily supplies, and the feares of ciuill sedition moued the Nobility to argue with wordes and not weapons, the title depending betwixt these two brethren. At *Oxford* they met, where the presence of the one, downe-peized the absence of the other, so that their voices went onely with *Harold*, and presently proclaimed and consecrated him King.

(3) He began his raigne the yeere of Christs humanity, 1036. and was very solemnly crowned at *Oxford* by *Elnoth* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, though for a time, hee was very vnwilling to performe that seruice; for it is reported, that hee hauing the regall scepter and Crowne in his custody,

with an oath refused to consecrate any other for King, so long as the *Queenes* children were liuing; For (said he) *Cannus* committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I give my faith and allegiance. This *Scepter* and *Crowne* therefore I here lay downe vpon this *Altar*; neither doe I denie, nor deliuer them to you; but I require by the *Apostolike* authority, all *Bishops*, that none of them presume to take the same away, neither therewith that they consecrate you for King: as for your selfe if you dare, you may usurpe that which I haue committed to God on this his *Table*.

Notwithstanding that great thunderclappe was allaid with the shewres of golden promises, of his iust and religious Government intended, though present experience manifested the contrary.

(4) For such the ancient Writer of the booke called *Eucronium Emmae*: *Harold* no sooner was established King, but that he sought means how to rid *Queen Emma* out of the way, and that secretly, for openly hee durst not attempt any thing against her: Shee in silence kept her selfe quiet, looking for the issue of his designs. But *Harold* maliciously purposing, took counsell how hee might traine into his Hape the sonnes of *Queen Emma*, that so all occasion of danger against him might at once for all be cut off: many praieles propounded, this lastly took effect: that a letter should be counterfeited in *Queen Emma*'s name, vnto her sonnes *Edward* and *Alfred*, to iustifie them to attempt the crowne usurped by *Harold*, against their right, the tenure whereof we haue thought good hereto insert.

(5) *Emma*, *Queene* onely in name, to *Edward* and *Alfred* her sonnes, tenderth motherly greetings. Whilest feuerallly wee bewaile the death of our Soueraigne, my Lord and your Father, and your selves (deare sonnes) still more and more distressed from the Kingdome, your lawfull inheritance; I greatly maruaile what you determine to do,

Emma.
Emma.

"dote, sith you know, that the delay of attempts
"gives the usurper more leasure to lay his founda-
"dation, and more likely to set thereon his in-
"tended buildings; for incessantly hee posseth
"from towne to towne, and from Cisy to Ci-
"ty, to make the Lords and Rulers thereof his,
"either by threats, prayers, or preient rewards.
"But this in private they signifie, that they had ra-
"ther one of you their Natives should raigne over
"them, than this usurper & Danish stranger. Where-
"fore my desire is, that either of you secretly, and
"with all speed come unto mee, whereby wee
"may advise together what is to be done in this so
"great an enterprize: then whole good successe, I
"desire nothing more. Falte not therefore to send
"word by this my messenger, how you meane to
"proceed: and so fare yce well, my dearest bowels, &
"very inwards of my heart.

(6) These letters thus carried and cunningly de-
"livered, were digested as favouring of no falsehood,
"and by the hingers, others returned, that *Alfred*
"should come shortly over to attend his mothers
"designes: these, brought unto *Harold*, the coasters
"were fore-laid, and longing expectation attended
"the prey. *Alfred* as forward to set on his voyage,
"made *Baldwin Earle of Flanders* his; and some few
"*Bullies* increasing his Fleet, hee tooke the seas
"for *England*: where coming to shore, Earle *Godwin*
"met him, and hindring his assurance with his
"corporall oath, became his lige-man, and guide to
"*Queene Emma*; but being wrought firme for *Har-*
"*old*, treacherously led these strangers a contrary
"way, and at *Gosford* lodged them in severall com-
"panies, making knowne to the King what he had
"done: who forthwith apprehended them even in
"their beds, and in the morning as chained prisoners,
"committing them to slaughter, contrary to the
"wonted manner of military decimation, did spare

and exempt onely every tenth man for service or
"sale: Prince *Alfred* himselfe was sent prisoner to
"the Isle of *Ely*, where hauing his eyes inhumanely
"put out, lived not long after in torment and
"griefe.

(7) Some adde unto the former, as other,
"much more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his
"belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn
"out, and fastned to a stake, his body pricked with
"sharpe needles, or poinards, was forced about till
"all his entrails were extracted, in which most savage
"torture hee ended his innocent life.

(8) *Harold* thus freed from one, the other hee
"thought would no further attempt; and therefore
"the more boldly set himselfe against their mother
"*Queene Emma*, whose goods he confiscated, and ban-
"nished her out of the Realme: who thus distressed,
"was honourably received, and for three yeeres space
"maintained by *Baldwin Earle of Flanders*.

(9) The *Dane* then seeing his hazards thus pre-
"vented, sought so to secure himselfe, and with six-
"teene shippes of the *Danish* Fleet kept the seas,
"which continued ever in a readinesse, and waded
"from Port to Port; to the maintenance whereof, he
"charged the *English* with great paymets, to their no lit-
"tle grudge & repining; whereby he lost the looe of his
"subjects before it had well taken root in their hearts.

(10) Neither yet held hee on long in these disor-
"diall courses, for that his speedy death did cut off
"the infamy of a longer life; and is said to have died
"at *Oxford* in the month of *April*, the year of *Christ*
"*Iesus*, 1040, after hee had reigned foure yeeres &
"some moneths: whose body was at first interred at
"*Westminster*, hauing bene eether in warres so har-
"dy, nor in government so prosperous, as his Father,
"*Cano* before him had bene, nor left behind him ey-
"ther wife or children, to suruiue his person, or reuiue
"his name.

*King Alfred, in
Polymer, lib. 2,
cap. 114*

W. L. G. 114.

Henry Hastings.

*Matth. 23.
New Testament.*





Hardi-Canut.

HARDICANUTE, THE THIRD D- NISH KING THAT RAIGNED IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 36



CHAPTER V.

Aa.D. 1040.

Simeon Dunel.
Mat. W. Gifford.

He States of the land, af-
well *English as Danes*, that
had stood for *Harold*, both
in obtaining and keeping
the Crowne, now seeing
him fallen, thought it best
to make way for their
peace, before *Hardicanut*
by his sword should pur-
chase their subjection ;

therefore with all hast they sent into *Denmark*,
with proffers of the scepter, and their forward allegi-
ance only unto him. Those parts beyond seas, were
not then so subiective, as to build his hopes there
vpon any sure ground; for the *Norwegians* had thrust
out his halfe-brother *Sweyne*, and had elected *Magnus*
the son of *Oloffe* for their King, so that small assu-
rance could he perceive of any quiet common-weale
among them ; and therefore fore-slowing not the
offer, immediately imbarked his men of warre, and
with so favourable a windooke seas, that he arri-
ued vpon the coast of *Kent*, the first day after hee had
set saile out of *Denmark*, and with great pompe
conueied to *London*, was there proclaimed *Englands*
King.

(2) Hee beganne his Raigne in the yeere of
Grace one thousand and forty, and was crowned
in *London* by *Elnothus* Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury*,
being the thirty sixt Monarch of the *Englishmen* :
his raigne was spent in doing nothing, vntill hee
will say, in doing euill hee did something.

(3) For no looner had he a power to command,
but he forthwith commanded the body of his halfe-
brother the deceased King, to bee digged vp, and
with spottfull disgrace to bee throwne into *Thames*,
where it remained vntill a Fisherman found it, and
huried it in the Church-yard of *s. Clement* without

Temple-Barre, commonly called *Saint Clement-
Danes*, for that (saith *Stow*) it was the burying place
of the *Danes* : this crueltie shewed, was pretended
for the hard vsage of Queene *Emma* his mother,
though partly spiced with reuenge for his vsurpation
of the Crowne against him.

(4) Yet is worthily to bee commended, for the
reuerent regard hee bare to his Mother, and louing
affection to his Brother ; for no sooner was hee risen
out of the throne of his Coronation, but that hee
sent honorable Embassage vnto Earle *Baldwine*, with
many thanks to him, for her princely vsage, and
for her to returne into *England* to her former estate,
and place of Queene. His brother Prince *Edward*
comming ouer to visite them both, was most hono-
rably receiued, retained, and dismissed ; and these
were the vertues regardable in this King.

(5) But his vices were more, and concerned more
personnes ; for a great Epicure hee was, and giuen
much vnto Cuppes, whereby hee trained the body
to belly cheere, and sense to bee subiect to sloth and
drunkenesse ; foure times every day were his tables
spred, and plentifully with all Cates furnished, care
commanding that his courtiers, guests, and seruants,
should rather leaue, for superfluity, then call for lack ;
which howeouer it was in him accounted for Riall
boonny, yet it caused in the people (who vse to praise
the Soueraignes vertues, but imitate his vices) a riotous
loosenesse, and the Common-weale to lie sicke
of consumptions, bred by such excess of those grosse
humours in her body.

(6) This wrought in him a carelesse neglect of
government in Seate, so that the whole managing
thereof was committed to his mother Queene *Em-
ma*, a woman extremely couetous, and to *Godwine*,
the rich and pollicie Earle of *Kent*, who seeing the
present state carried wholly away with present plea-
sures

John Dow in his
Survey of London

Henry Blomig.

W. H. M. M.
de rec. 1772.
Rend. M. 1772. 11.
P. 1772. 11. 11. 11.

W. H. Malmesbury.

saies, thought that a fittie subiect for him to worke vpon; for the King not married (vntill it were to his lewd will) and *Edward* likely to succede, of an oier soft temperatour; hee thought these both might proue aduantageous to his ambition, and therefore be thought him, how the crowne might bee worne by him or his.

(7) Therefore, to separate the hearts of the subiects from the Prince (then which, there can bee no greater a wound vnto both,) hee caused the King to impose heavy tributes vpon the *English*, onely to pay the *Danes* in his Fleet, appointing euery common Souldier and Mariner, to receiue eight markes in money, & euery officer and Master twelue, which amounted to the summe of thirty two thousand, one hundred forty seven pounds: for the payment whereof, there was so great a grudge, that two of the Collectors, *Thurstan* and *Stender* were slaine by the Citizens of *Worcester*, which caused their City to bee burnt, and part of the countrey spoiled by the Kings command, and their Bishop *Alfred* expelled the See, till with money hee had purchased his peace. This *Hardi-canut* (as was said) were deepe in the murder of Prince *Alfred*, the Kings half brother, whom we spake of; yea, and *Godwin* himselfe was put to his perigayn by oath, for the clearing of his suspitions in that treacherous and brutish fact: which oath was the lighter wrged, and the easier receiued for his rich and bounteous gifts, immediately before presented to the King, and that was a shippe, whose sterne was of gold, with foare score souldiers therein placed, all vniiformly and richlie suited. On their heads they all wore guilt Burgenets, and on their bodies a triple guilt habergeon, & sword with guilt hilts girded to their waistes; a battle-axe (after the manner of the *Danes*) on their left shoulders, a target with guilt bolles borne in their left hands, a dart in the right, their armes bound about with two beaclets of gold, containing fixteene ounces in weight.

(8) *Amundus Bremonstrie* writing the Stories of those times, sheweth, that the three sonnes of *Canute* were possided of the three Kingdomes, *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, though the father by Will, had disposed of the first otherwise; which moued *Hardi-canute* much to maligne the roialtie of *Harald*, whose Crowne by birth and couenant belonged to him; and therefore with great preparation, intending to reconer his right, hee entered the Sea, and came into *Flanders*, where hearing notice of the usurpers death, his rage was raised, and he peaceably came in, and receiued the Crowne.

(9) And that *Swen* (called the Younger) King of *Denmarke*, to assist his vncle *Hardi-canute* against *Harald* the usurper of *England*'s Crowne, with a great Armie prepared thitherward; and taking the Seas, were by tempest driuen vpon the coasts of *Hedlow*, where his Armie doing some hurt, was set vpon and discomforted by the souldiers of the Arch-bishoppe: himselfe amongst them being taken prisoner, and brought into the presence of the Arch-bishoppe, was by him most honourably receiued, and conueied vnto *Breme*, who there entered a league with him, and

with gifts and other complements, after a few daies, suffered him to depart; who likewise hearing of the death of King *Harald*, returned backe to his owne Countrey, where shortly after hee was much molested by *Magnus* the sonne of *Olef*, then reigning King over the *Norwegians*.

(10) *Hardi-canute* in *England*, hearing of those stirres, thought it his part to aid his Nephew King *Swen*, against the insualions of *Canutus*; and therefore hee sent one *Swen* his kinsman, with an Armie of the *English*, to reestablish King *Swen* in his Throne. These ended *Norway*, and the Field against the *Norwegians*, but by them were so ouerlaid, that hee left *Magnus* the vanquisher, and returned againe for *England*; but before hee could arriue the Shore, King *Hardi-canute* was dead, with whom dyed the issue of that warre; whose death was suddaine, and after this manner.

(11) At the celebration of a great marriage, contracted betwix a *Danish* Lord, called *Cami-Franden*, and Lady *Githa*, the daughter of a Noble-man, whose name was *Osgot Clappa*, in a solemne assembly & banquet at *Lunden* the eighth of Iune, reuelling and carolling amidst his cups, hee suddainly fell down without speech or breath: whose losse was the lesse lamented for his excessiue, riotousnesse, and vnnuoted exactions: but chiefly because a much better was then to succcede him; having himselfe had neither wife nor child that is read off. Yea, so farre were all sorts from bewailing him, that in regard of the freedome from the *Danish* yoke, which they attained by his decaise, euery fine among the common people; the day of his death is annuall celebrated with open pastimes in the streets (as the old *Romanes* kept their *fugalia*, for chasing out of their Kings,) which time is now called *Holide of Hueside*, signifying a time of *forming* or contempt, which fell vpon the *Danes* by his death.

His body with all due obsequies was interred at *Winchester* by his fathers, after hee had voluptuously reigned two yeeres lacking ten daies, and departed his life and kingdome the yeere of Christ Iesus, 1042.

(12) With the death of this King died all rule of the *Danes* in this land, and the sacred sparke of the *Saxons* fire (through three of their successions) buried in their owne ashes, begonne now to take flame and to burne most bright, which was Prince *Edward* (now commonly called the *Confessor*) the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and albeit there were others betwix him and the crowne, as namely, *Edward* and *Edmund* the sonnes of the *Iron-side*, yet the one dying in *Hungarie* without issue of body, the other there liuing as a banished man (by farname the *Out-law*) was neither so well regarded, nor thought so worthy of government, as this other *Edward* was, whom therefore they sent for, and with so great applause and acclamations proclaimed, that the precise ioy seemed to prognosticate a perpetuall happinesse to the *English*, who had become most miserably afflicted by the *Danes*, for the space of two hundred forty two yeeres, though this line againe failed, before it was well begunne.

idem. de J. c. 211.

idem. de J. c. 211.

London. Prentiss, in Sandwick.

idem. de J. c. 211. de J. c. 211.



EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.
SONNE OF KING ETHELRED, THE
THIRTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, VER,
TVÉS, AND MAR-
RIAGE.



CHAPTER VI.

An.D. 1042.
Henry Blois.



Edward, the Third of that Name before the Conquest, half-brother to the deceased *Hard-Cnut*, and sonne to King *Ethelred* by Queene *Emma* his wife, was by the president care of a Mothers affection, (when the variable

successes of Warre, doubtfully depended betwixt *Edmond* the *English*, and *Cnutus* the *Dane*) sent into *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* her Brother, there to bee secured from all domesticall stirres: and now, before the dead corps could be entred, with a generall consent of the Nobles was elected their King.

(2) I know well that in the legend of this holy mans life, more things are recorded, then with sacrifice of truth may be either beleaved, or deliuered, as that

he was chosen King by consent of Parliament, when as yet he was in his mothers wombe, *Ethelred* his Father at the same time having many other sonnes alive; as also when the destroying *Danes* had extinguished by their warres almost the whole *Royal* issue of the *English*, the holy Monke *Brighwald*, of *Gleesbury* deploing their losse, and the Lands miserable estate, had in vision thus *Edward*, then an Exile, presented vnto him by the Apostle *S. Peter* himselfe, who then appointing him King in his sight, telling him that his Ruigne should be peaceable, and twenty three yeeres for continuance; *Brighwald* yet vnslaind who should next succeed, demanded the resolution, and was answered by *Peter*, that the *Kingdome of England* was Gods owne *Kingdome*; for whose successors himselfe would provide. With such vaine predictions our otherwise true Stories are over-charged; which moued *Cassiodorus* the worthy *French* Historian, to tax the *English* with our much credulitie that way.

(1) But

Polio.

Hand. Wiglen.

Legend. ed. in
vii. S. Edward.

W.L. Malmsbury.
Henry Blois. 1042.
Polio. S. Edward.

Philip Camille.

(1) But most true it is, that the English Nobilitie disclaiming all Danish Subjection, presently vpon the death of King Harold, enacted, That none of their blood should any more raigne ouer them: putting thus their decree in execution by calling all Danes from the Castles, Forts, and Garrison Townes throughout all the Land, whence some euen of their Blood Royall were forced to depart. Then finding securitie into Normandy, with proffer of the Crowne: vnto Prince Edward, had his consant, and assistance of Duke William his cozen germane.

(4) This Edward (as elsewhere hath been said) was borne at 11 daye nexte vnto Oxford, and tenderly educated by Queene Emma his mother; and after his Fathers death, for safety sent into France, where, by his sweet conseruation hee gained the love of all, and as much himselfe affected those strangers, which was some blemish of policie in the face of his gouernment, when he had got the Diadem, as being of disposition ouer-soft, and euer too pliant (an imperfection in a Soueraigne) to take the imperfe of any stamp. In which moneth, the alpinge Godwin Earle of Kent, doth cutt the fabrick of his owne delignes; who had made away Alfred, his younger, but of a more resolute spirit, that to the basis of his owne pillar (whose top in time he hoped to crowne) might be set, if not vpon yet with the needfull to the Throne.

(5) Hee therefore, the forme both in will and power, vied both to establish Prince Edward in his right, and being seconded by Leofric Earle of Gloster, and Lyming Bishop of Worcester and indeed with the generall assistance of all the English, who now were so ialous of all foraine powers, that they forbade an ouergreat traine of Normans, (though comming for his aid) to attend their new-chosen King.

(6) His Coronation was at Winchester, with great concourse of people, and the celebration performed by Edmunde, Archbishop of Canterbury, vpon the very day of Christi his resurrection, (being also new-rising day to the English Nation) the yere of grace 1042. himselfe being aged then towards forty, and was in number the thirty seventh Monarch of England, where he reigned with such Justice & Piety, that he obtained the venerable name of Saint, and vnto posterities is distinguished from the other Edwards by the aduocet Confessor.

(7) In the entrance of his gouernment, to winnes his looe to his people, hee sought every way the furtherance of their wealth and afterwards remitted the most heauy Tribute of forty thousand pounds yearly gathered by the name of Danegut, which had bin imposed by his Father, and payed for forty years continuance, out of the lands of all, except only the Clergie, because, (say our ancient lawes,) the Kings repaier more confidence in the prayers of holy Church, then in the power of Armes. Then, from the distres Lower of the Mercians, West-Saxons, Danes, and Northumbrians, he selected the best, and made of them one body certaine, and written in Latin, (that all men of anie learning might know whereon to rely) to be the touch of his Common-wealths Pleas, and the iquie by which he would haue eaery right to be measured; being (in a fort) the fountaine of those, which at this day we terme the Common Lawes, though the formes of pleading & proceesse therein, were afterward brought in by the Conqueror.

(8) The raigne of this King by most writers records, was more spent in peace & works of true piety, then in warres, and blood, though some diffensions happened both domestical, and forreine: for about the yere one thousand forty five, and third of his Raigne, a royal Navy was rigged in Sandwich haue, against Magnus King of Norway, who then intended to invade England, and indeed had so done, if the wars of Swerea King of Denmark had not diuerted his purpose.

(9) This Swerea was the sonne of Duke Haste of Gifford his Duchesse, sister to Harde Canute, who as I had written in the manuscript of Almonius Bremensis, being in possession of two kingdomes, prepared his Na-

uy for the conquest of England. But, (saith hee) King Edward, knowing that Kingdome with great Justice and Law, should rather be peace with proffer of Tribute, and promises that after his death the Crowne should be his, yet though himselfe should haue children: howbeit this seemed not to sound for truth; For Swerea finding his Ambassadors vnto Edward to craue ayde against Magnus (his greivous and mortall Enemy), could obtain none; and Harold Harfager, the successor of Atagnar, and enemy to Swerea, presently therupon lent vnto Edward for a league of amity, which was ratified firmly betwixt them.

(10) Neither may we think that earl hee meant his Crowne that way; for that besides the decree enacted against all Danish claims, his desire to establish it in the English blood is most manifest, by lending for Edward his Nephew, the sonne of Edmund Iron-side, remaining in Hungary, and that so loe out of England that hee was called the Outlaw; who comming oer, brought with him his wife Aethels, and children, Edgar his sonne, and Margaret and Christian his daughters; him Edward meant to haue made heire to the Crowne, had he not beene prevented by halcy death, whereupon the King deligned young Edgar, his sonne, the here apparent, and gave him the surname of Aetheling, a name of great honor appropriated to the Princes of the blood, and men capable of the Crowne.

(11) Besides these former attempts, certaine Danish Pirates entered the Port of Sandwich, which with all the Sea-Coasts of Essex they spoiled, and in Flauaders made Marchandise of their prey. The 1150 likewise with thirty five shippes entered Swerea, and with the assistance of Griffith King of South-Wales burnt or slew all that they found, against whom Alfred Bishop of Worcester went and fought, but with such lucke, that many of his Souldiers were slaine, and the rest put to flight, which made the Willmors far more bold, and Keu, the brother of Griffith, make many incursions to fetch preyes out of England, till at length he was slaine at Bawden, and his head presented to king Edward at Gloucester.

(12) His domestical molestacions, were chiefly by Earle Godwin and his sonnes; and thole first springing vpon this following occasion. Eadgar the elder, Earle of Salisburie, who had married Goda, sister by the fathers side to King Edward, came into England to visite him then lying at Gloucester, and returning homeward, at Canterbury his Herberge dealing roughlie with a Burgesse for lodgings, caused his owne death; which when his Lord heard of, thinking for reuenge, he slew eighteen Citizens in the heat of his furie: the Canterburyans in as greata rage gotte them to armour, and slew twenty of his reuenc, wounding many more, and made the Earle to recoile; whose greivous complaint comming to the King, he commanded Godwin to see execution done vpon the offenders. Earle Godwin not haulte to follow his commission, aduised the King to examine the cause before he massacred his true subjects at the indignation of Strangers; whereat King Edward was highly offended, and Godwin thereby gained great looe of the Commons. This occasioned Robert Gometiesse a Norman, first made Bishop of London, and after Arch-bishop of Canterbury, to spread the Cartaine of disfauour betwixt Godwin and the King, vtiing his refusal as an Act of Contempt, wherein more dangers might lie hid then were to be suffered; whereupon Edward called an assembly of Eldates, appointing a day of meeting at Gloucester.

(13) The Commons (whose common gnise is, deedly to hate all strangers, though many times well deservuing) now seeing Earle Godwin in danger for their good, were easily drawne to assist him and his cause, and in warlike manner garded his person, at Borelstone not farr from the King. The Eldates assembled, and Godwin sent for, he refused to come, pretending sicke against the 1150, then ready to make inroades, and that his presence was more need-

Y y t full

March 1150.

King Edward des-
cends the
Crown to his
son Edgar.

In the first yere
of his reigne,
Danish Pirates.

An. D. 1053.
Earl Godwin mar-
ries Matilda.

W. L. Malmesbury.

Earl Godwin.

March.

King Godwin,
Marion, sister.

Alfred Remond,
John Remond.

King Godwin, in
Polym. id. id.
1042.

Comit. de Danis.

Albert Cronica.

Almonius
Bremensis.

full there, then at Court; albeit the *Welsh-men* cleared themselves by sending their Ambassadors unto the King. The suspicions increasing, great preparation on both sides was made; to assist the King came *Leofricke* the worthy Earle of *Chester*, *Seward* the front Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Radulfe* Earle of *Hereford* his sister *Gada* sonne, by her first husband *Walter de Maizay*.

(14) To *Godwin* repaired his people of *Southern* and *Kent*, and to him were brought by *Swaine* his sonne, the men of *Oxford*, *Somerset*, *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, and *Perk-shire*; unto whom, *Harald* his other sonne, joined thole of *Essex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon-shires*, so that his host was exceedingly great, and his mind thereby so inflated, that from *Langton*, where hee lay, hee sent a bold and Traiterous demand to the King, to haue Earle *Eustace* of *Bullainne* with all his *French* and *Norman* (that kept then in the Castle of *Doner*) to bee delivered unto him, and his sonnes: which beeing (as good reason was) refused, the Battle was prepared, and brought to the verie point of hazard and ruine of all: For in that quartell were assembled the greatest *Pierres*, and Lords of the Land, the Kings loue swaying very much with many, but yet the hatred towards Strangers possessing the hearts of more. The beginning thus doubtfull, and the end like to prouide dangerous; the matter both with great fore-sight and providence was referred vnto Parliament, to bee holden at *London* with all convenient hall, whereunto pledges were both giuen and receiued on either part.

(15) King *Edward* strongly guarded with an Army of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, entred *London*, and *Godwin* with his sonnes in warlike manner came into *Southern* to his owne house. But his Army waivering, and (as bad causes & consciences make men doe) suspecting the cause, by little and little shrank away from him: which knowne to the King, he presently pronounced sentence of banishment vnto *Godwin* and his five sonnes, without further proceeding by way of Parliament, as was determined. *Godwin* therefore with great riches and his three sonnes, *Swaine*, *Tostig*, and *Guth*, sailed into *Flanders*, and *Harald* with his brother *Leofricke*, from *Briflow* passed into *Ireland*; who were no sooner gone, but the King proclaimed them Out-lawes, and gaue the Earldome of *Harald* vnto *Alger*, the son of *Leofricke*, Earle of *Chester*. This *Leofricke* is he, which at his Connettes request freed the Cite *Canterburie* of their importable tribute imposed, as we haue elsewhere said.

(16) In the second yeere of *Godwin*s banishment, both himselfe and thole his sonnes with him, hane gotten ships conuenient for warre, in manner of *Pirats* came vpon the coasts of *Kent* and *Suffolke*, doing much harme, and returning with spoiles: the like did *Harald* and *Leofricke* from *Scotland*, vpon the western coasts of *Somerset* and *Devonshires*, who thence coasting about the point of *Cornwall*, joined their Fleet with their Fathers, in the Ile of *Wight*.

(17) Against them King *Edward* prepared, & himselfe, though aged, with a Naue of sixtie ships well furnished for warre, meane to haue made an end of that business, by the destruction of his aduersaries: but the Nautics ready to ioune battell, God tooke the cause into his owne hand, and with a thicke fogge so ouer-spread the seas, that one Fleet could not thereby see another; in which, *Godwin* and his complices by contrary winde were driuen to the place from whence they came. King *Edward* still in ialousie of *Godwin*s returne, rigged forth forty tall ships to secure the seas, which kept not so strong a watch, but that *Godwin* got by them, folliciting the people of *Kent*, *Suffolke*, and *Surrey* vnto his aid, and entering *Thames*, did the like vnto them in *London*, who accepted of this arriuage, though King *Edward* lay there: so that without disturbance his Naue fell vp with the tide, through the fourth Arch of the Bridge, & a mighty army to his aid mustered vpon the same side of the river.

(18) The Nobilitie then seeing side against side, and all of them meere *English*, ready to hazard their blood in the quarrels of strangers, wrought with *Edward* and *Godwin*, that they came vnto peace, and pledges were againe deliuered for the performance, whereof *Wilmot* the sonne of Earle *Godwin*, and *Harold* the sonne of *Swaine* his eldest, were sent to Duke *William of Normandy*: so great a trust hee euer reposed in strangers. This *Swaine*, vpon a remore of conscience for the blood hee had spilt, and especially for the slaughter of *Beorne* his colin & interceder, who shied to the King for his peace, undertooke a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, and in his returne died in *Leita*, whether through an extremity of cold, or by the hands of *Saracens*, that spoiled all they met, it is vncertaine.

(19) *Godwin* now reformed, and in great credit with the King, cast the eye of disdain vpon the Arch-Bishop *Robert* (as commonly fauorits emulate each others, and himselfe being a man eloquent and politticke, so possessed the King both against him and his *Normans*, that he required his owne banishment, with theirs out of *England*, some few excepted, that were fauoured by the *English*: and now promising himselfe much honour and authority; was suddenly cut off by the stroke of death, surprising him as hee sat at Table with the King vpon Monday in the Easter weeke, but died not till the Thursday following, which happened at *Winchester*, where hee was buried.

(20) Besides these former forraine and ciuil molestations, other calamities happened to the land; for in the yeere of Grace 1047. and moneth of Ianuary, there fell so great a Snow, which couered the ground vnto the middle of *March*, that Cattle & Fowles perished abundantly: and on the first day of that Month the yere following, a strange and terrible Earth-quake happened, which seemed to rent the ground asunder, and withall such Lightning, as burnt vp the Corn, growing in the fields, whereby an excessive Dearth followed: so that his reign was neither so peaceable nor prosperous, as *Brightwald* the Monke dreamed it should be. But as all these were scourges sent from God vpon the Land for sin, so both Prince, Pastors, and people, had all generally their part thereof, as being iointly the causes of the same.

(21) For the King, in case of these Strangers, put the Land more then once in danger to bee lost: and himselfe restraining the bed of his vertuous wife committed thereby the offence forbidden by the Apostle, and caused her to have Queene, either to commit or be accused to haue committed adultery. The Clergie likewise altogether vallemmed, wanton, and vicious: for the Prelats neglecting the offices of Episcopall function, which was to tender the affaires of the Church, and to feed the flocke of Christ, liued themselves idle, and coauesous, addicted wholly to the pomp of the world, and voluptuous life, little caring for the Churches & soules committed to their charge; and if any told them (saith *Higden*) that their lues ought to be holy, & their conuersation without Countinues, according to the sacred prescript, and vertuous examples of their Elders, they would scoffingly put them off with, *Nunc aliud tempus, alio pro tempore maren* (Times haue mutations, so much means saluacion: and thus, saith he,) they plained the roughnes of their doings with smoothnes of their answers. Briefely, the whole people were so loose and riotous, that as *Gervasius Doreboruensis* recordeth, they fell so fast to commit wickednes, as to bee ignarant of *Sins* crimes, was then hold to be a great crime it selfe. And by the testimony of *Malmsbury*, the sinnes of those times evidently foretold a generall destruction: for the *Englishmen* (saith hee) transformed themselves into the strange manners of the French, and that not onely in speech and behaviour, but in their deeds, and Charters: their use was then to goe fantastically appointed, their garments reaching but to the mid knee; their heads shorne, and their beards shauen all but the upper lippe, which grew with long mustaches; continually wearing misse bracelets of gold about

W. Malmsbury.
Ras. Higden.
Mal. Willelmus.
Simeon Dun.

Ras. Higden.

1 Cor. 7. 5.

Malmsb.
Ras. Higden in
Willelmus, Ras. Higden.

Gervasius of
Canterbury.

W. Malmsb.

beat their armes, carrying markes upon their skines poured in of January Colours; and the Clergie contending themselves with triviall literature, could scarcely haue and keep the words of the Sacrament. These then were Englands dolorous times both of blindness & lewdnesse, drawing downe Gods wrath for their destruction.

(28) But howeuer this King is reported to bee losing and facile towards strangers, (which in it selfe is princely vertue if it be opportunely and warily vlied:) yet tobia owne Mother, and Wyfe, vnaturally ouerrigorous, imprisoning and berauing them both all Prince-like honour. Against Queene Emma, his Mother, were stigilg Robert Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Earle Godwin of Kent, the two greatest fauourites of the King. The causes objected were, her marriage with Canot the Capitall enemy of England; her regardlesse of succouring himself and his brother in their exiles, whom (as was alleged) shee continued to haue made away; and that vnder colour of priuilege deuotion, she had vied the company of Alfrine Bishop of Winchester ouer familiarly to her great dishonour and the Kings disgrace: for these and the like, hee took away all her Jewels, and other-buifance, and committed her to safe custody in the Abbey of Werewick.

(31) Indeed Almsbury doth tax her to haue been insatiably covetous, and that shee was more tenderly affectionate to her Daughters, then English children, whereby her loue was measured to their fathers. But for the imputation of her incontinencie, shee washed it off with as sharpe a trial as any that is recorded for truth, by vndergoing that ouer-hard law Ordalium, when in presence of the King her Son, & many of his Peeres, shee passed ouer betwene nine plough-shares glowing red hot, bare-footed & blind-folded, without any hurt: vying this speech to her leaders, as not knowing life was past all danger, O Lord when shall I come to the place of my purgation: but hauing her eyes vncovered and seeing her selfe secretly escaped, fell vpon her knees, and with teares gaue thanks to her Deliuerer, whereby shee recovered, both the loue and her former estate of the King, with the good esteeme and applause of the people: in memory whereof shee gaue nine Mannors (according to the number of plough-shares) to the Minister of Winchester, (wherein shee had that trial,) and adorned the same with many rich ornaments; likewise the King repenting the wrong hee did her, bestowed ouer the same place the Island (so then it was called) Portland in Dorsetshire, being about seuen miles in compass: for so the chance, in those daies, was, that whoeuer lost, the monks did winne.

(34) Neither were this Kings proceedings better with his owne Wife, howe soe forme haue cloaked that Fraud (so the Apollie termes it) vnder the faire robe of Chastity. For hee marrying Editha, a Lady incomparable both for beauty and vertue, in whole breest (saith Malmeburie) there was a Schoole of all Liberal sciences, refused her Bed: but whether it were for his debility, or hatred to Godwin her father, or loue of Virginitie, I determine not; but am fully perswaded, that the accusation of Adultery wherewith Robert the Arch-bishop did charge her, was more vpon enuy to her father, then truth of so foule a fact in her, whose vertues were so many, and so memorable, by report of Authors, that had often-times conference with her, doth thus of her relate.

There was giuen (saith hee) vnto King Edward for his Queene and wife, the daughter of Godwin, a most beautifull Damoyses, Eglia by name, excellent well learned: in her demeanour, and whole countenance of life a Virgin most chaste, humble, and conformed body, no way ianuarie of her Fathers, or Brethrens haubouring, but mild, meek, faithfully, and innocent, nor euer hurtfull to any, inasmuch, that this verse was applied to her:

Sicut Spina Roſam, vntus Godwinus Eglitam.
From prickled flake, as sweetest Rose.
So Eglia Rose, from Godwin greene.

All these notwithstanding, the King expelled her his Court and Bed, and that with no little disgrace; for taking all her goods from her, euen to the vttermost farthing, committed her prisoner to the Monastrie of Winton, attended onely with one maid, where shee, for a whole yeeres space almost, in teares and prayers expected the day of her release and comfort: All which vnprincelike and vn-Spoulike vage, as the King vnderstood, and said, was, *because shee ought should not live in comfort, when as her Parents and Brethren were banished the Realm: as vnwill fencelessely, and vnderstanding a Saint, thus to punish the sinnes of the fathers vpon their children, contrary to the prescript rule of God, who by his Prophet complaineth against such iniustice, and regulateth it with this iust verdict, That foule that smeth shall die, and for her pure and vnviolated chastity, humiliate in his death-bed spake, saying, that openly she was his wife, but in secret ministered as his enemye sifter.*

(35) Yet behold the blindness, and partiality of those times, wherein for this his only refusal of iustiall duties, the penulties of those that should haue shewed his true face to posterities, haue so embellished the portraiture and lineaments, that vnto the beholder hee seemeth now no mortall creature; his miracles and foretelling answerable to most of the Prophets. Which here to inferre in so worthy a subject and holy Kings life, were both to fill vp with a needfull surcharge, whole leaues of Times waste about, and to breed a suspicion of those other things in him, which we know for found truth; as was his gift from God, through his holy inuocations, and touch of the place affected, to cure the disease called Struma, now the Kings Eall, which vnto this day in his successors, hath been experienced vpon many such healings, by the touch of those gracious hands who haue held the Scepter, as Gods Viceregents of this most blessed and happy Kingdome. That hee had the spirit of Prophecie, many haue thought; as also the notice of his owne death, some constantly affirme; by a Ring sent him from Ierusalem, the same that hee long time before had giuen to a pilgrime: but the like with his other miraculous cures, his sight of the Danes destruction, and the Seuen Sleepers in the Mount Cellion besides Ephesus, with iustine ones, I leave to his Legend-writers, and Aluredius Rinalensis to relate, who haue written his many miracles with no sparing pen. Most true it is that of a little Monastrie dedicated to S. Peter in the west of London by the river of Thames, he made a most beautifull and faire Church, where he likewise provided for his owne Sepulchre, and another dedicated to S. Margaret, standing without the Abbey: this of Westminster he endowed with very rich reuenues, and confirmed their Charters vnder his Broad Seale, being the first of the Kings of England, who vied that large and stately impression in their Royall Charters and Patents: the very true form whereof, according to the rude sculpture of those elder times, we haue portrayed in the front of this Chapter, as we intend likewise to doe in the rest succeeding; whereof this vie at least, (if no other) may be made, that by benefit of those patterns, men may know from what Princes they first receiued the Charters of their ancient possessions and Patentes of their honours, which the Princes stile (many being of our name) cannot sufficiently make knowne.

The said Church of Westminster he built for the discharge of his vowed pilgrimage to Ierusalem, & that in such sumptuous manner, that it was in those daies the Pattern to all other stately buildings. He founded also the Colledge of S. Mary Ouer in the county of Devon, and gaue nois the Village of Ottery, and removed the Bishoppes See from Crediton to Exeter, as a place of farre more dignity; where the King taking the right hand, and the Queene the left, led Leofricke from the high Altar, and installed him the first Bishop of that See: Finally, when hee had reigned the space of twentie yeeres, six moneths, and twenty seuen daies; hee died the fourth of January, the yeere of

W. Malme.

Roth. 13.4

Edward 1. h.

Edward 1. reg.
English was 13.

Edm. Peter 13.
Sile came down
from heauen so
the first dedica-
tion of that
place, the first
M. J. or not,
T. C. 13. 4.

Simon Des.

King Edward the
founder of S.
Mary Ouer
Colledge,
Edm. 13.4

Polyp. 13. 4. 13.4.
1. ed. Chant.

W. Malme.

Ordalium, a trial
of offenders by
law.

Read. 13.4.

W. Malme.
vnto Edward
Alfred Son,
A. C. 7. 7.
8. 7. 7. 7.
C. 13. 4. 13.4.

Chen. 13.4.

Angulphus in 13.4.

Christ Iesus one thousand sixtie six, and was with great lamentations and solemnitie buried in his Church at *Westminster*, the morrow after the feast of the *Epiphany*.

Hee was of person well proportioned, of countenance lober, and of complexion faire; naturally courteous and gentle to all (and thereby too prone and credulous to suggestions) loving to his subjects, and over-loving vnto Strangers. A Prince of much vertue and integritie of life, notwithstanding which, had it not bene vailed vnder the fauour-shew of *Chastitie*, he had not so easily been canonized for a Saint; wherein yet the seeming wisdome taxed his wildome, whilst vnder a goodly pretext of Religion and vowed Virginity, hee cast off all care of hausing issue, and

exposed the kingdom for a prey to the greedy desires of ambitious humours.

His wife.

Elixa, the wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of *Godwin*, Duke of the *West-Saxons*, and Earle of *Kent*: her mother was *Gith* the sister of *Sweyne* the yonger, King of *Denmarke*; she was married vnto him the yeere of Christs humanity, 1041. and fourth of his raigne. She was his wife eighteen yeeres; and suruiving him lined a widow eight more, and in the eight yeere of King *William* the Conquerours raigne, died in *December*, the yeere of Christs birth, 1074 and was buried by her husband in *S. Peters Church* at *Westminster*.

HAROLD THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, THE SONNE OF EARLE GOODWINE, AND THIRTIE EIGHT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER VII.



The people sorrowing for the death of their King, and the Statesmen perplexed for choice of a new, *Edgar Athelings* rule was worthy of more vnpartiall respect then it found: for him they held too young for government: besides, a stranger borne, scarce speaking *Englis*: and withall, the pro-

phesies of *Edward* touching the alienation of the Crowne, the Interest of the *Danes*, and the claim that Duke *William* made, (both by gift and consanguinity) bred great distraction of desires, and opinions; but nothing concluded for settling the Seate; no man either assuming or profering the Monarchiall diademe, because none had the power, or right to adorne therewith his owne head. In this Calme conference a sudden gale arose, which blew all the failes spread for that winde into one Port. And that was *Harold* sonne to Earle *Godwine*, a man (duly prizing his

Harold Godwinson

Harold Godwinson

Edw. Edward.

his many worthy parts) not wmmet for a kingdom, who first succeeding his father in his Dukedome, and next *Edward* (his brother in Law) in his Kingdom, in patience, clemency, & affability bare himfelfe moft appropiately towards the vertuous, but with a Lions courage, and fierce countenance chaftified the difordered, and indeede became another *Maccabees* vnto the distressed Land. Whyle kingly ftate before wee toage, it fhall not be amiffe to lengthen his fhort reign with his A&ts and Life, as hee was a Subiect, both with and againft his Lord and Predecessor.

(2) That hee tooke part with his Father againft *Euface of Burgoyne*, and King *Edward* his ally commiffion, wee have fhewed; himfelfe then enjoying the Earldome of *Oxford*, and is affected by thofe of *Effex*, *Suffolke* and *Northfolke*, *Cambridge* & *Huntington* shires, that they sided in his caufe againft the King; But thefe delignes failing, (as commonly it is fene all attempts of Subiects againft their Soueraignes doe) hee learned by banishment, what was the loffe of true honour, and by forbearance of battle (when half the Kingdom flood for him,) his dutie obliged vnto the Common-wealth. And growne againe into fauour with the King, carried himfelfe anwerably vnto both.

An.D. 1055
March 10th.
Same Dece.

(1) Some iaculofly conceited, *Edward* without any caufe, banished *Alger* the fon of *Leofrike* Earle of *Chesler*, who with the helpe of the *Irish* and *Welshmen*, vnder the conduct of *Gruffith* an *Irish* Prince of *North-Wales* (who had married his daughter,) did much hurt to the Englifh, putting *Radulph* Earle of *Hereford* to flight, with the slaughter of five hundred men; spoiled the City, burnt the Minfter and became Mafters of mif-rule in thofe parts. Againft thefe was *Harold* fent, and with fuch manhood purfued his flying enemies, that paffing through *North-Wales*, vpon the *Snow-hill* hee pitched his Field: The Earle and Prince *Gruffith*, not daring to abide his prefence, fled thence vnto *Smith-Wales*, and again tooke into *Hereford*, whereof *Harold* hauing intelligence halfted thitherward (leauing fufficient in the *Snow-donnet* to mate the *Welsh*), and recouering the City, with a deepe trench and high rampire fortified it about, where for the fauing of more bloud (and not vngatefull to *Alger*, who without grudge had refigned to him his Earldome, and whole *Ruonewes* at his returne from exile) a peace was concluded, and at *Harold*s request, Earle *Alger* and Prince *Gruffith* were pardoned.

An.D. 1058
Same Dece.

(4) But *Alger* being againe accufed, & againe aided by his old affociate *Gruffith*, recovered his Earldome by force, whereat King *Edward* was highly difpleafed, but moft againft *Gruffith*, who euer was ready to affift any againft him: whereupon *Harold* the fecond time appointed General: with a great hoft entred *North-Wales*, without light of enemy, where hee only burnt downe the ftately Palace of Prince *Gruffith*, & fo returned to the King. But long the *Welsh* were not quiet, nor the Prince pleafed of the harms to him doe. Wherefore making his forces verie ftrong hee againe molefted the Englifh.

Harold, W.

Chro. W.

(5) To refraine whom once more was *Harold* let forth, who with fuch terror barft into *Wales*, that Prince *Gruffith*, in fecret ftole from his Campe, leauing his Souldiers (if they would) to fight for themfelves, whereupon his whole army yielded themfelves to *Harold*s mercy, and hazing Prince *Gruffith* in their hands, cut off his head, and fent it to *Harold*, giuing him pledges for affurance of peace, and the payment of the ancient tribute which for a time had beene retained: yet euer after hee carried off heauy a hand on the *Welsh*, that as *Iohn of Salisbury* in his *Policraticus* writeth, he ordained a law, that what *Welsh-men* loffer, fhould with weapon paffe o-uer *Offes* ditch, fhould haue his right hand cutt off by the Kings officer.

W.D. Malor.
Mat. W. of W.

(6) All now in quiet, and *Harold* withdrawn to his Mannor of *Tufchem* vpon the ridge of the fea in the confines of *Suffex*, there for his recreation, one

day hee tooke into a Fishers boate with (fmal attendants, neither thofe very skillfull Manners, when no fooner were they latched into the deepe, but a contrary wind came about, and droue the boate vpon the coaft of *Peulnes* in *France*, where hee was taken by the Country people, and prefented to *Gualo* their Earle, who a while retained him his prifoner, in hope of gaine by his ransom, but Duke *William* requiring him, hee was coucioued into *Normandy*, where hee cunningly perfwaded the Duke, that his fecret coming out of *England*, was purpofely to enter a league of amity with him. The Duke then hauing prefent warre with the *Brittaines* in *France*, tooke this his new friend and gaft with him for his companion at Armes, whofe ready policies followed with forward praftice, was him great estimation with the Duke, whereupon betwixt them a covenant was made for the refecration of the *Englifh* Crowne to the *Normans*, if it chanced King *Edward* to die without children, and the fameratified by *Harold*s corporall oath, with the affiancing of Lady *Adeliza*, the Dukes fift daughter, then a child and *Harold* a widower, which afterwards fell to his owne destruction, and the lands fubuerfion, as fhall be feid.

Malor Park.
in W.D.
New Manly.

Harold, W.

Greenwich.

W.D. Malor.

(7) His laft imploiment by holy King *Edward*, was againft the tumultuous *Northmen*, which had expelled *Tofte* their Earle, and *Harold*s owne brother, where a peace was concluded without fhedding blood, but with condition that *Tofte* fhould lofe his Earldome: whereupon in great difpleafure, he with his wife & children fled into *Flanders*, and euer after hated the perfon, and emulated the glory of *Harold*. The originall of thefe two brethrens quarrels beganne at *Wandfor*, where in the prefence of the King they fell from words vnto blowes and that in fuch manner, as if relice had not come, *Tofte* had died; for which difgrace, hee fecretly hied him into the Marches of *Wales*, and neere the City *Hereford* at *Porteflyth*, where *Harold* had a houfe, then in preparing to entertaine the King, he flew all his brothers feruantes, and them cutting perccemeale into gobbets, falted fome of their limmes, and call the reft into vfeles of the meath and wines, lending his brother word, that hee had furnifhed him with powdered meates againft the Kings coming thither, which barbarous aft caused detestably his name to be odious vnto his *Northmen*, and was laftly repayed with his owne death.

Mat. W. of W.

W.D. Malor.
Mat. W. of W.

(8) Now albeit fome Herald make *Harold* by birth born a Gentleman of one, and the firft defcent, which were fo, fhould no whit blemifh him who was more cruelly embled with princely vertues, yet therein alfo it may feme hee is mif-efteemed, fceing his Father was *Godwin* a Duke by degree, the fon of *Walnoth*, and hee the fonne of *Egfrimur*, who was the fonne of *Egfriche*, furnamed *Leofricus*, and breether of *Edrick Duke of Mercia*, that married the daughter of King *Alfred* of *England*, of whom wee haue fpo-ken.

W.D. Malor.
in W.D.

The mother of *Harold* was *Githa* the daughter of Duke *Wulf*, and fiftre to *Sweyne* the younger King of *Denmarke*, by *Egfrich* his wife, who was fiftre to *Cannet* the great King of *England*; and himfelfe the fecond fonne of her borne; whole elder brother was *Sweyne*, that died on pilgrimage in his returne from *Ierufalem*, and his younger were *Tofte*, *Wilmo*, *Orth*, and *Leofric*.

W.D. Malor.

(9) A former wife Earle *Godwin* had, whole name was *Titha*, the fiftre of *Cannet*, a woman fold vnto wickednelle for making merchandize of *Englands* beauteous virgins into *Denmarke*; thefe folde them there at deere rates, to fatisfie her owne vniuifate naufie, and the luft of the lasciuious *Danes*, till a iuft reward of Gods wrath fell on her by a thunder-bolt falling from heauen, wherewith fhee was flaine, to the great terror of the beholders. One fonne by her Earle *Godwin* he had, whom when hee was paff child age, riding vpon a horfe (the gift of his Grandfather the King,) proudly giuing him the

W.D. Malor.
in W.D.
Aug. 15.

rine and spirit, was violently borne into the river *Thames*, and so suddenly drowned. Thus much being premised of *Harold* before he was King; his raigne, life and death, wee will now addresse to declare.

(10) *Edwards* life ended, and nothing determined touching his successor, *Harold* the second day after, being the day of his buriall, made himselfe King, none of the Nobility disliking what hee had done; for courteous hee was of speech and behaviour, and in martiall prowesse the onely man, as *Wales* well witnessed, more then once, frended by affinity with many of the Nobles, and by his new marriage with *Editha* the daughter of *Algar* (sister of the Earles *Morcar* and *Edwin*, and late wife to *Gruffith ap Ithelwyn* Prince of *Wales*) hee expected to bee both sided and assisted, if his cause came either to trial or voice.

(11) And the time hee well saw fitted his entrance, for *Sweyne* King of *Denmarke* (most dread by the *English*) was entangled with the *Swedes* wars; and *William the Norman* (that made claime from King *Edward*) at variance with *Philip* the French King; the friends of *Edgar* in *Hungarie*, and himselfe a stranger, ouer young for rule: all which concurres made *Harold* without deliberation, or order from the state, to set the Crowne on his owne head, regardless of all ceremony and solemn celebration; for which his act, as a violator of holy rites, hee too too much offended the Clergy.

(12) The day of his Coronation was vpon Friday, the fifth of *January*, being the feast of the *Epiphany*, and yeere of Saluation to 566: none either greatly applauding, or disapproving his presumption, except onely for the omission of manner and forme; to redreeme which, and to regaine the good will of all; no sooner affirmed hee the state toll, but hee remitted or diminished the grievous customes and tributes which his predecessors had raised, a course euer powerfull to winne the hearts of the Commons; to Church-men hee was verie munificent and careful of their aduancements; and to grow more deeply into their venerable esteeme, hee repaired their Monasteries; but most especially that at *Waltham* in *Essex*, which hee most sumptuously new built, and richly endowed, giuing it the name of *Holy Crosse*; vpon occasion that such a Crosse found farre westward, was brought thither by miracle, *et tradunt*: and therefore hee chose out this place to powre forth his supplications, before hee marched to meete Duke *William* in the field. Moreover, to satisfie such Nobles as affected young *Edgar* inuirtute, hee created him Earle of *Oxford*, and held him in speciall fauour: in briefe, vnto the poore, his hand was euer open, vnto the oppressed hee ministered iustice, and vnto all men was affable, and mecke: and all to hold that vpright which on his head hee had set with an vn-cuen hand: and depriued him of, vnto whom hee was Protector.

(13) Three seuerall reports are affirmed of *Edwards* dispose of the Crowne: the first was to the *Norman* Duke, who made that the anker-hold of his claime; the second was to young *Edgar*, vnto whom hee was great vnckle; and the last vnto this *Harold* himselfe: for so saith *Edmerus*, and also *Norriamus*, who liued at the very same time, and writeth that *Harold* thereupon was sacred and crowned by *Abelardus* Archbishop of *Torky*; so that hereby hee is freed by some from the imputation of intrusion and wrong.

(14) His State thus standing, and his Subjects contentment daily increasing, presently it was somewhat perplexed by an Ambassage sent from the *Norman*, putting him in mind of his couenant, and oath, as well for the custody of the Crowne to his behoofe, as for the solemnization of the marriage contracted betwixt his daughter and him.

(15) *Harold*, who thought himselfe now surely

seated in the hearts of his Subjects, and therefore also sure in his Kingdom, answered the Ambassadors, That hee held their Masters demand vnjust, for that an oath extorted in time of extremity, cannot bind the maker in conscience to performe it, for that were to iayne one fine with another; and that this oath was taken for feare of death or imprisonment, the Duke himselfe well knew: but admit it was voluntarily, and without feare, could I (saide he) then a Subject, without the allowance of the King, and the whole State, giue away the Crowne succession to the prejudice of both? surely a Kingdome is of a better account then to hee so determined in private onely betwixt two. With which kind of answers hee sent the messengers away.

(16) The *Norman*, who till then thought *Englands* sure to be his, and had deuoted his hopes from a Duke to a King, stormed to see himselfe thus frustrated on the sudden, and in stead of a Crowne to haue scornes heaped on his head; therefore nothing contented with this sleight answer, returned his Ambassadors againe vnto *Harold*, by whom hee laid his claime more at large; as that King *Edward* in the Courts of France had faithfully promised the succession vnto him, and againe afterwards ratified the same to him at his being in *England*, and that not done without consent of the State, but confirmed by *Stigandus* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, the Earles *Goodwin* and *Syward*, yea and by *Harold* himselfe, and so firmly assured that his Brother and Nephew were deliuered for pledges, and so that end sent vnto him into *Normandy*: that hee had now by come constrained, hee appealed to *Harolds* owne conscience, who besides his voluntary offer to succeed, contracted himselfe to *Adeliza* his daughter (then but young, and now departed life) vpon which foundation the oath was willingly taken.

(17) But *Harold* who thought his owne head as sic for a crowne as any others, meant nothing lesse then to lay it downe vpon parley, and therefore told them flatly, that howsoever *Edward* and hee had tampered for the Kingdom, yet *Edward* himselfe coming in by election, and not by any title of inheritance, his promise was of no validity; for how could hee giue the wherof he was not interested, nor in the *Danes* time was euer like to be? And tell your Duke (saide he) that our Kingdome is now brought to a settled estate, and with such love and liking of the *English*, as that they will neuer admit any more a stranger to rule ouer them. And as touching the contract with his younger daughter, hee well seeth, that God hath taken away that occasion of alienating the Crowne; and surely his Law hath likewise provided remedy against such rash words; whose precept I mean to follow: and therefore (saide he) will your Duke to weigh my estate with his owne, both his and mine now in quiet, sufficient for two, and either of them, employment enough for one mans Government, and therefore both of them too much to be well gouerned by one, seeing that God himselfe had set a sea betwixt them. With these and the like speeches hee shifted of the Dukes Ambassadors; without all princely entertainments, or courteous regard.

(18) The messengers returned, and *Harolds* answers declared, *William* lion-like enraged, casteth his thoughts about plotting reuenge, and making some oddes euen that might impeach his designs, prepared all things for open warre. *Harold* likewise not sleeping his businesse, made ready his Fleet, mustered his souldiers, and planted his Garrisons along the Sea-coast. But in these his proceedings, behold a great and fearfull Comete appeared (scidoun a signe to Princes of fortunate successe) vpon the twenty fourth of *April*, and lasted onely seven dayes, which drew the minds of the *English*, into great suspence, now ready to enter into a double warre.

(19) For as *William* the *Norman* for his part claymed *Englands* by right, to *Harager* the *Dane* did hy succession; the rumors of both which, greatly terrified the heartes of the inhabitants: and yet behold, a third terrour vnexpected, contrary to nature

Subjects leave the Sovereign through.

And, Wighen is the Sovereign's joy.

Guernment.

Bishop of Murr.

Roger Wood. Simon Mead of Durham. Gualter Boon.

ture, and most mens opinions, suddenly arose, for *Tostig* the cruel Earle of *Northumberland*, and brother to *Harold*, expelled by his people, and provoked by King *Edward*, fled into *France*, where by the instigations of *William*, whose wives sister hee had married (both of them the daughters of *Balwine* Earle of *Flanders*) he got for his revenge a Fleet furnished with men at *Armes*, and thus prepared; his first fury was shewed in spoiling the *Iles of Wight*, then coasting the shore, shrewdly endamaged *Kent*, whence hoiding faile, fell foule vpon *Lincolshire*; where *Marcus* and *Edwine* Earles of *Cheshire* and *Yorkshire* joined with the Kings Neice, droue him from thence, though with some losse of their men.

(20) *Tostig* for more succour fled into *Scotland*, where of King *Malcolme* he had but cold comfort, himselfe being bafled with ciuill broiles; but howsoeuer his expectation there failed, yet his purposes were continued with the assistance of *Harold Hargreue* (that is, the *Fare-locker*) King of *Denmarke*, who with three hundred shippes had entered the river *Tyne* for *Englands* invasion, after his conquest of the *Iles of Orkney*. *Tostig* therefore joining his Fleet to these *Danes*, in warlike brauerie, both of them enter the mouth of *Humber*, and drawing vp the river *Ouse*, at *Richbald* landed their men, making spoile of the Countrey whereoeuer they came. To meet with these, the foresaid Earles *Edwin* and *Marcus*, in a cumulous battail raised their powers, but were so ouerlaid by the *Norwegians*, that many were slaine, and more drowned, in passing ouer that river.

(21) The enemy grown proud by this late victory, halted towards *York*, the chiefe Citie of the North; where placing his siege, it was presently yeelded vp, and hollages deliuered vpon both parts for the performance of euocates. The *Danes* thus prospering, had most strongly encompassed themselves, for backed they were with the German Ocean, flanked on the left hand with the riuer *Humber*, wherein also their Fleete rid at Anker, and had on their right hand and afront the riuer *Derwent*, so that it seemed impossible to raise this siege.

(22) But *Harold* thinking the coast cleere from all danger, the Equinoxiall at hand, and Navigation now past, the victuals in his Fleet spent, and notice from Earle *Balwin* of *Flanders*; that Duke *William* meant not his voiage that yeere, was about to disband his Army. When this sudden newes from the North pierced his eare, no need it was then to bid him make haste thither, the case standing so neere him as it did. Therefore recalling his Army, posted to *York*, and from thence marched against the *Norwegians*, who lay secured with such advantage, as wee haue said. Notwithstanding *Harold* couragiously ordered his battell, and assaid to passe the Bridge called *Stanford*, built ouer *Derwent*, which one onely *Dane* made good for a time against his whole host, and with his Ax slew forty of his men, till lastly this *Dane* was slaine with a dart.

(23) The Bridge gotten, and the *English* reduced into their ranks, *Harold* most boldly let vpon his enemies euen in their Campe; where the battaile with equall valour and fortune, was maintained a time, till lastly the *Norwegians* dismailed and scattered, were slaine outright; and among them the two Chieftaines, *Hargreue* and *Tostig*, with many others of worth and account, lost their liues. *Olave* the sonne of this *Harfager*, and *Paul* Earle of *Orkney*, who kept their Fleet at *Seas*, whither his Father and followers sought vpon land, were brought to King *Harold*, and to haue their liues spared, abured the Land, and therewith to attempt no hostilitie against the *English* peace, and with twenty small vessells to cary away their slaine and hurt, were suffered to depart, bringing heavy newes into *Denmarke* of the losse of their King, and overthrow of his Army.

(24) By this victory thus happily obtained, fell vnto *Harold* an exceeding rich booty, both of gold

and silver, besides the great Armado of *Tostig* and *Harfager*; whereby his mind was soone set aloft, and he began to grow both proud, and odious vnto his Army, the rather, for that he disaied not the spoiles vnto them that had dequered it; a wrong that the common Souldier doth continually murmur at, and commonly endure.

(25) Now in this current of King *Harold*'s fortunes, *William the Norman* had the more leasure to strengthen his owne, and often conferring with his Captaines about *Englands* invasions, found them either resolute and cheerefull that way; the difficultie onely rellied, how to provide money enough, the very sinewes whereby the vast body of an Army must be knrt, & strengthened for a shildy being propounded vnto the assembly of the *Norman States*, it was answered, that a former warre against the *French* had empouered much of their wealth, that if new wars were now raised, & therein their subsistence spent to gain other victs, it would be thereby so waisted, as that hardly it would be sufficient to defend their owne; that they thought it more safety to hold what he had, then hazard of their owne to invade the territories of others; & that this war intended, iust though it were, yet seemed not necessary, but exceeding digreuous; besides (said they) the *Normans* were not by their allegiance bound to Military seruices in forrein parts, & therefore such paymets could not bee assild vpon them. And although *William Fitz-Osborne*, a man in high fauour with the Duke, and as gracious among the people, endeauoured by all means to effe it, yet, and (so draw on others by his example) proffered to set out forty tall Shippes vpon his owne Charges towards this warrey yet would it not bee: Therefore Duke *William* best thought him on another way.

(26) The wealthiest men among all his People he first for, and severally one by one conferred with, shewing them his right and hopes of *England*, wherein preferment lay eue to the meanest amongst them, only money was the want, which they might spare; neither should that be giuen, nor lent without a plentiful increase: with such fair words he drew them so on, that they stroue who should giue most, and by this policy hee gathered such a masse of money, as was sufficient to defray the warre: Then went hee to his neighbour Princes, namely to the Earles of *Julius*, *William*, *Alayne*, and *Ballayne*, promising them faire possessions in *England*, yea and vnto *Philip* the French King, in case he would aide him, hee voluntarily offered to become his vassall and Leige-man, and to hold *England* by oath and fealty vnder him. But it being thought nothing good for the State of *France*, that the Duke of *Normandy*, who already was not so pliable to the French King as was wished, should be entered in his estate by the addition of so mighty a Kingdom (the power of Neighbour Potentates being euer suspected of Princes) so farre was the King from yeelding any helpe, that he secretly malignd, & openly dissuaded this his attempt of invading *England*. This French jealousy, the *Normans* soone perceived, which made him to call about yet another way.

(27) For making his claime knowne vnto *Alexander* the second, then Pope of *Rome*, with the wrongs done vnto *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by *Harold* and his Father, (a tear that might not bee read without a gloss) he was so fauoured of his Holiness (whose See was euer glad to interet itself in disposing of Crowns, that he both allowed well of his enterprise, and sent him a consecrated Banner, (Saint Peter himselfe had none such in his Boate) to bee borne in the Ship, wherein himselfe in that expedition should take faile for *England*, and accursed all them that thold opposite themselves against him: for euen then the Popes had begun to vsurpe authority ouer Princes, & with their leaden blades to hacke into the iron Swords of Emperours.

(28) Thus furnished on all sides, he assembled his forces, and with a mighty Navy came to the Towne of

Mat. 27. 11. in 1587.

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of Saint Valerius, which standeth vpon the mouth of the Riuer Somewhere a long time he lay wind bound to his great discontentment, and with many vowes importuning the fauour of that local Saint, heaped daily number of gifts and oblations vpon his Altar; till lastly his desire was obtained, and then with three hundred Ships fraught full of his Normans, Fleminges, Frenchmen, & Brittaines, weighed Anchor, and with a gentle gale of wind arrived at Pevensey in Suffex, vpon the twenty eight day of September, where Landing his men, to cut off all occasion or hope of returne, he fired his owne fleet, and vpon the Shoare erected a Fortresse to bee if neede were, a retiring place for his Souldiers.

(29) At his arriuaage from Sea, as our Historians report, his foot chaunced to slippe, so that not able to recover himselfe, he fell into the mad, and all to be-mired his hands; which accident was presently considered for a lucky prefige: for now (said a Captaine) O Duke, thou hast taken possession, and holdst that land in thy hand, wherof shortly thou shalt become King: As Cæsar is said to haue done, when hee entered into Africa, who from ship-board as his landing fell into the sands, and merily said, I doe now take possession of thee, O Africa.

(30) From Pevensey Duke William departed towards Hastings, where raising another fortification, diuulged to all the causes of his coming, as pretending to reuenge both the death of his Normans, slain by the treachery of Godwinus & Harold, and the wrongs and banishment of Robert Gemetous Archbishop of Canterburie, pretences very slender, and enforced out of season: but surely had not a third fate nearer his heart, the two former would haue passed without the spleene of reuenge; namely, the donation of King Edward deceased, whereon he built his claim to the English Crowne. And there also by his Edict, he strictly charged his souldiers not in hostile manner, to wrong any of their persons, who shortly were to become his Subjects.

(31) Harold in the North hearing of these news, halted with his Armie (whose Armour yet reaked with the blood of the Norwegians) towards the south and with such power as possible hee could make, entred London, where immediately a messenger fro Duke William was preferred vno him, demanding no lesse then the Kingdome, and Harolds vassalage; vrging the same with such instant boldnesse, that Harolds furious indignation could hardly forbear, against the law of Armes, to lay violent hands vpon the Ambassadot; so great a pride and confident hope had entred the heart of this late Victor: to shew both, with very great boldnesse, he dispatched his Ambassadors to William, and by way of irefull checkes menaceth him, vnlesse forthwith hee departed backe into Normandy: when presently mustering his men at London, hee found them much lessened by his battaile against the Norwegians, notwithstanding, many Nobles, Gentlemen, and others, whom the loue of their native Conntrey inflamed, did ingage themselves for the field, against his common and dangerous enemy. He therefore with an vndamted courage, led forth his Armie into Iustice (against the importunate suite of his mother, who sought by all means to slay him) where on a large and faire plaine, scarce ten miles from the enemy, he pitched downe his battailes, and sent forth his Espials to descry his power.

(32) These coming into danger, were caught by the Normans, and presented to their Duke, who commanded them forthwith to bee led from Tent to Tent, to be sealed, and dismissed, without any harme or dishonour done. These returning to Harold told what they had scene, commending the Duke in his Martiall Prouisions, and his clemency to themward, only said they, his Souldiers seem to bee Priests, for their faces were all shaven, whereas the vie of the English was then to reserve onely the vpper lippe vn-cut, retaining or renewing the old manner of the an-

cient Brittaines so described by Cæsar: but King Harold, who had bin in that country, well knowing their error, replied that they were men of great valour & stout Souldiers in fight. Vpon which speech, Gith, his younger brother, a man much renowned for martiall exploits, tooke occasion to aduise the King from being present at the danger of the Field: for (said he) it stands not with the rule of policy, to hazard all in the trial of one battell, nor to depend vpon the event of war, which ener is doubtful, victory being as oft gotten by fortune, as valor; mature deliberation doth oft produce the safest issues, & a prouided delay is held to be the greatest furtherer of martiall projects; whether will any thing strike greater terror into the Normans, then thou to be leuying, & enrolling a new Army, whereby they may euer expect, and feare succeeding Battails. Again (said he) thou best knowest what oath thine owne mouth hath made vnto William; if lawfull, and willingly, then withdraw thy selfe from field, lest for that thy sinne the whole Host perish; for there can bee no power against God. I am free from such guilt, and therefore may the bolder fight, and either defeat this dangerous enemy, or more cheerefully dye in the defence of my country, & if thou wilt commit the fortune of Battaille into my Governance, assure thy selfe I will perform to thee the part of a louing Brother, and to my Countreimen of a valiant Captain.

(33) This wise aduice notwithstanding, desiring to draine him, hee game stood, imputing it a part of dishonour, and not besitting a Souldier, (as hee alwaies had beene,) to leaue the field Coward-like, when greatest glory was to be wonne, or in case of fortunate successe, to be deprived of a part, and therefore reproached his brother for making this motion, and with disdainfull speeches, vnderualue and embated the worth of the Normans.

(34) Duke William now entred the field, & both the hosts standing ready for fight, the Normans, to spare the effusion of Christian blood, vpon a pious action sent a Meeke as a Mediator for peace, with offers to Harold of these conditions, either wholly to resigne the Kingdome vnto him, and from thence forth to acknowledge the Duke for his Soueraigne: or els in single combat to trie the quarrel with him, in sight of the Armaies; or lastly, to stand to the arbitrement of the Pope, touching the possession and wearing of the English Crowne. But Harold, as one whom the heauens would depeste, accepting neither domestick counsell, nor the Normans offers, referred the deciding of the matter vnto the Tribunal of God, and answered, that it should bee tried the next day with more swordes then one.

(35) That next day was the 14. of October, which vpon a credulous error, hee held euer to bee fortunate, because it was the day of his Nativity, and with hopefull assurance, desired greatly the approach of the same: His souldiers likewise as men whose heads were to bee crowned with the Laurels of victory, gaue themselves to licentious reuels, and in riotous banquets, with clamour, and noises, spent the night; whereas contrariwise, the Normans, more wisely, and seriously weighing the businesse in hand, bestowed the time in prayers and vowes, for the safety of their Armie, and victorious successe: neither had the morning sooner spread it selfe but their battell was ordered, and prepared for fight.

(36) Harold also with the like forwardnes, marshaled his battaile, placing in the Vant-guard the Kentish men (who by an ancient custome had the front of the battaile belonging to them) with their heavy axes, or halberts. The Attila-fex-men & the Londoners were in that Squadron, wherof himselfe with his brother had the leading.

37 His enemies Vanguard was led by Roger of Meungemery, and William Fitz-Osborne, the same consisting of Horsemen out of Essex, Perch, and little Brittain.

Their

Lord Highness.

Lord Highness in
Pevensey, &c. &c. &c.

Normans in
Cæsar.

at the battle.

at the battle.
Lord Highness.

That will.

Their Maine-Battle consisted of *Peasants* and *German*, *Giffrey Martell*, and a *German* Pensioner commanding them: In the *Ree-guard* was the Duke himself with the whole manhood of *Norman*, and the flower of his Nobility & Gentry, all which battalions were intermixed with companies of Archers.

(13) The *Normans* without any confused, or disorderly shout, founded the battle, and advanced forward, discharging a fierce volley of arrows like a tempestuous hail, a kind of fight both strange, and terrible unto the *English*, who supposed their enemy had been already even in the midst of a-mongst them: when precisely a furious charge was given to the Va-ward of the *English*, who resolutely had determined to cover the place with their bodies rather than to give one foot of ground, and bending all their forces, kept themselves close together, whereby they valiantly, and with the slaughter of many, put back the enemy: which was so farre from daunting the *Normans*, that by it they were more whetted to re-enclose themselves upon them: when with an horrible noise, the battalies of both sides gaue the stroke, and now come foot to foot, and man to man, coped together in a most cruell fight. The *English* banding thicke, and close, as if they had bene flacke one to another, abode the brunt, and charge of the *Normans*, and with such welcomes, that after many a bloody wound received, they were at point to recolle, had not Duke William, whose crown lay now at stake, both brantly performed the part of a Leader, and with his presence, and authority restrained them. The fight thus continuing, the *Normans* boisterous brake into the troups of the *English*, and fore distressed the Souldiers on foot, yet notwithstanding they still held out, and kept their array broken: for *Harold* (no lesse carefull to keep, then the other to gaine a diem), as a most valiant Cap-taine bore him self worthily every where. The Duke well perceiving that with fine force, and true valour, no good end could be got, betooke him selfe to a stratageme, and commaunded his men to sur-render, but kept them still in such order of array, that they gaue backe in as good discipline as they came on.

(19) The *Exigü* supposing the *Normans* to have fled, and themselves the masters of the field, began in eager pursuit carelessly to warwl, and display their ranks, when on the sodaine, the *Normans* charging their wiiled opportunity, and winding about, charged the enemy a fresh who now being fearfully disranked and out of all order, were slaine down on all flides, not able to recouer their battaile; many thus borne downe and slaine, none by flight sought to escape the field, but rather to maintain their honour in Armes, call themselves into a round, choosing there to die in the case of their Countrey, then cowardly to forsake the Seandard of their King; and therefore with bold resolutions encouraging one an other, they turne head and refits long time: but showers of arrowes like a stormy tempest falling thickeamong them, one, moff fallall, and vnloquy for the *Exigü*, wounded *Hareld* into the benies through the left eye, so that falling from his horse to the ground, was vnder his owne standard slaine.

(40) And yet *Girardin Cambresis* (I know not by what inducement,) relates the issue of this *Bataille* somewhat otherwise, affirming, that *Harold* with loss of his Eye, but not of his life, from the field fled to the City of *Weslesdier*, and there long after led a holie life, and made a godly end, as an Anchorite in the Cell of *Sainte James*, built by the church of *S. Iohn*. With *Harold* died his Brethren *Gyth*, and *Leofine*, with most of the English Nobility, besides the slaughter of sixty seven thousand, nine hundred sevenety foure of their Souldiers: *Bremocah* hath an hundred Thousand.

(41) Duke William in this Battle had three horses slain under him; God (saith Mariannus) so defending his person, that though multitude of darts were thrown against him, yet not a drop of his blood was

split by the Enemy, and this Battail wonne with the
loffe onely of sixe thousand, and thirteene of fairs men.
Whose woddren bowes (as Iohn Rangle is of opinion)
gained the *Norwegians* that great victory: for the An-
tewes shot keell, or directly forward, wounded the
English thus stood in the fronte, and vpright; the other
shot on high, galled at the fal, those that were more re-
mote, and the backs of such as stooped to sunne the
dancer.

(42) This ozale was fought in *Salfox* 7 miles from *Hasting*, vpon *Saturday* the fourteenth of *October*, and yere of *King* 1066. Wherin the dolefull destruction of the English fell, and the glorious Sun of the *Normans* euen in the shutting of the day did arise when perished the Royall blood of the *Saxons*, whose Kings first had made this Kingdome into *Norman*, and afterward of them so glorious a *Nomarchy*, that it was not inferior to any in Europe, and her Monarchs so renowned for princely magnanimity as that many of them were ranked with the best in the world: But now the all-ordering hand of God (vato whose becke not only this Ball of the Earth, and the Rulers thereof, but euen the Heauens themselves, and all the powers thereof in all bow) either for the finnes of the English which were many, and great, or to graffe on more fair and longer continuing bud vpon this dried and decayed stock, brought that foretold offspring into this his nursery of *Brittain*, whose branches as the vine, haue spread both fruitful and faire; and whose roots are fastned as the trees of *Eden*: now the Kings thereof, euen from the loines of this *Great Conqueror*, holding on a royall succession for the space of these five hundred forty five yeares, their liffes ratched with the highest Cedars of the world, & their branches spread thoroughout all Christendome, which were pray may still procede and continue, whilst the Sun and Moone haue their being.

(43) This victory thus obtained, Duke William wholly ascribed vnto God, and by way of a solemn supplication or procession gave him the thanks; and pinching for that night his Panibō among the bodies of the dead, the next day returned to *Walsings*, there to consult vpon his great and most prosperously begun enterprize, giving first commendement for the buriall of his flaine Souldiers.

(44) But *Mareux* and *Edwin*, the unfortunate Queens Brethren, by night escaping the battle, came unto *London*, where with the rest of the Peeres, they began to lay the foundation of some fresh hopes, pulling thence their messengers to raise a new supply, & to comfort the *English* (who through all the Land were stricken into a fearful astonishment with this unexpected news) from a despairing feare, shewing the chance of warre to be mutable, their number many, and Captaines sufficient to try another Field. *Alfred*, Arch-bishop of *York*, there present, and President of the Assembly, stoutly and prudently gave his counsell forth with to consecrate, and crowne young *Edgar Atheling* (the true heire) for their King, to whom consented likewise both the Sea-Capitaines, and the *Londoners*. But the Earles of *Yorkshire* and *Cheshire*, *Edwin* & *Mareux* (whom this fearful state of their country could not dissuade from dissolute and ambitious plotting secretly to get the Crowne to themselves, hindered that wife and noble designe. In which while, the forswornall Queens their sister was couched to *Wesst-chester*, where, without lesse or trespasse of Queene, she led a solitary and quiet life.

(45) The Mother of the slaine King did not so well moderate her womanly passions, as to receive either comfort, or counsell of her friends: the dead body of her sonne she greatly desired, and to that end sent to the *Conqueror* two Lige Berthen of his Abbeys as *Walsham*, who had accompanied him in his unfortunate expedition. Their names (as I finde there recorded in an old Manuscript) were *offred* and *Ailrie*, whose message to the *Conqueror* not without abundance of teares, and feare, is there fit down in the tenor as followeth.

XII

¹⁴(46) *Ex.*

1874. 1875. 1876.
1877. 1878. 1879.

Chère, de l'île
M.L. Goussier.

2000-2001

Gina L. Cantor,

Take It Tall is
history of
New army,
London, 19-
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In 1949,

Black, Peter

1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 26

In the Library
of the learned
Knight, Sir
Robert Cotton.

"(46) Noble Duke, and ere long to be a most great and
 "mighty King: yet thy most humble servants, desirous
 "of all comfort, (as we would we were also of life) are
 "come to thee as sent from our brethren, whom this dead
 "King hath placed in the Monastery of Waltham, to at-
 "tend the soul of this late dear faithful battell, (wherein God
 "favouring thy quarrell, he is now taken away, and dead,
 "which was our greatest Comforter, and by whose only
 "honestyfull goodnesse, we were relieved and maintai-
 "ned, whom hee had placed to serve God in that Church.
 "Wherefore we most humbly request thee (new our dread
 "Lord) by that gracious favour which the Lord of Lords
 "hath shewed unto thee, and for the reliefe of all their
 "soules, who in this quarrell have ended their daies, that
 "it may be lawful for us by thy good leave, safely to take
 "and carry away with us the dead body of the King, the
 "Founder and builder of our Church and Monastery: as
 "also the bodies of such others, as who, for the reverence
 "of him, and for his sake, desired also to be buried with us,
 "that the state of our Church by their helpe strengthened,
 "may bee the stronger, and endure the firmer. With
 "whoe so humble a request, and abundant teares,
 "the victorious and worthy Duke moved, answered,
 "(47) Your King (said he) unwearied of his faith,
 "although hee have for the present endured the worthy pun-
 "ishment of his faule, yet hath he not therefore deferred
 "to want the honour of a Sepulcher, or to be interred:
 "werit but that hee died a King, howsoever hee came by
 "the Kingdome, my purpose is for the reverence of him, and
 "for the health of them, who having left their wives and
 "possessions, have here in my quarrell left their lives, to
 "build here a Church and a Monastery, with an hundred
 "Monks int to pray for them ever: and in the same
 "Church to bury your King along therewith, with all ho-
 "nour unto his great a Prince, and for his sake to endure
 "the same with great reverence.

(48) With which his courteous speech and pro-
 "misses, the two religious Fathers comforted, and en-
 "couraged, againe replied.

"(49) Not so, noble Duke, but grant this thy servants
 "most humble request, that we may, for God, by thy leave,
 "renew the dead body of our Founder, and to bury in
 "the place which himselfe in his life time appointed; that
 "we cheered with the presence of his body, may thereof
 "take comfort, and that his Tombes may be unto our Suc-
 "cessors, a perpetuall Monument of his remembrance.

(50) The Duke, as he was of disposition gracious,
 "and inclined to mercy, forthwith granted their de-
 "sires: whereupon they drew out store of gold to pre-
 "sent him in way of gratulation, which he not only ve-
 "terly refused, but also offered them plenty to supply
 "whatsoever should be needfull for the pompe of his
 "funerall, as also for their costs in travell to and fro;
 "giving strict commandment that none of his Soldi-
 "ers should presume to molest them in this their bu-
 "sinesse, or in their returne. Then went they in haste to
 "the quarry of the dead, but by no means could finde
 "the body of the King, for that the countenances of all
 "men greatly alter by death; but being maimed and
 "imbrued with blood, they are not knowne to be the
 "men they were. As for his other regall Ornamentes,
 "which might have shewed him for their King, his
 "dead corps were depoyled of them, either through
 "the greedy desire of prey, (as the manner of the Field
 "is) or to be the first bringer of such happy news, in
 "hope of a Princely reward; upon which purpose many
 "times the body is both mangled and dismembred;
 "and so was this King after his death by a base Sou-
 "l-dier, galled and hackt into the legge, whom Duke Wil-
 "liam rewarded for so valiantlike a deed, cashier-
 "ing him for ever out of his wages and warre. So that
 "Harold lying stript, wounded, blemished, and gored
 "in his blood, could not be found or known, till
 "they sent for a woman named Editha, (for her pas-
 "sing beauty surnamed *Swan-Neck*, that is, *Swan-neck*,
 "whom he entertained in secret house before he was
 "King, who by some secret markes of his body to her
 "well knowne, found him out, and then put into a
 "coffine, was by dicters of the Norman Nobility ho-

nourably brought vnto the place, afterward called
 "Battle-bridge, where it was met by the Nobles of Eng-
 "land, and so conected to *Waltham*, was there solemn-
 "ly, and with great lamentation of his mother, royally
 "interred, with this rude Epitaph, well befitting
 "the time, though not the person.

*Hen cadu hoste fero, Rex a Duce Reges futuro,
 Par par in gladio, postea in sepulchro.
 Firmis iussu laus est tibi Jace Calviti;
 Premier hinc superas, hinc superas eras.
 Ergo tibi requiem depoluit strumque perennem:
 Neque precor eum, quod exultet error Dron.*

*A fierce foe thou fero, then a King he King in view,
 Both peers both perished, both feared, and both few;
 That sad day was met, by Firmus and Calviti,
 Thine help thee to vanquish, other made thee Languish;
 Both now for thee pray, and thy Requiem say,
 So let good men all so God for thee call.*

(51) This Kings reign was not so full of dayes as
 "of great troubles: being but the space of nine months
 "and nine dayes, in whom was completed the Period
 "of the Saxons Empire in *Britaine*, after they had con-
 "tinued from their first erected Kingdome by *Henric*
 "in *Kent*, the space of six hundred and tenne yeeres,
 "without any reversion or interruption during the
 "small Inter-Reignes of these three Danish Kings, of
 "whom we have spoken. And although *Almond* of
 "Breeme, in the favour of his Danes, sharply taxeth this
 "Harold as being an impious man, and for that by vi-
 "surpation he aspired to the Crowne, yet doth *Edric*
 "the Abbot of *Rinmore*, (the Legender of *S. Edwards*
 "life) much commend him for his courteous affabili-
 "ty, gentle deportment, and justice, and for his warlike
 "prerogative none matchable vnto him; and was reputed
 "(said hee) verily a man passing well furnished with all
 "vertues besetting a Sovereign commander, and borne euen
 "to repaire the decayed faith of England, had hee not in
 "the haughtinesse and opinion of his own valour and pru-
 "dence, so much addicted himselfe to his owne resolu-
 "tions, and too much neglected the wise deliberations
 "of his best friends and counsellors.

His Wives.

(52) The first wife of *Harold*, whom he had married
 "and buried before he was King, I find not named by
 "any of our writers, but that he had such a one, appea-
 "reth, where it is recorded that hee was a *Widower*,
 "what time he contracted the Conquerors daughter,
 "and that also he had children of such age, that they
 "made warres against King *William* in the second of his
 "Reignes; which it is probable, hee had not by *Editha*, his
 "Swarmeres next, but were legitimated, and by this law-
 "full, though namelesse Mother.

(53) Although the second wife to King *Harold*, was
 "the widow of *Gruffith ap Iorwergh* King of *North-
 "wales*, the sister of *Edwin* and *Mercia* Earles of
 "*Yorkshire* and *Chester*, and daughter of *Alger* sonne
 "of *Loefric*, son of *Loefwine*, all Earles of *Chester*, *Lei-
 "cester* and *Lincolne*. She was married unto him beeing
 "then but Duke, in the last yeare of *Edward* Confessors
 "reigne, and of Grace 1065. neither did shee long en-
 "joy him, or her Queens title, after his aspiring to the
 "Crowne; for being resident in London when hee was
 "slaine, from thence shee was conveyed by her bre-
 "thren to *Wylshester*, where she remained in meane es-
 "tate, and in good quiet (which usually most attends
 "the meane) without any princely shew or name, da-
 "ring the rest of her life, which lasted a great part of the
 "Conquerors reigne.

His Issue.

(54) *Godwine* the eldest sonne of King *Harold*, be-
 "ing growne to some ripenesse of yeares in the life of
 "his Father, after his death and overthrow by the Con-
 "queror

*Edricus
 in a Grotto in
 Glastonbury
 in Wiltshire.*

*Almond, Breem,
 chap. 119.*

*Alfred Rinald,
 1194.*

Harold, tooke his brother with him, and fled over into Ireland from whence he returned, and landed in Sommerfeture, flew *Edmuth* (a Baron sometime of his Fathers) that encountered him, and taking great prey in *Deuonshire* and *Cornwall*, departed till the next year. When coming againe, hee fought with *Thormo* an Earle of *Cornwall*, and after retired into *Ireland*, and thence went into *Denmarke* to King *Sweyn* his Cousen-German, where he spent the rest of his life.

(55) *Edmund*, the second sonne to King *Harold*, went with his Brother into *Ireland*, returned with him into *England*, and was at the slaughter and overthrow of *Edmuth*, and his power in *Sommerfeture*, at the spoiles committed in *Cornwall* and *Deuonshire*; at the conflict with the *Cornish* Earle *Bern*; passed and repassed with him in all his voinges, iustations and warres, by sea and by land, in *England* and *Ireland*; and at the last departed with him from *Ireland* to *Denmarke*; tooke part with him of all pleasure and calamity whatsoeuer, and attending and depending wholly vpon him, liued and died with him in that Countrey.

(56) *Magnus* the third son of King *Harold*, went with his brothers into *Ireland*; and returned with them the first time into *England*, and is neuer after that mentioned amongst them, nor elsewhere, vnklesse, (as some doe coniecture) he be that *Magnus* who seeing the mutability of humane affairs, became an Anchorite, whose Epitaph pointing to his Danish originall, the learned *Clementius* discovered in a little desolate Church at *Leues* in *Suffex*, where in the gaping chinks of an Arch in the wall, in a rude and overworne Character, certaine old imperfect verses were found, which hee suppoeth should bee thus read;

*Clanditus hic Miles Danorum regia proles,
Magnus nomen ei, magna nota Progenies.
Deposuit Magnus, prudenter induit agmina:
Progrete pro vita, sit parulus Anachorita.*

*Here lies a Knight of Danish regall race,
Hee Magnus his highest name note of great place!
But Magnus left an Aquies mould he prou'd it,
From world bereft, an Anchorite becaud.*

(57) *Wulfe* the fourth sonne of King *Harold*, seemeth to bee borne of Queene *Algha* his second wife, for that hee was neuer mentioned among his other brethren, and hauing better friends by his mothers side, was left in *England*, whereas they were forced thence; neither is he spoken of during all the reign of the Conquerour, and therefore at his entrance may probably be thought to haue bene but an Infant: yet after his death he is named among his prisoners with Earle *Mercer* (his vncle, if Queene *Algha* were his mother) and was by King *William Rufus* released, and honoured by him with the Order of Knighthood.

(58) *Ganbold* a daughter of King *Harold* is mentioned by *Iohn Capgrave* (the Writer of the *English Saints*) in the life of *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, reporting her to haue bene a Nunne in a Monastery of *England*; who, among the many miracles done by the said *Wulfstan* (which hee nombreth by tale, according to the superstitious manner of the time wherein he liued) declareth, how he restored this *Lady* to her perfect eye-sight, wherof by a dangerous infirmity, she was almost wholly, and in most mens opinions, vncurablely depriv'd.

(58) Another daughter of King *Harold* not named by any Story-writer of our own nation, is mentioned by *Saxo Grammaticus* in his Danish history, to haue come into *Denmarke*, with her two brethren, to haue been very honorably intertain'd by King *Sweyn* the younger, her kinsman; and afterwards to haue been as honorably plac'd in marriage with *Geryles*, called in *Latine* *Tarfleur*, and of the *Danes* *Waldemar*, King of the *Russians*; and by him to haue had a daughter, that was the mother of *Waldemar*, the first of that name King of *Denmarke*, from whom all the Danish Kings for many ages after succeeded.

* Geril.
= A Lady.

John Capgrave.

Saxo Grammaticus.
in l. b. 14.

The end of the eighth Booke.



The

A CATALOGVE OF THE
ENGLISH MONARCHES FROM
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROVR, VN-
TO KING JAMES, NOW SOLE MO-
NARCH OF GREAT BRITAIN, WHOSE
ACTS ARE ENTREATED OF IN THIS
ENSVING HISTORIE.

| KINGS. | BEGINNINGS. | RAIGNE. | DEATH. | BVRIALL. |
|--------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| | <i>Yeeres Months Dates</i> | <i>yeeres months dates</i> | <i>Yeeres Months Dates</i> | |
| WILLIAM I. | 1066. Oct. 14. Sat. | 20 10 16 | 1087 Sept. 9 Thurs. | Canter. |
| WILLIAM II. | 1087. Sept. 9. Thurs. | 12 10 22 | 1100 Aug. 1 Wedn. | Wincheſter. |
| HENRY I. | 1100. Aug. 1. Wednes. | 35 3 1 | 1135 Decem. 2 Mon. | Reading. |
| STEPHEN. | 1135 Dec. 2 Monday | 18 9 17 | 1154 Octob. 25 Mon. | Feuerſham. |
| HENRY II. | 1154 Oct. 25. Mon. | 34 8 12 | 1189 July 6 Thurs. | Fontereſward. |
| RICHARD I. | 1189 July 6 Thursd. | 9 8 00 | 1199 April 6 Tues. | Fontereſward. |
| JOHN. | 1199 Apr. 6 Tuesd. | 17 7 13 | 1216 Octob. 19 Wedn. | Wincheſter. |
| HENRY III. | 1216 Oct. 19. Wedn. | 56 0 27 | 1272 Nov. 16 Frida. | Weſtminſter. |
| EDWARD I. | 1272 Nov. 16. Wedn. | 34 7 21 | 1307 July 7 Frida. | Weſtminſter. |
| EDWARD II. | 1307 July 7 Friday | 19 6 15 | 1326 depo. Jan. 22. Sa. | Gloceſter. |
| EDWARD III. | 1326 Jan. 25 Satur. | 50 4 27 | 1377 June 21 Sund. | Weſtminſter. |
| RICHARD II. | 1377 June 21 Sunday | 22 2 7 | 1399 dep. Sep. 29. mon. | Weſtminſter. |
| HENRY IIII. | 1399 Sept. 29 Mond. | 13 5 31 | 1412 March 10 Sund. | Feuerſham. |
| HENRY V. | 1412 Mar. 30 Sund. | 9 4 11 | 1422 Aug. 31 Mon. | Weſtminſter. |
| HENRY VI. | 1422 Aug. 31. Mon. | 38 6 4 | 1460 depoſed. Mar. 4 | Winſore. |
| EDWARD IIII. | 1460 Mar. 4. | 23 1 5 | 1483 April 9 | Winſore. |
| EDWARD V. | 1483 April 9 | 00 1 12 | 1483 murdered. | Tower of Lond. |
| RICHARD III. | 1483 June 22. | 2 1 0 | 1485 ſlain Aug. 29 Mo. | Liecheſter. |
| HENRY VII. | 1485 Aug. 22 Mon. | 23 7 0 | 1509 April 22 Sund. | Weſtminſter. |
| HENRY VIII. | 1509 April 22 Sund. | 37 9 5 | 1545 Jan. 23 Thurs. | Winſore. |
| EDWARD VI. | 1545 Jan. 23. Thurs. | 6 5 9 | 1553 July 6 Thurs. | Weſtminſter. |
| MARY. | 1553 July 6 Thursd. | 5 4 11 | 1558 Nov. 17 Thurs. | Weſtminſter. |
| ELIZABETH | 1558 Nov. 17. Thurs. | 44 4 6 | 1602 March 24 Thurs. | Weſtminſter. |
| JAMES. | 1602 Mar. 24. Thurs. | NOS. TE FLORENTE, BEATI. | | |





THE SVCCCESSION OF ENGLANDS MONARCHES FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE NORMANS VNDER

WILLIAM THE CONQVSROR: VNTILL THE REGALL RIGHTS OF THE WHOLE ILAND WERE BY GODS PROVIDENCE VNITED VNDER ONE IMPERIAL DIADEME, IN THE PERSON OF OVR PRESENT SOVERAIGNE KING IAMES, SOLE MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAIN: THEIR SEVERALL ACTS, ISSVES, RAIGNES, ARMES, SEALES, AND COINES.

CHAPTER I.



Has hath beene spoken touching the Originals, Lawes, and Customes of the Saxons, and Danes, the ancient Conquerours, and possessors of this our Land, may in like sort bee said of the Normans (being a brich from the same roote) of whom wee are now to

write, fixing only that the name is not so ancient, and therfore their Manners may bee thought more cruell. Through the misty-dark times of which Stories, together with that of the Romans, and of our Britainers, (wherein no brighter Sun did shine vnto vs) by the assistance of the all-seeing power which bringeth light out of darkness, I am lastly approached to these times of more light, and vnto affaires of more certaine truth: whose Current to my seeming is made now Navigable, by the many writers that haue emptied their full channels into this Sea: wherein, though in respect of my owne defects, and that so many Master-Pieces haue failed before me, it may seeme hnt presumption for me to direct another course, with a purpose to better what they haue so well performed: yet to make a complete History from the first to the last, giue me leaue to continue, as I haue begunne.

(2) These Normans then, being anciently a mixt Nation with the warlike Norwegians, Swedes, & Danes, tooke their Name of that Northern Climate from whence they came first, which was that Coast of Germany, anciently called Cimbrica Chersonesus, and Nor-way, for that it trodeth in respect of situation so farre Northward; and from hence, and the parts adjacent, the Saxons, Jutes, Angles, and lastly the Danes, made their incursions into this Land.

(3) This Tract therefore as the wombe of conception, by the dispose of the Omnipotent, after it had produced those Nations which formerly made Cōquests of Britaine, now againe brought forth (as it were) her last-borne Benjamin, who during the pray in the morning, hath diuided the spoile in the Evening, and hitherto continued their glorious fame achieued; which I pray, may extend to the last period of Times being: For these Normans first by force got footing in France with the Dominion, and Stile of a Duke, and next the Diadem of this faire Empire, the last and most famous Monarches of the same.

(4) These formerly practicing Piracies vpon the

Coasts of Belgia, Frisia, England, Ireland, and France, proceeded in their hardy courses euen to the Mediterranean Sea: insomuch that Charles the Great seeing their roweing tall Ships, and considering the bold attempts they vndertook, with a deepe sigh, and abundance of teares, is reported to haue said; *Heu mihi! At the very heart, that in my owne life time, these Pirates dare to come vpon my Coasts, whereby I foresee what mischief they will worke vpon my Posterity.* Which indeede proued so great, that in their publicke Processions, and Letanies of the Church, this Petition was added, *From the rage of the Normans, Good Lord deliver vs.* This feare, and praier notwithstanding, they drave the French to such extremitie, that King Charles the Bald was forced to giue vnto *Hasting a Norman*, Arch-pirate, the Earledome of Chertsey, for to at-swage his furie exercised vpon his People; and againe, King Charles the Grasse, granted vnto Godfrey the Norman part of *Neustria*, with his Daughter in marriage: Yet all this sufficed not, but that the Normans by force of Armes leased themselves neere vnto the mouth of *Sein*, taking all for their owne that lay comprised betwixt that River and the River *Loyre*: which Countrey afterwards tooke the name of *Normanny* fro these Northern Guests, at what time King Charles the Simple, confirmed it vnto *Rollo* their Captain.

(5) This *Rollo*, as say the Danish Historians, was the son of *Gaio*, a great Lord in Denmark, who with his brother *Gaurin* were appointed to depart the Countrey (according to the Danish customes) to seeke their adventures abroad, and leaue more roome for the rest at home; but these refusing the order made warre vpon the King, in which, both *Gaio* the Father and *Gaurin* the Sonne, were slaine, and *Rollo* forced to fly for safeguard of his life, with whom went a number of Gallants to seeke *Fortunes Cure*, and not a few misdoers, or out-lawed men: whose *Act* in England registered by *Albertus Krantius*, seeing they vary from our owne historians in circumstances of times, and names, I haue chosen in this place to infer, leauing the credit thereof to him the Reporter.

(6) *Rollo*, a Nobleman of Denmark, (saith he) and too powerful in his Kings eye, was forced with a Navy to aduenture his Fortunes into foreine parts, whose first marriage, as he saith, was in England, where many of the Danish nobility had formerly tried their valours, and some of them attained to the Scepter, if not of the whole, yet of a great part of that kingdom. Indeed, (saith he) England from the beginning was not

Camb. Brit.

Camb. Brit. de Norm.

Rolle. Albert Krant.

Polign. lib. 6. c. 2.

a. Chr. 44.

Gen. 49. 17.

governed by one King, as now it is, for the Anglo-Saxons had their Province, and the Mercians theirs, both governed by Franciscall Deputies, but the Northumbrians had a King, as the Scots and Picts also in the same Island, had kept their own limits under the like Government. Amongst these Northumbrians the Danes had their chiefest abiding, and this Province Rollo the Dane brought first his men on Land, where making warre upon that Nation, he built both Castles and Fortresses to fortifie himselfe, his Navy lying upon the Seas, and proceeding forward into the Continent, took great booties both of men, cattle, and other spoiles, loading their ships as they lay at Anchor: the inhabitants of the Country making head against him, had still the worst.

(7) Rollo yet doubtful and in suspense what to doe, desired indeed to returne to his Country, but that the Kings indignation was an obstacle that way: next hee affected to try his Fortunes in France, yet feared the issue would be dangerous, the People being exasperated against him, for the harms he had done them: but chiefly the Diadem of England ran most in his minde, though hee knew the hazard was great, to match his small Forces with an host of a King: in which perplexed thoughts, it chanced him (saith my Author) to fall into a sweet slumber, and in his sleepe he seemed to see in the Kingdom of France, upon a high hill, bending his head forward to a Sinner which stood from the top of a mountaine, at the foot whereof beneath him, hee saw many kinds of birds, which waisted their ruddy left wings in the same water, where they all fed together, flew about, built their nests, and at times appointed, brought forth their young.

(8) Rollo awaking from his pleasing dream, imparted the same unto his consorts, desiring their iudgements for interpretation which no way satisfying him, hee called a Christian of his English Capteines, a man industrious, and of great Capacity, and of whose deep understanding he had a great opinion: this captive then boldened, (and willing in likelihood to divert Rollo from infesting England) told him, that his dream was significant and good, and did prognosticate the happy successe of himselfe and whole Nation: for by this he saw that he was shortly to receive a quiet possession, and a land of great renown in the Continent of France, and that himselfe should be cleansed in the Laver of Baptisme, wherein also the ruddy tinct of his People should be washed away, as the water had done the wings of the Birds.

(9) This interpretation pleased Rollo well, and he easily beleaved that which he most affected, as in the like kinde dreamers commonly doe: therefore providing all things for France, he set his countenance only that way; yet because hee had already performed great matters in England, he thought to follow Fortune for his best Leader, and before he departed from so fair a land, intended to sound the King by an Ambassage, that so, if he might find him inclinable to a league, he might have a refuge against future chaunces: if nor, then was he resolute to go forward with hisiourney: therefore making choice of certaine active persons, sent them to the English King, Alstan a Prince of a speciall religion and holines of life: these having audience, uttered their message as followeth.

(10) Wee being men distressed, and driven from our Country, sought out in banishment an habitation to rest in, and going forth, very many followed us, who encouraged us to seek and winne a land by Conquest, supplying us with strength and giving us great hope of victory: which thing when we refused to take in hand, a Tempest of weather drove us (O King) into these English Parts, where staying a few dayes to put us againe forth, the Winter witheld us, and our wants made us to seek further into the Land: whereupon our men, encumbered brought up to the warre, being well entreated of those inhabitants, were moved by such injuries to provide for their owne defence, wherein some small skirmishes have passed betwixt them. Our Prince therefore and Generall Rollo doth humbly require peace of thee, and to be permitted to sojourn in thy Land for a time, and to relieve his company with things necessary, wee paying suf-

ficiently for it: these things when thou shalt grant, hee shall rest content and pacified, untill the next spring, at which time hee means to take his intended voyage.

(11) Alstenn, not ignorant of the Danish cruelty, and with how great Armies they might oppresse the English shiores, did readily grant what they required: And also added a further censure, saying withall, I doe greatly desire to see your Duke himselfe: and let him not thinke much to repaire to our mansions, for hee shall find none among it who his most loving friends. Wherewith was signified to Rollo, choosling out the tallest and goodliest persons of his company, and such as were of greatest wisdom, with them hee very ioyfully meeteth the King, is entertained, presents him with great gifts, but receiveth greater: Then sitting downe to talke and commune:

(12) I am (saith King Alstenn) right gladd, most worthy Duke Rollo, to see you in this my Court. The renowne of your Nation hath bene related to mee, a mortal kind of People you are, and unsight unconquerable. And you your selfe also for your prowess, are not counted among the rest of your famous Worthies: your valiant exploits are well knowne unto us: It is right pleasing unto us to enter with such men into amitie. Behold our whole kingdom is before you, choose out a state for your selfe, and your people wheresoever you best like, for wee will have an everlasting league between us.

(13) Rollo glad of so faire promises, replied: Most worthy and renowned King, I highly esteem of your bounty, and most liberall offers: God grant a happy successe of our affaires. I doe thinke my selfe most bounden to devoted to your worthiness, and if destine ever answer to our desires, we will not be without all for this your so great benignity. To seate our selves in your kingdom, though indeede we are very willing, and your Royall offers do much more incite us, yet Fate doth not permit it. I have determined, and will certainly performe, to goe into France. For your gifts bestowed on me, I esteeme them in the highest degree: and right well content I am to have a perpetual League with you that the like Fortune may betide us both, the one to be a safeguard to the other. Thus both offer, and accept of: I his League God grant may to us both prove happy and fortunate.

(14) With such like interchanges the time much spent, and night drawing on, they were brought to banquet: And early the next morning, coming forth of their lodgings, most lovingly embraced each other, when each gave & received presents best fited with their states and occasions. Neither doth Krantzim stay his penne there, but proceedeth to particular affaires betwixt these two Princes, without the concurrence of any of our owne writers.

(15) As how the English rose in Armes against Alstenn their King, taking opportunity of the time, for that Rollo (whom they knew to be joined in a most strait confederacy with their Soveraigne) being then employed in the warres of France, could not come or send to his aide: Alstenn therefore oppressed with a tumultuous kingdom, remembered Rollo his faithful friend, and sending Ambassadors declared unto him what distresse he was in, who not unmindfull of the firme league betwixt them, left his French warre, and prepared for England with all his Forces, where entering the Land, he easily quieted the tumultuous rebels, ransacking their Cities, curbing their wildenes, and so reducing them at last to an orderly subjection. For which his great loue, care, & pains, the King not vnthankful, resolved to requite him with the halfe of his kingdom, appointing the Cities and liming the bounds, which each of them should rule and governe as their owne possessions.

(16) Rollo in the meane time, as careful of the peace continuance, as regardless of so great remunerations, taketh pledges of the Rebels for securing their loialtie to the King, and peaceably beating towards himselfe, upon accomplishment whereof, repaireing to Alstenn he thus bespake him.

(17) Seeing (King Alstenn) you have so highly rewarded me, both with princely entertainment, and honour-

Rollo crowned
to Alstan Coe-t

W. L. G. G. G. G.
Alstan's beauty
to Rollo.

Rollo his drayn.
Ath. G. G. G. G.

The dream is
governed by an
English Chief
the Captive.

Rollo French to
sound King
Alstan.

Alstenn faith to
his friend.

if all presents, I can doe w^{le}st, then willingly bestow vpon you these my p^{re}sents for your safetie: it is no more then your deserts doe challenge; neither will I accept, or seeme so courteous as to expect, for my p^{re}sents, any part of your dominion. Your selfe may well g^{ue}nerie it, for France calls for my presence: keepe therefore those your p^{re}sents, brought to you by your Subiects, and there is no doubt but you shall hence-forward g^{ue}nerie your Kingdome in a settled and contentful quietnesse.

(18) The King could not containe those his cies, which now beheld in a stranger so strange and vncustomed kin d^{ne}s, from refusing into teares: giuing him both heauy thanks, and rich gifts, seeing hee could not fillen on him any portion of his Kingdome: of whom, all that *Rolle* desired was this, that he would giue licence to such voluntary Souldiers as would goe with him into France: whereto *Alfen*, ready in all things to gratifie his desire, gladly condescended, and furnished him with attendants.

(19) But leaving *Kranin* the Dane, as likewise *Gentheris* the Norman, to f^{au}our their Country, & these their reports, so the best liking of the indiciou; most certaine it is, that the French King *Charles*, commonly called the *Simple*, gaue the Duchie of *Normandy* with his daughter *Gilla* (whose mother was *Ægaine*, the daughter of *Edward the Elder*, King of England) vnto *Rolle the Dane*, as is recorded in an old manuscript belonging to the Monastery of *Angiers*. And when *Rolle* was baptized, *Charles* receiving him for his God-sonne at the Font, he was there required to doe homage for his Dukedome received, and inioined therein to kill the Kings foot, which hee did, but with some disgrace to King *Charles*, and bound it with an oath that hee did not reuolie it vpon countree.

(20) This *Rolle* by his second wife *Pepce* (for *Gilla* died childlesse) daughter to the Earle of *Byssin* and *Baleine*, had a sonne named *William*, surnamed *Long-esper*, and a daughter called *Girola*, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Guian*.

(21) *William Long-esper* (so called of the Long Sword hee usually wore) the second Danish Duke of *Normandy*, took vnto wife *Sporta* the daughter of *Habert*, Earle of *Scutis*, by whom hee had onely *Richard* his sonne: this *William* receiving baptism, received therewith a new name, and was thenceforth called *Robert*, who hauing gouerned his Dukedome with great moderation the space of twenty yeeres, was g^{ri}euously murthered by the working of *Lewes* King of *France*, to the great griefe of his people, who so far followed the reuenge, that they intercepted *Lewes* in the Cite *Reimsburg*, and deined him their prisoner, till he agreed to these Articles: That young *Richard* should succeed his flaine Father in the forsaide Dukedome; and that thenceforth when the King & Duke should conferre together, the Duke should bee girt with his Sword, and the King disabled either of Sword or kniue: to which *Lewes* yeelded vpon his corporall oth.

(12) *Richard* thus established, gouerned his Dukedome the space of fifty two yeeres. Hee was a man of an admirable fortitude, and therefore was called *Richard the Hardy*. His first wife was *Agnes*, daughter to *Hugh le Grand*, Earle of *Paris*, Lord Abbat of *Germanis*, and Father to *Hugh Capet* of *France*; but the dying issuelesse, hee secondly married *Gunnor*, a Gentlewoman of the Danish blood, (whom he had kept his Conscience before) by whom he had three sonnes and three daughters: the first was *Richard* that succeeded in his dominions; the second was *Robert* Archbishop of *Raas*; and the third was called *Matiger*: his daughters were *Hauris*, the wife of *Geffrey* Earle of *Brittaine*, and mother to *Alane* and *Gaye* his sonnes. *Alane* espoused *Euldes* Earle of *Charters* and *Blais*: and *Emma* called the *Flower of Normandy* was Queene of England, both by the English King *Ethelred*, and *Cannet* the Dane, to both which shee was married.

(23) *Richard* the second, surnamed the Good, was

the fourth Duke of *Normandy*, and ruled the same for twenty foure yeeres: In whose time the *Normans* began to be great, and gracious in England, the marriage of his Sister making their way: his first wife was *Isabel* the Sister of *Richrd* Earle of *Britaigne*, by whom he had issue, *Geffrey*, the first Duke of *Normandy*, and *Robert* the first, *William* a Monk, and *Nicholas* Abbot of *S. Andrew*: his daughters by her were, *Alies*, that died young, and another of the same name married to *Reinald*, Earle of *Burgaine*, and *Eleanor* espoused to *Baldwin* the fourth Earle of *Flanders*, who bare vnto him *Edwyn* in the fifth, father of *Mat* that was Queene of England, and wife to the Conqueror.

(14) The second wife to Duke *Richard* the second, was *Efrise*, Sister to *Conite* King of England, from whom he purchased a Diuorce, without any issue begotten on her body; and then taking for his third wife a faire Gentlewoman named *Pania*, had issue by her *William* Earle of *Argens*, and *Manger* Archbishop of *Reane*.

(15) *Richard* the third of that name, and fifth Duke of *Normandy*, in the second yeere of his Dukedome died an vntimely death, not without suspition of Poyson, ministred by *Robert* his younger brother, who presently was inacted in the *Dutche*, for that he left no issue of his body to succeed.

(16) This *Robert* (Duke *Richards* Brother) was a man of a magnanimous spirit, and of such bounteous liberality as is vncredible. Hee comming to the City *Phaleis* in *Normandy*, chanced to see a most goodly and beautifull damosell, dancing among others of her familiar consort; her name was *Arlet*, of meane parentage (the daughter of a Skanner, lieth *Higden*) whose pleasing feature and comely grace so pleased the Duke, that taking her to his bed, he begot on her *William* his onely sonne, (who proued the onely man of the *Norman* blood) and after vpon a remorie of conscience, vnderooke a pilgrimage vnto *Ierusalem*, from whence hee neuer againe returned. *Arlet* in *Roberts* life time was married to *Hersine* a *Norman* Gentleman, but of meane substance, to whom the bare Ode Bishop of *Baion*, by his halfe-brother *William* created Earle of *Kent*, and *Robert* created Earle of *Montaigne*, a man of a dull and grosse wit, & a daughter named *Emma*, wife to *Richard* count of *Auranches*, (a Prouince in *Normandy*), the mother of *Hugh Lupus* Earle Palatine of *Chester*. And thus farre briefly I haue thought good to procure the Line of the *Normans*, for the better illustration of our English Stories.

(17) Duke *Robert* intending his pious pilgrimage vnto the holy land, assembled all his Nobility vnto the City *Fifcan*, where he caused them to sweare fealty vnto his sonne *William*, being then but seven yeeres old, committing him to the Gouernance of one *Gillbert*, an Earle of much integrity and prudence, and the defence of that Government vnto *Henry* the French King, and so in the eight yeere of his Dukedome, set on his voyage for *Ierusalem*; who entering *Iurye*, and not able to traualle, was born in a litter vpon the *Saracens* shoulders, and nere vnto the Cite, meeting a returning Pilgrime, desired him to report in his Country what hee there saw, which (said hee) that I am carried to Heauen vpon the Diuels backe: but so farre was he borne that he neuer returned, being preuented by death: which the *Norman* People hearing, made vse thereof for their owne ambitious ends, without any regard of young *William* their Papiill and Soueraigne, and grown into factions, greatly troubled the Peace of their Country, wherein Earle *Gillbert* the Protector was flaine, by *Randolphus* the young Dukes Cousin-Germane.

(18) The beginner of these strifes was another of his kinsmen, euen Guy of *Burgaine*, the sonne of Duke *Richards* daughter, brought vp with *William* in his youth, and euer in his most especial esteem, who, vpon a vaine hope to aspire to an Earldome, got the aide of the Vicounts *Nizel*, and *Randolph*, but tooke such

fourth Duke of
Normandy.
Rea. Higden
calls him Ri-
chard the child.

Richard 3. the
first Duke of
Normandy.

Robert 1. the 1st
Duke of Normandy.

Rea. Higden is
false in ch. 13.

W^m Turlough of
Rea.

W^m Malahy
ch. 13.

Rea. Higden is
false in ch. 13.

W^m Malahy
ch. 13.

Rolle the first
Duke of Nor-
mandy.
Ægaine Reuolu-
ch. 5.

Rea. Higden
ch. 13. cap. 1.

William Long-
esper, second
Duke of Nor-
mandy.

Polymer.

Richard 1. the
third Duke of
Normandy.

* Rea. Rea.
first, Poly-
mer.

* Or, Rea. Poly-
mer.
ch. 13. ch. 13.

Richard 2. the

a fall before he could ascend the highest Step, that in losing his footing he lost therewith his head.

(29) Strife also arose betwixt young *William*, and his Vnckle *William* the balc-borne Earle of *Archie*. Whereupon King *Henry* of *France*, who till then had held this Wolfe by the eare, fearing some hazzard to himselfe, if he should now let him go, thought it best to aid the Earle in his cause, and therefore sent him supplee vnder the leading of some men of note; but *William* so begirt his Castle with strait siege, that hee caused the Earle by famishment to yeeld vp his Fort, and droue the *French* with disgrace out of the field: where, with such successe he still prospered, that *Henry* now, to secure his own Confinnes, sent *Odo* his brother for Prefect, unto those Parts, that lay betwixt the Rivers *Egys* and the *Seyn*.

(30) *William* as watchfull as the *French* King was jealous, sent against *Odo*, *Robert Count Ancestu*, *Hugh Gernacefus*, *Hugh Mountfort*, and *William Crispine*, all of them stout Souldiers, which so bravely bare themselves, that *Odo* was the first man that made away, and the rest of the *French* saved themselves by flight.

(31) *William* that had sworne a league with King

Henry, and in his Minority had ever found him his gracious Guardian, was loth to endanger the breach of his Oath, or the duty that lone and deserts had obliged him vnto; and therefore by this Stratagem hee sought to dislodge the *French*. In the silence of Night when in the Kings Campe all were at rest, he caused to be cried aloud, the flight of *Odo*, and his discomfiture, with no lesse terrour then it was; which rang so thrill in the eares of the *French*, that *Henry* thought best to be gone: leaving *William* the absolute Lord of *Normandie*.

(32) Which he valiantly defended, and vprightly gouerned all the daies of King *Henry*: whose death presently caused an alteration of State; for he leaving *Baldwine* surnamed the Gentle, and fifth Earle of *Flanders*, Tutor to his young Sonne *Philip*, the quarrell betwixt those two Princes had an end; *Baldwine* on the one side so working his Pupill, and on the other the *Normans*, (who was as his sonne in law) that a most firme League was ratified betwixt them, and kept vniolared so long as *William* was a Duke: where wee will leave him in prosperitie and peace, and proceed in our intendment, as he did in his Conquest here in *England*.



The

William the
Conqueror.

WILLIAM SURNAMED THE
CONQUEROVR, THE THIRTIE
NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-
MEN: AND FIRST OF THE NORMANS:
HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE,
AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER II.

An.D. 1066



Atle Field wonne with
the losse of little lesse then
sixty eight thousand men,
and *Harold* in Souldier-
like exequies borne vnto
Walham in *Essex*, & there
honourably enterred, as
we haue said: *William the*
Conqueror, (for so now
may wee stile him) retur-

ned to *Hasting*, and thence set forward with spoile of
the Country, ouer *Thames* towards *London*.

(2) Where *Edwine* and *Morcar* the Prethren of the
Queen, were in working the *Engliss*, that one of
them should be King, or rather, such *Simons* of *Dar-*
ham, to crowne *Edgar* Etibeling the rightfull heire, in
such esteeme with the People, that he was common-
ly called *Englands Darling*; vnto whose side most of
the Nobles adhered, with the Citizens of *London*,

and the Nauall forces; to which part also ioined *A-*
dred Archbishop of *Yorke*, though presently he fel o-
and stuck to the thonges for the Prelates, though
secretly affecting the righte time, yet terrified wit
the flashing thunderbolts of the Papall curse, dur
not goe forward with their purpose (so powerful w:
the Pope, euen then to defeat the rightfull heires o
kingdomes) but refused to side with the Lord
wherupon all their designements were suddainel
quashed.

(3) For *William* hauing waiked through *Ken-*
Sussex, *Surrey*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, came vnto
Wallingford, and crosing there the *Thames*, pass
through the Counties of *Oxford*, *Buckingham* an
Hertford, where staying at *Berkhamsted*, *Albin*
Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Walstane* Bishop of *Worce-*
ster, *Walter* Bishop of *Hertford*, with the Earles *F-*
ris and *Morcar*, yea and *Edgar* himself, yielded the
allegiance vnto the Duke: This curse so preuailin

hate engaged William to the Pope.

(4) William intending for London, being on his way, found the passage stopp'd up with multitudes of great trees, which by the policy of *Fredericke* Abbot of *S. Albans*, (a man descended from the Saxons noble blood, as likewise from *Canutus the Dane*) to secure his Monasterie from the destruction of the *Normans*, were so cut downe: wherat the Duke both wondering and fretting, sent for the Abbot, vnder his assurance of safe returne, and demanding the cause why his woods were so cut: *Fredericke* answered very boldly, *I have done (said he) the duty both of my birth and profession; and if others of my rank have performed the like as they well might and ought it had not been in the power to have preserved the land thus free.*

(5) William hearing the bold answer of this Prelate, and knowing it was now a time fitter to pacifie, then exasperate the *English* spirits, gave way to the present necessity, and withall halstaid (as good policy required) his conuocation, which at Westminster was solemnized vpon Monday, being the day of *Christs Nativity*, and yere of saluation, to 66. where he received the crowne at the hands of *Alfred* Archbishop of *Torken*, causing the Bishops and Barons to take the oath of allegiance vnto him; and himselfe likewise at the altar of *S. Peters*, tooke a soleame oath to defend the rights of the Church, to establish good lawes, and to see iustice vprightly administered, as became a good King; and thereupon chose for his counsell, such men as he knew to bee of great wisedome and experience: next, applying his thoughts for the security of his new gotten Empire, fortified such places as lay open to danger, belted strong Garrison vpon the coasts, & ships to ride in those Harbours which were most exposed to inuasion.

(6) And the better to assure the South of the land, (best serving his purpose, if any new troubles should arise) hee tooke his way towards *Dauer*, the locke and key of the Kingdome, as *Matthew Paris* terms it; that so hee might command the leas from his enemies arriuage, and ouerawe the *Kenish* a most strong and populous Province. When *Stigand* therefore Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Eglsin* the Politicke Abbot of *Saint Angulines* (being the chiefe Lords and Governours of *Kent*) vnderstoode of his approach, they assembled the Commons at *Canterbury*, laying forth the perils of the Province, the miseries of their neighbours, the pride of the *Normans*, and the wronges of the Church; all which now were too apparantly scene: the *English* till then, (they sayd,) were borne free, and the name of bond-men not heard of among them; but now seruitude only attend vs, if wee yeeld (sayd they) to the insolency of this griping enemy: Their two Prelates therefore, after the example of the vndannet *Atachabul*, offered themselves to die in the defence of their Country; whose forwardnesse drew the people vnto the like resolution, which by their aduertisements were assigned to meet a day, the place was *Strawesombe*, two miles west from *Graves end*.

(7) Where accordingly conuening, and keeping secret in the woods, they waited the coming of the Conquerour, all jointly agreeing, for that no way lay open (save onely a front, to carry in their hands great branches of trees, wherewith they might both keepe themselves from discovery, and (if need were) impeach the passage of the *Normans*: which device tooke so strange an effect, that it daunted the Duke even with the sight at his approach; who being, as be thought, free from the enemy, was now suddenly beset on all sides with woods, whereof seeing some before him to moore, he knew not but that all the other vast woods were of like nature, neither had hee leasure to anoude the danger. The *Kenish* incloding his Army about, displaid their banners, cut downe their boughes, and with bowes bent prepared for battle; so that hee which euen now had

the Realme to his seeming in his fist, stood in despair of his owne life: of which his sodaine apprehension, the reuerend Prelates *Stigand* and *Eglsin* taking notice, & also aduantage, preferred themselves before him, and in the behalfe of the *Kenish* thus spake.

(8) *Most noble Duke, behold here the Commons of Kent are come forth to meete and receiue you at their Soueraigne, requesting your Peace, their own freedom of estate, and their ancient lawes formerly vsed: if these be denied, they are here presently to abide the verdict of battaile, fully resolu'd rather to die, then to depart with their lawes, or to true serual in bondage; which name and nature is, and ever shall be strange vnto vs, and not to be endured.*

The Conquerour diuen into this strait, and loath to hazard all on so nice a point, their demands being not vnreasonable, more wisely then willingly granted their desires and pledges on both parts given for performance, *Kent* yeeldeth her Earldome, and Cattle of *Dauer* to their new King *William*.

(9) All things established for *Englands* securitie, and subiection now to the *Normans*, hee ordained his halfe brother by the suter side, *Odo* Bishop of *Baynes*, (whom he created Earle of *Kent*) and his cosen *William Fitz-Osburn* (by him made Earle of *Hertford*) to bee Governours in his absence ouer the Realme; and in the Lent following sailed into *Normandy*, leading with him many pledges for their fidelity, besides other Nobles, especially such as hee feared to be too potent amongst whom, *Stigand* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the two great Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Edgar* surnamed *Etheling*, *Frederick* Abbot of *S. Albans*, *Anselmus* Abbot of *Gloucestersbury*, *Walton* the soone of the warlike *Siward* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Roger* Earle of *Hertford*, *Ramolph* Earle of *Cambridge*, and *Gospatricke* Earle of *Cumberland*, were the men of greatest note; yet was hee no sooner gone, but that *Edrick* surnamed *Syluaticus* (sonnet *Alfred* the brother of *Edmunt Streuous*, the treacherous Earle of *Mercia*) a man of great spirit, and of no little power, aided by the *Welshmen*, tooke vp armes and denied subiection to the *Normans*, so that by either part (as in ciuill discords it euer falleth out) great spoiles were made in many places; but most of all in *Hertfordshire*, where *Robert Fitz-Seroupe* left to man the Castle, did much hurt vpon the Tenants of *Edrick*, and he to requite him with the like, calling to his aide *Methyn* and *Sywalmon* Kings of *Wales*, wasted all to the mouth of *Wyre*.

(10) These furies in *England* called *William* out of *Normandy*, and were so distastful to his great, but ill digesting stomacke, that hee began to hold the reine straiter, and harder to curbe the headstrong *English*, giuing the possessions of their Nobles vnto his *Normans*, and laying vnwonted taxes & heauie subsidies vpon the Commons, so then nothing bred him more hatred, in so much, that many of them, to enioy a barren liberty, forsooke their fruitfull inheritance, and with their Wives & Children, as outlaws, liued in the Woods, preferring that naked name of freedom, before a insufficient maintenance posselt vnder the thraldome & tyranny of their Conquerors: but in short time, to sustaine their wants, (easily conceiued, but hardly indured) they fell to spoyle and robbe, that the high waies lay vtrod from towne to towne, yea and priuate houses euery where so guarded with bowes, billes, polaxes, swords and clubs, as if they had been not harbours of peace, but fortresses of warre; when praies were made at the shutting in, and opening of their dores, as in times of open hostilitie. On the other side, such as preferred vassalage with some hope of tollerable (yea, or vntollerable) wages, they to curry fauour with the *Normans*, learning to forget who they were, became as strangers themselves, and did shauie their beards, tound their haire, and in arment, behaviour, and diet, a together vnfashioned

There is a dormer in the tower of the castle.

John Saxon.

King William Conuocation.

William fortifies against inuasions.

Poliole.

Atch. Paris.

John Saxon.

Archbishop of Canterbury's persecution of the Kenish.

Thom. Sprat.

The Kenish policy against King William.

Stigand's Oration.

W. D. Jones.

Simon Dug. Odo Bishop of Baynes made Earle and gouernour of Kent.

Henry Hume. Edgar.

Tridgus. 714.

Morison.

The Norman twice Armes against William.

Math. Wyl. 114.

An. D. 1067

The lands of the English given to the Normans.

Warren even in peace.

Mat. Paris.

The English be-
come strangers.

ned themselves to imitate them: it being a shame
in those daies, even amongst *Englishmen*, to heere an
Englishman.

Mary Nobles
the son of
England.

(11) Vnto these Malecontents, and voluntarie
Out-laws, joined *Mercer* and *Edwine*, the flour
Earles of *Chesler* and *Yorkeſhire*, setting vp again for
their Captaine *Edgar Etheling* (which if in due
time as first they had done, might haue proved
ſucceſſefull) who with their complices right va-
liantly for a time reſiſted the *Normans*, and in their
proceedings muſt many of them to the ſword. King
William as carefull and ſedulous to prevent further
miſchiefe, collecting his forces, and not without
danger of his life, diſſolued their power, ſo that e-
uery man fought how to ſaue himſelf by eſcape: a-
mong whom *Edwin* and *Mercer*, *Werbeſius* and
Mertier, with ſome of the Biſhops and Clergie went
into *Scotland*. *Malſeſin*, and *Goffpatrick*, Noble-
men of *Northumberland* went into *Denmarke*: *Edgar*
Etheling, with his mother *Agathe*, and his ſiſters
Chriſtian and *Margaret*, took the ſea for *Hungarie*;
but by contrary winds were driven into *Scotland*,
where they were moſt courteouſly entertained by
Malcolme (ſurnamed *Cannor*) King of that Coun-
try, who ſo affected the perſon and qualities of
Lady *Margaret*, that hee entered with her a Nup-
tiall contract, and the rather in reſpect of her poſ-
ſibility and neereſſitie to the *English* crowne, whole
marriage was ſolemnized about the feaſt of *Eaſter*,
in the ſecond of King *William*'s raigne, whereby
Scotland became a ſanctuary to the *English*, which
daily ſhooke thither from the preſſures of the *Nor-
mans*.

King Malcolme
marries Lady
Margaret.

(12) The Conquerour now perceiving the oc-
caſion of new ſtirres, firſt vnto King *Malcolme* for
the deſerue of *Edgar* his enemies, which if he re-
fuſed, hee threatened to denounce open warre a-
gainſt *Scotland*. But *Malcolme* minding more his
owne honour, then King *William*'s threats, reſtrained
this anſwere, That he held it an vniuſt thing, yea
an (in a Prince) a wicked part, to betray him to his
enemy, that came vnto his Court for protection,
as Prince *Edgar* was forced for feare of his life, whoſe
innocency and demeanour toward *William*, his
greateſt aduerſarie, could not touch with the leaſt
ſuſpect: alledging further (beſides the reſpect of
ordinary humanity, in this caſe euer religiously to
be obſerved) the ſtraight bands of their neere al-
liance, which required him to tread the afflicted
eſtate of his moſt louing wiſer, moſt loued brother,
comming vnder his Canopie, as it were for de-
fence.

An honourable
ſaying.

The loue of al-
liance.

(13) *William* thus fruſtrate of all hope from king
Malcolme, and daily perplexed at the flight of the
English vnto his kingdome, feared a reuolt & dan-
gerous rebellion to preuent which, hee cauſed foure
ſtrong caſtles to be built, one at *Hafſing*, another
at *Lincolne*, the third at *Nottingham*, & the fourth
at *Yorke*, wherein he beſtowed ſtrong Garrifons and
diſarming the *English* of armour, commanded e-
uery houſe-holder to put out both fire and candle at
eight of the clocke at night, at which houre, in e-
uery City, Towne and Village, he cauſed a bell to
be rung, of the *French* then called *Couſerſon* (that is,
Couſerſon) partly vſed in practice, and in name verie
new, commonly called *Couſerſon*: to prevent nightly
tumults that might happily be done.

Fire and candle
forbid at certain
houres vnto the
English.

King William's

(14) All this his circumſpection notwithstanding,
could not prevent the troubles that preſently
arode, for *Godwin* and *Edmond*, the ſonnes of
the late King *Harold*, comming with ſome forces
out of *Ireland*, and landing in *Sommerſetſhire*, fought
with *Adenoth*, (ſome time maſter of their fathers
horſe, but now a *Norman*) whom they ſlew with
many others, and taking great booties both in
Cornwall and *Douglſhire*, departed againe for *Ire-
land*.

Godwin and
Edmond out of
Ireland invade
England.

Exeter likewiſe, ſeeking to ſhake off the fetters
of the *Norman* bondage, as alſo *Northumberland*, to

reouer their former liberties, tooke Armes againſt
whom, King *William* in all haile poſiſible, ſent *Robert*
Cunne, and went himſelfe ſtrongly prepared againſt
Exeter, which he moſt ſtraidly beleaguered, at which
time the Citizens thought it not enough to ſhutte
their gates againſt him, but contemptuouſly ſtaun-
ded and ſhouted him, vntill a great peece of the wall
falling downe by the epicaell hand of God, (as the
Hiſtorians of that age report) they immediately ſet
open their gates, and ſubmitted themſelves to his
mercy. The chiefe inſtigatour to their diſſolualty was
Guth the mother of King *Harold*, and ſiſter to *Swein*
King of *Denmarke*, with others ſiding againſt the
Normans; who now ſecing the yielding vp of that
Citie, haſted themſelves out of danger, and got o-
uer vnto *Flanders*.

Could be done.
The city yielded
to King William.

(15) But fortune to *Cunne* was not ſo fauori-
ſable in the North, nor himſelfe ſo circumſpect as
valiant; for lying ſecurely, as hee thought in the
City *Durham*, hee was on the ſodaine ſurpriſed in
the night by *Edgar Atheling* and his followers, where
Robert and ſeuene hundred of his *Norman* were ſlain,
one onely eſcaping, who brought the bloody news
thereof to King *William*, which happened in the third
of his raigne, the twenty eight of *January*, and yere
of Chriſt, 1068. The depth of Winter notwithstanding,
he poſted into the north, whoſe only terror dan-
ted all further attempts, ſo that taking ſome of the
Authors of this rebellion, he cut off their hands and
ſome of their heads, concerning hereupon more ha-
tred againſt the *English*, and in that ſpicene of diſplea-
ſure returned to *London*.

An.D. 1068

Theſe ſurpriſes
done to the
north.
Theſe.

(16) Whiles theſe inſurrections were on foot in
England, the fugitive *English* in *Denmarke* ſo far
preuailed with King *Swein*, that they procured his aid
to recover their rights, and the rather, as they alled-
ged, for that the Crowne of *England* was his, deſcend-
ing from thoſe that had before made conqueſt ther-
of: hee therefore ſent a puſſant Naue of three hun-
dred ſaile well fraught with ſouldiers, vnder the
conduct of *Osborne* his brother, and *Harold* and *Cunne*
his ſonnes; who arriving in *Hamble*, landed their
men for *Yorke*, and waſhed the Country all the way
as they went, vnto whom ſhortly joined *Edgar* and
his associates out of *Scotland*, ſo that their Army was
exceedingly ſtrong. Whole approach ſo terrified the
Yorkeſ, that for very griefe thereof their Archbi-
ſhop *Adred*, (who was wholly become the *Norman*
ſauourer) died, and the *Norman* Garrifons
that there kept, left the enemy ſhould haue any
ſhelter or iacour, ſet their ſuburbs on fire, the flame
whereof carried with an over-high wind, ſoone con-
ſumed a great part of the City it ſelfe, and thereto,
the faire Cathedral Church of *S. Peter*, with a fa-
mous Library thereto adjoining.

An.D. 1069

Theſe ſurpriſes
done to the
north.
Theſe.

Theſe ſurpriſes
done to the
north.

Theſe ſurpriſes
done to the
north.

Theſe ſurpriſes
done to the
north.

(17) The Citizens, and Souldiers thus beſet
with ſodaine flames, thinking to ſecure their liues frō
the fire, did enhaize them on the fury of the ſword,
for comming vnawares vpon theſe hardy and well
appointed *Danes*, were forced to come to a diſorde-
red fight; wherein though for a time they behaued
themſelves moſt valiantly, yet being overſeized, were
diſcomfited with the ſlaughter of three thouſand of
their men. The *Danes*, ſwelling with this proſpe-
rous ſucceſſe took into *Northumberland*, bringing alſo
for their obediſſance where they came; and the two
yong gallants were thereby ſo ſheſhed, & encouraged,
that they intended to haue marched to *London*, had
not the extremity of winter (enemy to all warlike en-
terpriſe) hindered them; yea and *William* as wil-
lingly would haue bene doing, if the ſame cauſe
had not kept him backe: but when the time of the
yeare was ſix ſur waire, hee gathered a great hoſt,
whereof the *English* were chiefe, this being his poli-
cy, to viſe their weapons each againſt others, wher-
by their ſtrengths might be leſſened, that ſo who-
ſoeuer loſt, his *Norman* might winne: theſe
joining battaile with the enemy, fought it out man-
ly; and laſtly, making a breach into a wing of the
Danes

William policy
to weaken the
English.

King William.

The North mil-
itarily called.

An.D. 1070
Faglar.

The English ho-
ned and handled

Math 2. 12.

Roger Wlad.

W. L. Maland.

St. A. 12. 12.
C. 12. 12. 12.
O. 12. 12. 12.
T. 12. 12. 12.

W. L. Thorne.

Marion.

Gera. D. 12. 12.

At. W. 12. 12.
Cong.

Hard laves in-
puted upon the
English.

King William the
Scale.

An.D. 1072
2. d. 12. 12.

The English the
12. 12. 12.

1. King. 12. 12.

King William
12. 12. 12. King
12. 12. 12.

12. 12. 12. 12.
12. 12. 12. 12.

A good speech
12. 12. 12.

Danish army threw with so daunted the rest, that all of them gave backe and fled; *Harald* and *Canute* to their ships, & *Edgar Atheling* by swift horse into Scotland. *Earle Waltheof*, who with his owne hands had slaine many a *Norman* that day, was reconciled to King *William*, now left conquerour of the field; whole wrath was so kindled against these *Norman* disturbers, that he waited all the faire Country betwixt *Yerke* and *Durham*, leaving all desolate for three-score miles space, which nine yeares after lay vntilled & without any inhabitants, when grew to great a famine, that these *Normans* were forced to eate the flesh of men.

(18) The Conquerour after these troubles bare more hatred vnto the *English*, whose inconstancie (so late accounted their quenched desire of liberty) he daily dreaded, especially the Nobles, and men of power; whereupon he beganne to deale yet more roughly for light causes, thrusting out some of them into exile, and depriving more of their lands and goods, setting most part of euery mans reuenues into his owne possession, as gained by a lawfull conquest, causing them to redeeme them againe at his hands, and yet retained a propriety thereof vnto himselfe, by receiving an annual rent, and other prouisions and seruises, whereof if they failed, their lands were vnto him excruciated to the crowne; neither spared hee the Corporations of Cities, Townes, Monasteries, or Episcopall Sees; butooke from them their ancient liberties and priuiledges, whose redempcions let at what rate it pleased himselfe, soon weakened their estates, which was the only thing hee aimed at, and therefore often blamed *Canutus* for his ouermuch gentleness extended towards those, whom he had conquered, whose steps therein hee meant not to tread.

(19) He charged the Clergy with armour, horse and money, for the maintenance of his wars, wherein the Bishops and Abbots were taxed at very great summes, which hee caused to be registered and laid vp in his treasury: so that hee did not onely becaue their Abbeies and Monasteries of all their gold and silver, but, by the report of *Roger Wandauer*, laid hands vpon their Chalmes and rich shrines, and for their further vndoing established by decree, that no *English* Scholler should come to promotion. In which respect also, whereas *King Alfred* had, for the maintenance of many learned *Douers*, (which might in-crease his people in the Faith, in their owne vulgar tongue) founded a goodly *Colledge* in *Oxford*, to be maintained wholly at the Kings charges, which was accordingly performed, and really continued in all his successors reign: *King William*, desiring utterly to destroy the *English* tongue, and preaching therein; decreed, that the said annual expence, should neuer after be allowed out of the Kings Exchequer, to the great impairing both of learning and religion. To further all which proceedings, his holy Father *Pope Alexander* the second, set in a foote, lending two Cardinals, and a Bishop from the See of *Apollonie*, who in a Councell degraded *St. Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Egelwine* Bishop of the *East-Angles*, besides diuers other Bishops and Abbots of the *English* nation, deprived for no euident cause, but onely to giue place to the *Normans* in fauour of the King.

(20) The ancient lawes of the land he abrogated for the most part, ordaining new, nothing to equall nor to easie to be kept; which his lawes although they neuerly concerned the *English* & therefore ought of them to haue become familiarly knowne, were notwithstanding written in the harsh *Norman* tongue, which they vnderstood not; so that many persons, partly by the iniquitie of the law it selfe, partly by ignorance in misconstruction, & often also by the sleights of Pleaders and Iudges, who might pretend for law what they list, were wrongfully condemned, to forfeiture of goods, lands, yea and also of life, and generally to inuagles with their vnkowne interpretation, and tortured with their deliaies, tur-

moules and trauesies, that they rather chose to giue out their suites, then to follow them with their endless vexations.

He caused likewise his Broad scale, wherewith he confirmed his Deeds and Charters, to be inscribed on the one side, to acknowledge him for the *German* Patron, and on the other, for the *English* King, as in the sculpture thereof, at the entrance of his history is seene, which beareth this sentie;

*This Signe doth VWilliam, Norman Patron forer:
By this the English him their King doe knowe.*

(21) These snares of his lawes accounted the fetters of the Natiues, were by the Nobility sought to be cast off: for *Edmon* and *Morcar*, (the two stout Earles so often mentioned) faintly reconciled to the King not long before, combining with *Fretherick*, the bold and rich Abbot of *S. Albans*; set vp *Edgar Atheling* their Generall once againe, and set into a new conspiracy: *William* Lion-like storming at the looke, and regardless of allegiance of these vnfortunate subjects, daily with fresh attempts soddish- ing his peace, with a mighty power haltered against them, and armed aswell with the spiritual sword of *Lausfrank*, (then advanced to bee Archbishop of *Canterbury*) as with male of Leon, or coats of Steele, laid all barren wherefoeuer hee came; his opposites for their parts knowing his purpose, as desperately maintained what they had begunne, and fully were resolved to make the sword their Iudge.

(22) The King by his Spials hearing the increase of their power, and knowing to his relesse trouble, the vnwilling subiection of the *English*, entered consultation with his Archbishop, who as the *babulous* Sages, gaue him counsell somewhat to beare with their abuses, rather then to hazard the ruine of all in fight; and so farre prevailed in this his ad-vice, that an assembly was appointed to meet at *Berkhamsted* in the County of *Hertford*, where the King entering paeley with the *English* Nobility, far as did wind himselfe into their good opinions, (being a very politike, and faire-spoken Prince) that they all forthwith laid down their weapons.

(23) And hee for his part fearing to lose the crown with shame, which hee had gotten by the effusion of so much blood, gave his oath vpon the holy Euangelists, and the reliques of *Saint Albans* the Martyr, (the same being ministered vnto him by Abbot *Fretherick*) swearing to obseue, and iniolably to keep the ancient lawes of this land; & most especially those compiled by *King Edward* the Confessor, though (as the euent soon shewed) hee little ment to doe as hee pretended.

(24) Peace thus established, among other conferences befitting such affairs, it chanced that *William* to demand the reason how it came to passe, that his fortune should be in one daies fortune to subdue the *English*, which the *Danes* before him could not doe in many; to which question whilst each stood looking on others, expecting what to answer, the stout Abbot *Fretherick* stept forth and said:

(25) The reason thereof may easily bee giuen, if the occasion bee well weighed; for wondrously the land was defended by dint of swords, until that their warlike weapons vpon their godly deuotions, laid them from their fides vpon the Altars of Orisons, which through eueryling rest are greene very rustie, and their edges too dull now for the field; for, (said hee) the maintenance of martiall men, with a great part of this Lands reuenues, are daily converted to pious implements, to maintain and defend these holy vntaries, whose prayers puerce more deeper then the sword: and therefore thou art obliged a King, to maintain their peace, that haue bene the cause of thy so easie purchase.

(26) But *William* before the words were well out of his mouth replied and said, As the Clergy (saith and strengtheneth) that the land thereby both weakened of her

King William angry with her.

Lb. 5. A. 11.

men at Armes, and to keepe only the religious in Justice (but the Laity he expelled the usurers of the Dances, and other surerous Encumbers) surely out of your own mouths I will judge you, and for redress will first begin with thee: whereupon hee took from the Abbey of Saint Albans all the lands and revenues that lay betwixt Thorney and London-Stone. Abbot Frithrich, whose overbold answers had now offended the King, without delay called a chapter of his brethren, shewing them their approaching dangers, and to avoid the present storme, went himselfe to Ely, where hee delisted not from his woted machinations against the Conquerour.

Simon Dore, Math. 1. 10.

King William with vs. 1000 advantage.

(26) This conference ended, and the Kings oath retrieved, the English Armes disbanded themselves, as dreaming they had now good Fortune by the foot and hoping the greatest stormes of their dangers were past, which precisely proved but a Vaioe harmie: for King William having compounded with the Dore that lay all this last Winter in Northumberland, and paid them a great summe for their departure, beganne extremely to hate the rebels, and with full resolution of their destruction, suddenly set upon them apart, which he durst not attempt, when they were united, for that slaying many, imprisoning others, and prosecuting all of them with fire & sword, wel was he that could be first gone.

Ran. Wigham Henry 1. 10.

The Tie of Ely broken against William.

(27) Edgar Etheling got again into Scotland, and Edwin Earle of Yorkshire following with the like intent, was slain in the way by his owne souldiers; Egeline Bishop of Durham, Mercar Earle of Chester, Siward (named Brun, and Hereward (a verie valiant Knight) got into the Ile of Ely, relying wholly on the advantage of the place.

Imphyson.

This Hereward had received a hallowed sword, and benediction of his vncle the Abbot of Peterborough, and had most valiantly defended his owne inheritance against the Normans, and with no lesse courage withstood the Conquerour, being made captaine of those now assembled.

King William of Aquitaine the Ile of Ely.

Edge Wind.

(28) But the King left delay should give them advantage, and harbor more of such his vnbrided subjects, with a great power halfted chithward, & stopping vp the East passage from all flight, or reliefe, drew a cutty on the west through the deepe Fennes, even two miles of length, where likewise he then built the Caille of wiche: against which, they in the Ile raised another of timber and turres, and called it according to the name of their Captaine, Hereward: at which place, many assaults & bickerings being made, but yet no entrance gotten, Mercar by boat elcaped out of the Ile, and in Scotland obtained by price, what these distressed could not by prayers: so that Malcolme the King, in reuenge of them, invaded Cumberland, and foraged all Thersdale: Hereward also went out of the Ile, and got a gallant crew of choise and youthfull souldiers, which stood most stoutly for the defence of their liberties.

The Scottish made Cumberland

The Abbot would hold his, however the rule is.

(29) In the meane while, the Monkes, oppressed with miseries, sued for mercy vnto the King, & Thersdale the Abbot repairing to Warrick, where William then lay, offered him entrance vnto the Ile, if hee would restore to their Abbey the ancient possessions: the King then reioicing, to obtaine this by wick, which Camster could not do by maine strength, accorded to the request, and in great hail, but no little difficulty, got into the Ile, where slaying a thousand of the Common sort, hee vied great cruelty against the better, imprisoning many, and discombing others, some of their hands, some of their eyes and some of their feete. Egeline Bishop of Durham hee imprisoned, first at Abington, then at Wykehamster, whose diet was either for sparing, or stomack to great in forbearance, or both (for both are reported) that ere long he died of hunger.

John Sen.

(30) Howsooner the Monkes of Ely kept their promise with William for betraying of the Ile, he contrariwise brake his for their preservation and peace; for by no means their priers would enter his earcs,

till the found of seven hundred markes had opened the way, to collect which, they were forced to sell both the jewels and ornaments of their Church; which being brought to his receivers, there waited (whether by error or deceit) a great in weight, (for in those daies greater summes pallied by weight, not by tale,) whereof when the King vnderstood, hee in greare (but captious) rage, denied them all composition for peace, whereupon with much suite hee was entreated to accept of a thousand Markes more, to raise which, they disarmed their Monastery euen of things of necessary vie.

(31) But the English fugitives, who had gotten the Scots to stick to them, were not yet pacified, but entering into Cumberland, they waited the Country before them vnto the Territories of Saint Cathbert, & city of Durham, to meet whom, King William sent Gospatrick, who lately reconciled to his fauour, and created Earle of Northumberland, shewed the like measure of cruelty vpon the Scottish Abettors, as they had done against the English. The Conqueror therefore not a little moused against King Malcolme, for that his Country was a receptacle of his rebellious Subjects, and himselfe now the cheife Leader of the Malecontents into his Kingdome, halsted into Scotland with a desire and purpose, to haue done much more then hee was able to accomplish: for entering Galloway, hee more wearied his souldiers in passing the Marsh grounds and mountaine, then with encounter or pursuit of the Enemy, so that hee was forced to give over his enterprize, and then drew his forces towards Lothian, where King Malcolme and his English laie, being fully resolved, there to end by bataille, either his troubles, or his life.

A small piece of money winning made more to be paid.

The English entered Scotland but with small success.

Edwin Popham.

(32) But Malcolme wisely considering the event of warre and that the occasion thereof was not for his owne subjects, but for a sort of foraine fugitives, beganne to thinke, that the wrongs therein done to another hee could hardly brooke himselfe, and sent therefore to William proffers of peace: whereunto lastly the English King inclined and hostages delivered vpon further Conferences, what time (as I take it) vpon Stone-more, not far from an homely hostlerie called the Spittle, a Stone-Crosse (on the one side of whose shaft stood the picture, and armes of the King of England, and on the other the Image & armes of the King and Kingdome of Scotland, vpon that occasion called the Roi-crosse) was erected, to shew the Limits of either kingdome, some ruines of which Metre-marke are yet appearing: for King William, granting Cumberland vnto Malcolme, to hold the same from him, conditionally that the Scots should not attempt any thing peiodicall to the Crowne of England, (for which King Malcolme did him homage, such Helier Boetius the Scottish writer) and the English being reconciled to his fauour, after hee had built the Caille of Durham, returned as cleared from all Northern troubles.

Math. Park.

Henry 1. 10. 11. 12.

A Stone Crosse erected for a Metre-marke on both the Kingdomes.

Helier Boetius. That is, King's Crosse.

Cambles Isle.

Helier Boet. 11. 12. 13.

(33) But his Normans Dukeedom, stirred somewhat vnto rebellion, called King William into those parts, where, by the prowess of the English, hee loone brought all things to peace, and returned for England, better conceiving that Nation, especially of Edgar Etheling, whom hee courteously received and honorably maintained in his Court, allowing him a pound weight of Silver every day to spend; a rare example of a victorious Conquerour shewed vnto a man so vnconflant, (who twice had broken his oath of fidelity) and dangerous to be so neere vnto his person, being, as he was, a Competitor of his Crowne.

An. D. 1074

W. Math. Park.

The beauty of King William towards Edgar Etheling.

(34) Whiles the King was in Normandy, Ralph de Ware Earle of Suffolke and Norfolk,ooke to wife Emma the daughter of William Fitz-Osborne, and sister to Roger Earle of Hereford: cosen to King William, and that without his consent; by whose affinity hee conceived no small pride, and even on the wedding day, when wine had well intoxicated the braine, with a long circumstance perfwaded his Guests vnto a Re-

A. D. 1077

A conspiracy
between
and
treasoned.Mat. West.
Henry West.
Simon Dun.

John Pile.

An. D. 1075

William entering
with
treason
against
the
English.

Mat. West.

Henry West.

A. D. 1076

Mat. West.
Simon Dun.The Princes of
Wales do
homage to William.Mat. West.
Henry West.
Simon Dun.Mat. West.
Simon Dun.

bellion vnto whom yielded Roger Earle of Hereford, his Brides brother, and Waltheaf Earle of Northampton, with many other Barons, Abbats and Bishops: But the next morning, when Earle Waltheaf had consulted with his Pillow and awaked his wits to perceive the danger wherunto he was drawne, repaired straightwaies to Archbishop Lanfrank, who was left Gouvernour of the Land in King Williams absence, revealing vnto him their Conference and Treasons intended, by whose aduice he went ouer into Normandy, and there with submissible repentance, shewed the King what these Lords and himselfe had intended.

(35) The Earles therefore of Norfolk and Hereford, whose state now lay open to chance, as desperate men tooke themselves to Arms, and fought how to vntie their two powers into one. This sudden sound of warre soone roused the Subiects, so that Waltheaf Bishop of Worcester, and Egelwine Abbot of Evesham having called to their aide Walter Lacie, and Peter the Sheriffe of Worcester, so manfully withstood Earle Roger that he with his Army could not passe ouer Seuerne to ioyne with his brother Norfolk: And he againe was so fore laid at, by Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and Geoffrey Bishop of Cantuaries, (who had assembled a mighty Army both of English and Normans) that they constrained him first to Norwich, where, in the Cattle he bestowed his Countesse, and thence fled himselfe into Little Britaine, whither shortly these followed.

(36) William now returned from Normandy and some reliques of Rebellion remaining in the West, he hastied thitherward, where, with small adoe hee got Earle Roger into his hands, and condemned him to perpetuall prison; the Welsh his Aiders (of whom also were many at the said Marriage) he vied with great severity (for of some he put out the eyes, of others he cut off the hands, hanged some vpon gibbets, and behead scaped back, went into banishment; neither Earle Waltheaf, notwithstanding hee revealed the conspiracy, escaped unpunished; for after that the King had taxed him with ingratitude (he having formerly restored the Earldome vnto him) he cauled his head to be chopt off at Worcester, (although he had before promised his pardon and life) his great possessions being his greatest Enemies; for he is reported to have been Earle of Northampton, Northumberland and Huntingdon, thought by the King to be fitter dignities for the Normans his followers; and the desire of a new Marriage, moued Iudith his wife not a little to set forward and hasten his death.

(37) These beginnings against the Welsh, King William prosecuted farther, entering into Wales with a strong Armie, as purposing a final end of those Domestickall warres, hauing so replenished England with his Normans, that hee now pronounced himselfe security and happinesse of State: To him therefore the Princes of Wales vnable to resist, performed their Homages at Saint Davids, and with their Hostages he returned as a victorious Conquerour.

But the Seas of these troubles now growne quiet and calme, and he at some leisure to thinke on future success, all on the sudden a cloud arose in the North, which hastily came on and threatened storme.

(38) For Sweine King of Denmarke, whose tide (to his seeming) flood firme for the Crowne, manned forth two hundred tall Ships, wherof his sonne Canute and Earle Hacon were Generalls; for his brother Godwin he had banished Denmarke, that basely tooke money to depart England some few yeeres before, notwithstanding his claime he made still, though, for money, still stopped by his Danes: For so faith their owne writers Adam Bremensis, that continual contention was betwixt Sweine and the Chastard, although (saith he) our Bishops by bribes would haue persuaded peace betwixt the two Kings: Yea and Malcolmebury, our writer, affirmeth, that William gaue bribes to Earle Hacon to begone; though Paris and Polydore report, that when these Danes heard that their fauourites were vanquished they turned their Sailes for Flanders, and

durst not fight with King William.

(39) But now a lesse suspected, but much more vnnatural warre arose; for Robert, his eldest sonne, (set on by Philip King of France, who did greatly dread that so haile growth of the Conquerour) claimed Normandy by gift of his father, promised to him immediately after his Conquest of England; a Noble Gentleman surely, but of an ambitious and haile nature, prodigally spending and maintaining his followers about the compasse of his priuate estate; him Philip, & his own ill-nurtured Ambition, thrust forward, & Queen Maude his mother supplied vnder had, out of her own Coffers, and King Williams Reuennewes, so that with banners displayed hee entered Normandy in hostile manner, and there by force seized vpon diuers places to his owne vse, and so without respect of durifall patience gained by force the free-gift of his father.

(40) King William hearing of his sonne Roberts proceedings, was not (as great caule there was) a little offended thereat, and with a powerful Army hailed to Normandy: where neere vnto the Cattle of Gerbury, at a place called Archerbraye, he joined battle with his sonne; where the fight was fore and dangerous on both sides, the Generalls being such men as they were: but in the heat of the foot battels that fought it out resolutely, Robert commanded a power of horse to beate in vpon the Rereward of his enemies, and himselfe valiantly following, chanced to light against his owne Father, and with his lance thrust him through the Arme, bearing him off his horse to the ground. King William thus wounded & false, called for helpe to be remoued, storming to see his blood spilt in his owne land, and against his owne sonne, which neuer had bene in battailes of other countries, nor drawne by the weapons of foraine enemies, and in great rage threatened the reuenge: Robert that knew his Father by his voice, hastily slighted, and in his Armes tooke him from the earth, humbly desiring his pardon for this vknown fact, and forgiveness of his ouer-haile attempt; then mounting him vpon his owne horse, brought him in safetie out of the prelle, who hauing escaped so great a danger, and seeing himselfe for the present too weak to withstand the enemy, left the honour of the field vnto Robert, with the losse of many hisouldiers, flaine there both in the battle and chace, besides a great number that were hurt & wounded; among whom, William Rufus his second sonne was one, a man of a better temper, and more filial regard to his parents, and therefore more desirously and tenderly beloued than Robert; for which dishonour now done to his Father, and disloyalty for his vnnaturall armes, hee bitterly cursed him, and execrated the time wherein he begate him: howbeit, others doe write, that for his most vndanted courage at that time, issuing and ending in such dustifall and tender care of his fathers safety, hee presently forgave his former offences, and euer after had him in better respect.

(41) These sturtes thus qualished, and King William returned, he went forward with his former determination; for settling a further assurance to himselfe and successors of the English crowne, to which end, first on the east side of London (the mother City of the land) he laid the foundation of a stately & strongly fenced Cattle, or Magazine of warlike munitions, intrenched with a large and deepe ditch, now called the Tower of London; the surceyor of which worke, was Gundulphus Bishop of Rochester about the twelfth yeare of the Conquerours reigne, so much is lessened the antiquity of that Citadell, & credite of such, as would haue it founded by Iulius Caesar; vnto (perhaps) we would thinke that King William did (saith adoe some new fort to the former being built (saith Fitz-Stephen) with moer temper with the blood of beasts.

(42) Then to enrich his owne coffers (for hee is taxed by Malcolmebury to be exceeding covetous) he laid

An. D. 1077

Robert won
for Normandy.

W. M. M.

Mat. West.
Simon Dun.King William
wounded and
vanquished.He banished his
sonne.

W. M. M.

An. D. 1708

The Tower of
London built.
John Stow.
Arch. Epist. Hist.

Stephens.

W. M. M.

Plurimus of the
England's Sur-
vive and gene-
rall judgement.

Juged, III

Hides.

Two calls that
booke, Domes
Day.

Juged

Gomah Tib-
rius.
Robert Gou-
fard.

laid great subsidies vpon the land: and that the same might amount to his great benefite (though with the greatest grievance of the people) hee caused an exact survey to be taken of the whole kingdom, yea and of every particular part and commodity thereof: so that there was not an hide of land, lake, water, or wath, but he knew the valuation, the owners, and possessors, together with the rents, and profits thereof, as also of all Cities, Townes, Villages, Hamlets, Maneriales, and Religious houses: causing also all the people in England to be numbered, their names to be taken, with notice, what every one might dispend by yere: their substance, money & bandmen recorded: how many yokes of oxen, and plough-lands were in the Realme, and what scruiers they owed, who held of him in Fee; all which was certified vpon the oathes of Commissioners. This done, he exacted five shillings to be paid him for every hide of land, which amounted to an huge masse of money. The Booke thus made of currie feuerall survey, was commonly called the rowle of *Winchester*, (as being there at first kept) but for the generality, and ineuitable censure thereof, it by Authors named *Liber Indulgentiarum*, by the *English*, *Domesday booke*, kept to this day in the Kings Exchequer at *Westminster*: of which collection *Robert*, a Poet at *Gloucester* in ancient time, and ryme wrote thus:

*The King William, woe to wite the worth of his
land,
Let enquerie stretch thera all England,
How mani Pleu-land, and how mani Hiden also,
Were in currie fire, and wat by were worth yere:
And the rents of each town, and of the waters rehoue,
The worth, and of woods ebery that there liued new,
But that be wist was hi were worth of all England,
And wite all time, that wite thereof ich vnderstand,
And let it write cleuencie, and that scrie dade rurs,
In the Tresorie at Westminster, there it yut is,
So that ore Kings sath, when his ranfome take,
Tredes wofole might yine, his land there in yor hake.*

England's ex-
actions.

John Coffe,
John Turre,
Englishmen re-
poch.

Mat. Paris in
G. d. Comp.

Simon Dani,
Matthew vnde-
dich England.

Cambria in Ot-
dant.

Simon Dani,
Danes prepa-
against William.

(43) This exaction was gathered with such extremity, & paid with such impouercishing of the *English*, that they greuously ground vnder their miserable estate, whereby more hatred grew daile to the King, and his Normans, what loue apaine to themward was litte, that hee sought by all means to bring the *English* name, and Nation to ruine: for it was noted by *Caister*, and *Raule*, that no *English* man was permitted to beare any office of Credit, or Countenance in this Conquerours daies, and accounted it was a great shame to be called an *Englishman*, or to marry into their blood.

(44) These grieuances seeming vnaffordable, the *English* incited *Mateldine* King of *Scotland* once more to enter King *William* confines, walking all before him vnto the *Ruer Tyne*; against whom the Conquerour sent *Robert* his sonne, furnished Countreife, who marching with a mighty Army, made shew of doing much more then he did: this only being memorable, that neere to the mouth of *Tyne* be the foundation of a Castle, whereof the towne of *New-Castle* did after and take both her beginning, and Name, though long before that time there was a place called *Mateld-Chiefe*, because (as it should seeme) it had been either the habitation, or possession of some Religious Order.

(45) Neither was *Spaine*, King of *Denmark*, so quailed by his former expeditions, but that he had a minde once more to graipe at the *English* Crowne,

preparing a mighty Armada that way, as was constantly reported and beleueed: King *William* therefore rectined a great power of French Souldiers with others, which he had lately brought with him from *Normandy*, to disburden himselfe of whole Charges, he appointed them to be maintained at the coles of the *English*, both for their wages, and other provisions, which was an other great burden vnto the *English*, though it long lasted not; for that the Danish King better aduising himselfe, gaue over the enterprise, and thereupon these Souldiers were discharged.

(46) Another grieue and offence he ministred against both God and man, for the fruitfull Country lying South from *Sarisbury* vnto the Sea, hee did people, pulling downe Townes, and Villages, with 36. Mother-churches, from mans vic, & Gods diuine service; & for 30. miles, laid open the country, some lay out of police, to haue safe arriage from *Normandy* in time of need: others lay, for boile, & for his own game in hunting, or to vte the words of *Guiler Mapes*, who liued immediately after, to dedicate the same vnto wild Beasts and Dege-game; which place called anciently *Tienet*, was ever since named the *New Forrest*: Imposing great penalties both pecuniary, and corporall on all such as offended in hunting his Game: in so much that he was then called the Father of wild Beasts, more fauouring them then the People his Subjects. But Gods iust iudgement not long after followed this so vnreasonable, and cruell act: for in this Forest, *Richard* his second sonne being goered by a Deere, (others say, blasted with a pestilent Ayre) was vntimely flaine: And *Rafus* his other sonne mistaken for a Deere was by chance shot thorow with an Arrow, by *Walter Tyrell*, Henry likewise his Grand-child by *Robert Curtesy*, while he hotly pursued the chafe, was stricken by a bough into the lawes, and as *Ab-salon* left hanging vntill he died.

Thus, no doubt, God punished his sinnes (even on his children, and childrens children) who had both taken away the places, and vte of his service, and also disherited multitudes of Christian people to their extreme poverty, for his vnliciat and superfluous pleasure: so that (as some then thought) the Earth it selfe also seemed to cry Reuenge, when as vpon the last of April, and fifteenth of King *Williams* Reigne, a most fearefull Earthquake, with a warring noise, did shake the ground.

(47) Other great calamities are noted to haue happened vpon his people, as burning teures strangely consuming the people: Murrins denouncing innumerable numbers of Cattle, abundance of mine, and concourse of water-floods beyond credite, whereby the hills were so softened to the very foundations, that some of them fell, and ouerwhelmed the villages which were in their way: most of the principall Cities of *England* much endangered by fire, and *London* especially, where the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul* (as much as was combustible) was consumed to ashes; and if that may also be noted (which could not the least wonder) tame, and domesticke fowles, as hennes, geese, peacocks, and the like fled into the Forrests, and woods, and became very wild, in imitation of men, degenerating then into Inagues: for in those times euen the Churchmen (and therefore lesse maruall of others) became vnlike themselves: *Walter* Bishop of *Dorham*, bought of King *William* the Earldome of *Northumberland*, maintained manerthers, and was murdered himselfe. *Ode*, another Bishop of *Earle* also to reuenge his death, made *Northumberland* desolate, & beheading and dismembering the poorer sort, and at great ranfomes sining the rich, and Pope Gregory for his part paid *Ree* in this land, sending higher his Bulls with damning curses against the married Clergie: commanding that none should heare their Masses: which how it was disgusted, either by God, or man; let vs beare *Paris* an ancient Monke (and therefore herein no partiall man) speake his mind.

Mat. viii.
The English
chaige with
the murrins
and of the
tame Souldiers.

King William
depopulation.

Cambria in Hen-
dore

Guiler Mapes.

King William
the father of wild
Beasts.

Iudgement of
God on King
William due to
New-Forest
Cambria.

Math. Paris.

Columbus fall-
ing on the
Land.

All things dege-
nerate

Roger Wendover,
Matthew.

Pope Gregorius
Ree against mo-
rall Faith.

Math. Paris,
in G. d. Comp.

Inhabiting of
one used to be
a new device, and
concordance.

Papists Con-
tinency hypo-
crites.

Old King Wil-
liam brother, af-
fects the Pa-
per.

King William
condemns his
brothers
Ambitions.

His Sacrileges.

"(48) Pope Gregory in a general Synode excluded
the married Priests from execution of their holie
offices, and forbids the Lay-men to heare their
Masses; a president new, and proceeding (as it
seemed to many) out of inconsiderate judgement,
contrary to the sentence of the holy Fathers: which
have written, that the Sacraments of the church
by the inuisible operation of the holy Ghost, have
their due effect, whether they are dispensed by
men good or bad, &c. By which fact so grievous
a scandal is arisen, that holy Church was nearer
rent with a greater schisme in the time of any he-
resie whatsoever, whies some stand for the right,
and others strive against it. Moreover, whereas
few obsecr this chastic enioined (for that
though some for gaine, or vaine-glory, doe hypo-
critically pretend it; yet many doe heape vp in-
continency with perjury, and manifold adulteries)
by this occasion the Lay-men shake off all due re-
spect to sacred orders and ecclesiastical gouerne-
ment, they prophane the holy mysteries, they
baptize Infants, anointing them with the fildid
humor of their ears in stead of holy oyle, they burn
the tiches due to the Priests, out Lords, body con-
secrated by a married priest, they tread vnder their
feet, and often doe wilfully cast forth the blood of
our Lord vpon the ground.

"(49) This Gregory (before called Hildebrand) liue
in Peters chaire with such pranks of impietie, that his
gouernment was odious to the Romans, who wi-
shed an end of his raigne and life, so that certaine
Southsiders imploied in that busines gave forth, that
after Gregory, Ode should be Pope. Ode, our said
Earle, the Conquerours brother, fed with full hope
that hee was the man, fender to Rome to buy him
a Pallace, adorning it with stately and over-lazid
trimmings; Salutes the Senators with great gifts &
compliments, bushest bagges with money, and let-
ters to such as might doe much in the election, and
prouides honourable personages to attend him to
Rome. Among the which for chiefe, was Hugh Earle
of Chester, with many great men and Knights of
the land: for the Normans variable, and desirous to see
forraigne Countries, were contented to forsake their
faire lands in the west climate, to accompany this
proud Prelate ouer the riuier See.

This iolly traine was set forward into the Isle of
Wight, and there in great pompe ready to set sail
into Normandy, when on the sodain King William
looked for, was euen amongst them, and in his great
Hall in presence of his Nobles thus spake:

"(50) Excellent Peeres, I beseech you hearken
to my words, and giue me your counsell: at my sail-
ing into Normandy, I commended England to
the gouernment of Ode my brother Bishop. In
Normandy many forraigne foes haue risen vp a-
gainst me, yea and inward friends I may say, haue
inuaied me: for Robert my sonne, and other
younglings whom I haue brought vp, and giuen
Armes, haue rebelled; vnto whom my filie
Clarens, and other bordering enemies haue giuen
their assistance: but they haue not prospered,
God (whose seruant I am) euet defending mee;
neither haue they gotten any thing of mine, be-
sides iron in their wounds: They of Anjou pre-
pared against me, whom with the onely feare of
warre I haue pacified. These busineses you know
haue drawen me into Normandy, where I haue flaid
long and imploied my painfull endeuors on pub-
like behoofes. But in the meane time, my brother
hath greatly oppressed England, spoiling the Chur-
ches of Lands and Rents, hath made them naked
of Ornaments giuen by our Predecessors, and hath
seduced my Knights, with purpose to traine
them ouer the Alpes, who ought to defend the
Land against the inuaions of the Danes, Irish, and
other Enemies ouer strong for me; but my prettill
doulour is for the Church of God, which he hath af-
flicted, and vnto which the Christian Kings that

"raigned before me, haue giuen many gifts, and with
their loues honored, for which now (as we beleue)
they rest, reioicing with a happy retribucion in a
pleasant Scate: Ethelbert, Edward, Saut Oswald, Al-
thelph, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Edgar, and my co-
sen and most deere Lord Edward, haue giuen Riches
to the Church, the spoils of God: But my Brother
to whom I committed the whole Kingdome, wio-
lently plucketh away their goods, cruelly grindeth
the poore, and with a vaine hope stealeth away my
Knights from me, and by oppression hath exal-
tated the whole Land with vniust taxations; con-
sider thereof, most Noble Lords, and giue mee (I
pray you) your aduice, what is hereein to be done.

"(51) At which pause when all stood mute, as
fearing to giue their opinions in so weighty a point,
concerning so great a Person, the King thus continu-
ed his speech.

"Hurtfull rather is euer vnsofferable, and most
at length be repressed. This man hath oftentimes
banded himselfe against his owne father, and vp-
on a stomacke blowne vp with pride and folly, hath
fallen off to the King of France: therefore left with
ouermuch lenity, we hay too late a repentance, he
shall remaine Prisoner, yet not as a Bishop, whose
name I both honour and reuerence, but as an Earle,
subiect to the Lawes and Censure of his King.

Which accordingly was done, vpon seizure of
whose estate, this Prelate was found to well lined in
purse, that the heapes of yellow metall did more ad-
miration to the beholders, and many of his bags were
taken vp out of the bottome of Ruers, where they
were hidden full of gold ground into powder.

"(52) Soone after, some displeasure hauing arisen
betwixt King William, and Philip King of France, hee
hauing first generally cauled to be taken the Oath of
Englishe Allegiance to himselfe and successors, with a
mighty masse of money (fitted for some great at-
tempt) departed to Normandy: where falling sicke,
and keeping his Bed more then his wont, the French
King hearing that his disease was in his belly, gaue
him this trumpe, Our Cousin William (said he) is laid
now in Child-bed: Oh what a number of Childen must I
offer at his going to Church? surely I thinke a hundred
thousand will not suffice.

King William hearing thereof, is said to make this
answere: Well, our cousin of France I trust shall be at no
such cost, but after this my child-birth, as my going to
Church (swearing by the resurrection and brightness
of God) I will (said he) send him one thousand candles,
and lighte them myselfe. And accordingly towards
August following, when both the trees, fruites,
corn, and ground, was most flourishing, hee en-
tered France with a mighty Army, spoiling all the
west parts thereof before him; and lastly, set the
City of Meaux or Meantz on fire, wherein hee consu-
med the faire Church of our Lady, in the walls where-
of was enclosed an Anchorite, who might, hat would
not escape, holding it a breach of his religious
vow to forsake his Cell in that distress. The King
hostile in these attempts cheered his men to feede
the fire, and came himselfe so neere the flames, that
with the heat of his harness, he got a sickle, and
the flame encreased by the keape of his horse, that
burst the inward rimme of his belly, and coild him
his life.

"(53) At which time feeling death to approach,
he deferred not to address his last will, wherein hee
commanded all his Treasure to be distributed to
Churches, Gods Ministers, and the Poore, limiting to
each their severall portion and quantity, which he
caused to be ingrossed in writing by Notaries before
him: Amongst which, he bequeathed to the Church
and Monks of Saint Stephens at Can in Normandy,
two Mannors in Dorsetshire, one Mannor in Drem-
shire, another in Essex, much Lands in Barkeshire, some
in Norfolke, a Mansion house in Wandsworth of London,
with many Aduowtions of Churches; yea, which is
to be wondred at, hee gaue his Crowne, and Regall
Or.

His Oppression.

His Treachies.

His impru-
dence.

His Ambies.

Will Malueth,
March, Peru.

Some write King
William took
Physick to take
downe his great
belly,
Hogden.

William Malueth,
King William
Oath.

From Winchester
Ambition.

King William last
Will and Testa-
ment.

See Libro Cate-
nagh Chesh.

Ornaments thereto belonging to the said Church, being of his owne foundation, for the redemption whereof, King *Henry* his sonne, gaue the Mannor of *Briddan* in *Derbyshire*, to prevent any danger that thereof might arise; and vnto the Churches by fire destroyed in *France*, he gaue great summes of money to repaire them: and so preparing himselfe for God, briefly anne oer the cariage of his former life: the lumme whereof (as much as best farrth this place) we will declare as hee spake it to them that were present.

(14) Being laden with many and grievous sins, (O Christ) I now tremble, who am ready to bee taken hence, and to be tried by the seare, but first examination of God. I that haue alwaies bin brought vp in warres, and am polluted with the effusion of blood, am now vtrly ignorant what to doe; for I cannot number my offences, they are so infinite, and haue been committed by me now these sixty foure yeeres: for which, without any delay I must render an account to that most vpright Iudge. From my tender infancy and age of eight yeeres, I haue hitherto sustained the weight and charge of Armes to defend my Dukedome, governed by me now almost fifty sixe, both in preventing those shafts that haue bene laid for my life, and in vanquishing those conspirers which would haue vlarped my right: a thiffe necked people I may say, my arme hath still managed; I meane the *Normans*, who with an hard hand, if they bee curbed, are most valiant, and in hazardous attempts insuincible: for as they excell all men in strength, so doe they contend to overcome all men by valour. But if the reine bee once let loose, and laid in their necks, they will reare and consume one another; for they are ever seditious, and desirous of new flarings; experience whereof sufficiently I haue had, not only of my confederates and allies, but euen of mine own kindred, denouncing me to bee a bastard, degenerate and vaworthy of gouernment: against whom, I haue bene forced to put on armour, before I was by age ripe to wield it: all which I haue vanquished, and some of them captiuitized, God so preserving me, that they neuer had their desires.

A royal Diadem, which none of my predecessors euer ware, I haue gotten, not by right of inheritance, but by heavenly grace. What labours and conflicts I haue sustained against those of *Exeter*, *Chesler*, *Northumberland*, *Scots*, *Gauls*, *Norwegians*, *Danes*, and others, who haue endeouored to take the crowne from me, is hard to declare; in all which the lot of victory fell euer on my side: which worldly triumphs, how soeuer they may please the sense & outward man, yet they leaue an inward horror, and fearful care which pricketh mee; when I consider, that cruell rashness, was as much followed, as was the iust prosecution of the cause. Wherefore I most humbly beseech you, O yee Priests and Ministers of Christ, that you in your prayers will commend mee to God, that hee will mitigate my heauy sinnes, vnder whose burden I lie pressed, and by his vnspeakeable mercy make me safe among his clef. Nine Abbies of Monkes, and one of Nunnies which my Ancestors founded in *Normandy*, I haue enriched and augmented; and in the time of my gouernment, seauenteene Monasteries of Monkes, and fixe of holy Nunnies, haue bene founded by my selfe & my Nobility, whose Charters I haue freely confirmed, and doe by princely authority confirme against all emulations and troubles, in them God is feared, and for his sake many poore people releued; with fack Camps both *England* and *Normandy* is defended, and in these Forts let all younglings learne to fight against the Duell and vices of the flesh. These were the studies that I followed from my first yeeres, and these I leaue vnto my heires to be preferred and kept. In this

then (my children) follow me, that here and for euer you may be honoured before God and Men: And chiefly, O you my very bowels, I wane you to frequent & follow the company and council of good and wise men, and gouerne your selues accordingly, so shall yee loag and happily prosper. Doe infuse to all without partial affection, for it is a true wisdom indeed that can discern betwixt good and euill, right and wrong. Shunne wickednesse, relieue the poore, succour the weak, but suppress the proud, and beidle the troublefome. Frequent the Church, honour the religions, and without wearinesse bee obedient vnto the law of God. The Dukedome of *Normandy*, before I fought against *Harold* in the vale *Senlar*, I granted vnto my sonne *Robert*, for that he is my first begotten, and hath already recieued homage of all the Barons almost of his Countrey: that honour giuen cannot againe be vndone; but yet without doubt, I know it will bee a miserable region, which is subiect to the rule of his gouernments: for he is a too high proud knaue, and is to bee punished with cruell fortune. I continue so Heire to the Realme of *England*, but doe commend it to the curialling Creator whose I am; for I possesse not that honour by any title of inheritance, but by the instinct of God, the effusion of blood, and the persurie of *Harold*, whose life becomed, and his fauours vanquished, I made it subiect to my domination. The Names of the realme I hated, the Nobles I dishonoured, the vulgar I cruelly vexed, and many vauily I dishonoured. In the Countee of *Turke*, and sandy other places, an innumerable sort with hunger and sword I flew: and thus that beautifull Land and noble Nation I made desolate with the deaths of many thousands, (woe worth the grife.) These then my sinnes being so great, I dare not giue the offices of that land to any other then to God, left after my death they yet be made worke by my occasion. Yet I wane my sonne, whose love and obedience from my youth I haue seen, I wish (if so be the will of God) may flourish in the throne of that Kingdome, with a long life and happy raigne.

(15) *Henry* his youngest sonne, surnamed *Beauclerk*, hearing himselfe vtrly neglected in his Fathers distribution, with teares said to the King: And what Father doe you giue me? to whom hee answered, first thousand pounds of silver out of my treasure I giue thee. But what shall I doe with treasure, said *Henry*, if I shall haue no dwelling place or habitation? His Father replied, Be patient my sonne, and comfort thy selfe in God, suffer quietly thy elder brother to goe before thee: *Robert* shall haue *Normandy*, and *William* *England*: but then in time shalt entirely haue all the honours that I haue gotten, and shall exell thy Brethren in riches and power.

After which speeches, hee presently called his son *William*, to whom hee deliuered a letter signed with his owne seale, written vnto *Laufank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and commanded him therewith to haile for *England*, lest in that spacious Kingdome some suddaine troubles should arise, and so with a kisse blessed him in Christ. His prisoners hee commanded to be set at liberty, affirming that hee had done *Earle Marce* much wrong, whom as hee then confessed, hee had imprisoned more for feare then for fault; hee his halfe brother *Osbe* he would haue had to remaine a perpetuall prisoner, but that by the importunate intercession of friends hee was released.

(16) The period of this Great Conquerour now come nere to his last, when this Sunne so gloriously raised to the height of his course, mult now of force set in the West, the dying King (for Kings mult die) hauing raised his weak body vpon the Pillowes, heard the found of the great Bell in the Metropolitane Church of *Saint Germain* nere *Paris*, and demanding the cause, one replied that it did then ring prime to our Lady; whereupon with great deuotion lifting his eyes towards heauen, and spreading abroad his hands;

His Counsel to his Children.

The disposal of his sonne.

Of his sonne.

Of England.

King William's Letter to his sonne Henry.

He willeth into his glaud.

King of Rome dead.

His last Speeches on point of death.

Of his sinnes.

Of his Normans troubles.

Of his Normans qualities.

Of his friends & enemies vanquished.

Of his English Conquest.

Outward reuolutions among his sonne.

His wishes of deuotion.

firmeth, that after any small shower of raine, the earth sweateth forth very fresh blood, as by the evident light thereof (saith hee) doth as yet plainly declare, that the voice of so much Christian blood there shed, doth still crye from the earth to the Lord.

(64) But most certaine it is, that in the very same place where King *Harold's* Standard was pitched, & vnder which himselfe was slaine, there *William* the Conquerour laid that Foundation, dedicating it to the *Holy Trinity*, and to *Saint Maritine*, that there the *Monks* might pray for the soules of *Harold* and the rest that were slaine in that place: whose Priviledges were so large, that they, and others of the like condition, were afterwards dissolved by Act of Parliament, when it was found by experience, that the feare of punishment being once taken away, desperate boldness, and a daring will to commit wickednesse, grew still to a greater head: for it was enfranchised with many freedoms, and among others, to vie the words of the Charter, were these: *If any Thiefe, Murderer or Felon, for feare of death, sue and come to this Church, let him have no harme, but let him be disinfeled, and sent away free from all punishments. It is lawfull also for the Abbot of the same Church to deliver from the Gallies any thiefe or robber wherefore soever he be chance to come by where any such execution is in hand.*

The Standard it selfe curiously wrought all of gold and precious stones, made in forme like an armed man, Duke *William* presently upon his victory, with great compliments of curtesie, sent to Pope *Alexander* the second; as good reason it was, the Popes transcendent pleasure and power, being the strength part of the Dukes title to the Crowne, and his cursing thunderbolts the best weapons whereby he attained to warre.

(65) At *Selly* also in *Yorkshire*, where his youngest sonne *Henry* was borne, he founded the Abbey of *Saint German*: as *Excester*, the Priorie of *Saint Nicholas* and to the Church and Colledge of *Saint Maritus* le grand in *London*, hee gave both large priviledges, and much land, extending from the corner of the City wall, by *Saint Giles* Church without *Cripplgate*, vnto the common Sewer, receiving the waters, running then from the *Mare*, and now *Mare-fields*.

(66) At *Caen* in *Normandie*, he founded the *Monastery* of *Saint Stephen* the first Christian Martyr, adorning it with most sumptuous buildings, and endowing it with rich revenues: where his Queene *Maud* had erected a Nunnerie for the societie of valled Virgines, vnto the honour of the blessed virgin *Mary*. Thus much of his Acts, and now of his marriage and issue.

His Wife.

(67) *Maud* the wife of King *William*, was the daughter of *Baldvigne* the fifth, surnamed the Gentle, Earle of *Flanders*; her mother was *Alize*, daughter of *Robert* King of *France*, the sonne of *Hugh Capet*: Shee was married vnto him when hee was a Duke, at the Castle of *Anzi* in *Normandy*, and in the second yeare of his reigne over *England*, shee was crowned Queene vpon *Whitsunday*, the yeere of Grace, 1068. And although she maintained *Robert* in his quarrell for *Normandy*, and out of her owne coffers paid the charges of warre against his Father, and her owne Husband; yet, because it did proceed but from a motherly indulgence for advancing her sonne, it was taken as a cuele rather of displeasure, then of hatred, by King *William*, as himselfe would often moove, holding it an insufficient cause to diminish the love, that was linked with the sacred band of a matrimoniall knot. Shee departed this life the second day of *November*, the sixteenth yeere of his reign, and of Christs humanity, 1083. for whom he often lamented with tears, and most honourably entred her at *Caen* in *Normandy*, in the

Church of *S. Maries*, within the Monastrie of Nuns, which hee had there founded.

His Issue.

(68) *Robert*, the eldest sonne of King *William*, and of Queene *Maud* his wife, was surnamed *Cormoufe*, signifying in the old *Norman-French*, Short-Boote: hee succeeded his father only in the Duchie of *Normandy*, and that also hee left afterwards to his brother *Henry* King of *England*, at the battell of *Edinburgh* (in that Dukedome) the yeere of our Lord 1106. where hee was taken prisoner, and having his eyes put out (an vnbrotherly punishment) was committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe* in *South-Wales*; and after twenty eight yeeres imprisonment, there deceased, the yeere before the death of his lad brother, *June* 1134. and was buried at *Glocester*, in the midst of the Quire of *Saint Peter* Church, where remaineth a Tombe with his Carued Image at this day. Hee had two wiues, the first, *Margaret* daughter of *Herbert*, Earle of *Meyne*, both married in their Child-hood, and the second before they came to yeeres of consuetude: The other was *Sibyll*, daughter of *Gissey*, and sister to *William*, Earle of *Cambray* in *Italy*, and Niece of *Robert* Guiscard, Duke of *Apulia*: By her hee had two sonnes *William* and *Henry*; this *Henry* was hee that was slaine by mischance, as hee was hunting in the *New-Forest* in *Hampshire*.

William the Elder, surnamed in Latine *Atifer*, was Earle of *Flanders*, in right of Queene *Maud* his Grand-mother, succeeding *Charles* of *Danmark* in that Earldome; hee also had two wiues, the first *Sibyll*, (whose Mother, called also *Sibyll*, was the daughter of *Fawkes* Earle of *Aniue*) after divorced from him, and remarried to *Terry* of *Aties*, his Successour; the second was *Iean*, the daughter of *Humbert* Earle of *Marion*, now called *Sauoy*, sister of Queene *Alize* of *France*, wife of King *Leuis* the Grasse: hee died fixe yeeres before his father, of a wound received at the Siege of the Castle of *Antin* in *Normandy*, the 27. of *July*, in the 28. yeere of the Raigne of King *Henric* his vncke, and of our Lord, 1128. hee was buried at *Saint Omer* in the Monastery of *Saint Bertin*, and left no issue behinde him.

(69) *Richard* the second sonne of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, and after his Father had attained the Crowne came into *England*, where, being then verie young, as hee was hunting in the *New-Forest* of *Hampshire*, hee came to a violent & sudden death, by the goring of a Stagge; (others say, by a peilitient ayre,) had is noted to bee the first man that died in that place, the iudicium of God punishing on him his Fathers dispeopling of that Countrey: his body was thence conveyed to *Winchester*, and there buried on the Southside of the Quire of the Cathedral Church, where there remaineth a monument of him with an inscription entailing him a Duke, and some suppoles of *Beaune*.

(70) *William*, the third Son of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, in the 21. yeere of his Fathers Dukedom, ten yeeres before hee was King, 1159. hee was surnamed of the Red colour of his haire, in French *Rouge*, in Latine *Rufus*; hee was brought vp vnder *Lanfranke* the learned *Lawbard*, who was Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, of whom hee received both instructions of knowledge, and the order of Knighthood; hee serued vnder his Father at the battell of *Gerberth* in *Normandy*, 1079, wherein hee was wounded: and hee alwaies framed his actions so pleasing to his Fathers humor, as that hee thought him much worthier then his elder brother to succeed in his Kingdome.

(71) *Henry*, the fourth, and youngest sonne of King *William* and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in *England* at *Selly* in *Yorkshire*, the third yeere of his Fathers raigue, and of our Lord God, 1070, his childhood was trained vp in learnings at *Cambridge* (saith *Cassius*) but the ancient *Annales* of *Saint Augustin* in

Mark. Pater in William.

Cherte de Bello K

Selly Abbey.

Exeter Priory.

John Bar.

Saint Stephen in Caen.

William Rufus.

King William regarded as more criminal against him.

Rel. res.

A cruel revenge of one brother on another.

Henry slain in his Crabbath New-firth.

Kidney.

Richard slain in his father's New-Forest.

William Rufus, or the Redde.

Henry the Elder.

John Cant Canting.

in *Canterbury*, Gay, he was *Philosophus peregrinus formatus*, instructed beyond Sea in *Philosophy*; where for his notable knowledge in the Liberal Sciences, he was furnished by the *French*, *Beauclerk*, that is, the *fine Scholler*. Upon his return he was made Knight, being 16. yeeres old, by his Father at *Weymouth*, in *Wiltshire*, the nineteenth yeer of his Reigne, Anno 1086. and though at his Fathers death he had nothing bequeathed him but *Treasure*, yet afterward he succeeded his Brothers, both in the Kingdome of *England* and *Dutchie of Normandy*.

(72) *Cecile*, the Eldest daughter of King *William* and *Queene Mand* his wife, was borne in *Normandy*, brought vp in *England*, and carried againe into *Normandy*, wherein the ninth yeere of the Kings Raigne, and the yeere of our Lord 1075. shee was by her Father on *Essex day*, with great Solemnity offered vp in the Church of *Fyfechampe*, & vailed to be a Nunne in the Monastery there; but was afterward elected by the Nunnnes of our Lady at *Canoe* to be *Abbesse* of their *Monasterie*, founded by her Mother, which she gouerned, and where she died, and was entered.

(73) *Constance*, the second daughter of King *William*, and *Queene Mand*, was the first wife of *Alayne* Earle of little *Britaigne*, surnamed in the *English*, *Fergent*; in *English*, *Red*. In regard of which marriage, and his seruice done at the conquest of *England*, his Father in law gaue him all the lands of Earle *Edwine*, whereon he built the Castle, and where of he made the Earldome of *Radmond*, which long after, belonged to the Earles and Dukes of *Britaigne* his Successors; although he had his children by an other wife; for she died very young and without issue, and was buried in the Abbey of *Saint Edmundsbury* in *Suffolke*.

(74) *Alice*, the third daughter of King *William* & *Queene Mand*, was married to *Stephen* Earle of *Blays* in *France*, and had issue by him *William* an Innocent, *Tibaud* surnamed the Great, Earle of *Blais*, and *Champain*, *Stephen* Earle of *Mortau* and *Beleue*, (who was King of *England*) *Henry* a Monke of *Cluney*, after Abbot of *Glaffenbury*, and Bishop of *Worcester*, *Mary* married to *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Emme*, wife of one *Harbert*, an Earle of *France*, and mother of *Saint William* Archbishop of *Torke*: Shee forsaue Earle *Stephen* her husband, and in her wi-

dowhood tooke vpon her the profession of Religion in the Priorie of Nunnnes at *Marcigny* in *France*, where she ended her life.

(75) *Gundred*, the fourth daughter of King *William*, and of *Queene Mand*, was married to *William* of *Warrein*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, who was the first Earle of *Surrey* in *England*; by whom shee had issue *William* the second Earle, Progenitors of the Earles that followed; and *Rainold* of *Warren*, her second sonne, who had also issue. Shee died in Child-bed, three yeeres before her husband, at *Coslesker* in *Norfolke* the 27. of May, in the 20. yeere of her fathers raigne, being the yeere of our Lord, 1085. and is buried in the Chapter-house of *Saint Pancrase* Church within the Priorie, at the town of *Leers*, in the County of *Suffex*.

(76) *Ela*, the fifth daughter of King *William*, and his *Queen Mand*, in her Child-hood was contracted in marriage to Duke *Harald*, when he was in *Normandy*, being then a yong Widower. Notwithstanding, bee retaling her tooke an other wife, and vniuersed the Kingdom of *England*, after the death of King *Edward*, whereby hee occasioned his owne ruine, and Conquest of his Country, which afterward ensued when her Father sought reuenge: so much (as some write) to the discontentment of this Lady, that for griefe of these mischances, shee euer after refused marriage, and led a single and solitarie life; though others vpon better warrant collect, that shee died yong, and before *William* her Father let forth for *England*; *Harald* himselfe pleading, that hee was free from all covenants and promises to Duke *William*, by reason of the death of this his daughter.

(77) *Margaret*, the sixth and yongest daughter of King *William* and *Queene Mand*, was in her child-hood giuen in marriage to *Alphonso* King of *Gallisia* in *Spain*, that was afterward so renowned for the Conquest of the City *Lysbon*, for his victories against the *Mores*, and for the slaughter of their five Kings, and was the founder of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, the first King thereof, and the first bearer of the fine Shields of the said five Kinges, which are to this day the Armes of the same. But this Lady being thus contracted, deceased before those things happened, and before shee came to yeeres of lawfull consent to the marriage.



WILLIAM

William
Rufus.

WVILLIAM THE SECOND SVR-
NAMED RVFVS, THE FORTIETH
MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH:
HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND
VNTIMELY DEATH.

Monarch 40



CHAPTER III.

An.D.1087
William Rufus
comes into
England.



William posting for England, Archbishop Lanfrank his earnest soliciter by liberall gifts giuen, and promisses made to abrogate the ouer hard lawes of his Father, had the readier passage into the opinions of them that could doe most: and the more to notifie his intended mild gouernment, with other his noble inclinations to princely vertues, as eye-witnesses of his fauours towards the English, hee brought with him from Normandy, Morcar, the most Earle of Chester, and Wilsith the sonne of King Harold, both of them released out of prison, and then held in especial fauour with him. But most of the States standing for Robert Curteis his elder Brother (a man deemed of a more liberall disposition, and better temperature to-

wards the Subjects) their titles had beene tried by 8. swords, had not Lanfrank and Wilsith, both wise & reuerend Prelates, by their Counsailes and Mediations staid their hands.

(2) Consent thus gotten, and all voices giuen for William, he was crowned their King at Westminster, vpon Sunday the twenty sixth day of September, and yeere of Saluation, 1087. by the hands of Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury; vnder whom he had beene educated euen from his Child-hood, and by him made fit both for Warre and Gouernment, had not the variable inclination of his owne mind carried his actions past the limies of any staid conspasse.

(3) Robert vpon discontents that Normandy was still detained, before his Fathers sickness, was gone into Germany, so solicite their assistance for his right to that Duchy: but hearing of his death, halseth into the Prouince, and was there peaceably receiued.

B b b a

Lanfrank and
Wilsith stay
the Marching
English.

William Grants
Morcar, & Wilsith
his Conuincions.

His disposition.

An.D.1088
Robert, nephew, is
crowned King 7.
1088
He was possessed
of no lands.

Ypodignus
Rufus.

Simon Dunt.

The Peeres with
well to his Elder
brother.
Mat. Paris.
Ypodignus.

His deposition.

O to a conclusion
of all his life.

Dejection of Rufus.

He conspires to
guard the King.Isabel Robert
to be the
Crown.Duke Robert
hopes for Eng-
land.

His wants.

His supply by
marriage of his
Land.Ode the King
to Duke Robert.Rob. Henry
and other his
alliances.Rob. Henry
and other his
alliances.Rob. Henry
and other his
alliances.Rob. Henry
and other his
alliances.Duke Robert re-
ceives from the
Kingdom.Duke Robert re-
ceives from the
Kingdom.King William
promises to
mollify his Law.He sends
Rufus.Ode to Rufus
about his
death.

Some Dec.

ued, and made their Duke: which title notwithstanding, seemed to him dishonourable; his younger brother being inducted to a Kingdom, and himselfe disinherited; no other cause moving, but his over-much gentleness, being by nature compunctious nothing to rough, as was Rufus.

(4) The like emulation incited Odo, Bishoppe of Bayeux (his viceroy) against Lanfranc the Archbishop, who now ruled all, and had worn him out of favour with the Conquerour his half brother, whom hee caught the dalliance of imprisoning Odo, as an heretic, not as a Bishop: now therefore seemed the time most fitting for a ill revenge: & albeit that Rufus brought him from Normandy, where he had beene captivated, and restored him his honours & dignities in England; yet hee, vengerefull man, causing that Lanfranc should goe before him, completed the down-fall himselfe of the oar, as of the oar. And drawing in to this conspiracy, Robert Earle of Norwiche and Hereford his brother, with many other of the English Nobility, wrote his letters into Normandy unto his Nephew, halting him to repaire into England, and recover his right, which by his meanes hee promised should soone bee effected.

(5) The helmes thus wrought to Duke Robert's hand, and the English resorting daily into Normandy, assured his hopes of a happy successe, only the hinderance was want of money, and that very much as the world then went with him, having ever borne himselfe no lesse than his birth, nor ever had made his bagges his *summa bonum*. In these extremes, he well saw the lesse was to bee followed, and to let a Duke dom at stake to cast at a Kingdom, he thought it odds sufficient, though the chance were doubtful: Therefore to his younger brother Henry, who had store of gold, and wanted land, hee mortgaged the Countie of Constance, a Province in Normandy, & then sent to Odo, that he should expect his landing on the West-coast of England by a day prefixed.

(6) The Bishop now grown bold upon Duke Robert's great power, shewed himselfe the first in the Action; and fortifying Rochester, beganne to molest the peace of Kent, sending to his complices abroad to doe the like, which was not long in performing: for in the West, Robert & Norwiche Earle of Northumberland, assisted by Geoffrey Bishoppe of Constance, lacked Bath and Berky, with a great part of *Wiltshire*, and strongly fortified the Castle of *Brighthelm* against King William: In *Northfolk*, Roger Bygod, in *Leicestershire*, Hugh Grentemesse did thrice with those Counties: Roger Montgomerie Earle of *Shrewsbury* with his *Wellshmen*, assisted by William Bishop of *Durham* (the Kings domestical Chaplain) *Bernard of Newmerch*, Roger *Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer* (all of them Normans or French-men) with fire and sword past through the Countie of *Hereford*: and surely, the fires were so great, and Duke Robert so favoured, that by the judgement of *Comyns*, he had heald his arriange, or followed the occasion, the Crowne of England had easily beene set upon his head.

(7) All in an uprore, and Rufus thus tarried, he appointed his Naue to scowre the seas, and to impeach his brothers arriange: then gathering his forces, and knowing well how to please the vulgar, promisth againe to abolish their over-hard lawes, & presently to put down all vnjust Imposts and Taxations, whereby the People were soone drawne to stand in his defence; and among them Roger Montgomerie was reconciled to the King.

Thus now grown strong, & his enemies decreas'd, he led his Armie into Kent where the sedition first beganne, the Castles of *Tunbridge* and *Horne* he recovered, as likewise *Pewsey*, wherein his viceroy Odo had strongly immured himselfe, whose lacke of victuall, by King William's strait siege, allaid the pride of that great-hearted man; so that hee not onely surrendered the same, but promised the deliquence of Rochester also strongly manned, with Engle Earle

of *Beleight*, and a sort of other gallant Gentlemen, even the flower of Normandy and Flanders.

(8) Odo coming to Rochester for the deliquence of the Castle according to his promise, was by them surpris'd, and laid in strait prison, whether in displeasure, or vnder colour, and with consent of Odo, I will not say; but certain it is, that the King tooke the matter so to heart, that he sent forth his Proclamation through England, commanding that every man should repaire to that siege, whosoever would not be reputed a *Niding*, a word of such disgrace, and so dishonourable unto the English, that multitudes seemed ready to flie, then ranne to that siege; whereas upon the Castle was surrendered, and Odo banished into Normandy, lost all his livings and honours in England.

(9) Whilst these things were in acting betwix King William and his Barons, Duke Robert with his Normans was landed at *Southampton*, having passed some conflict with the Kings ships at the sea: whom Rufus so feared (if mine Anchor lay true) that he sent Messengers unto him in most humble manner, protesting that hee tooke not the crowne as his own by any right, but rather to supply the time in his absence: neither did hee account himselfe King, but as his substitute to hold the crown vnder himselfe seeing the matter had beene so faire pacified, and the Imperial Crowne set on his head, hee most humbly desired that it might so fell, proffering to pay him three thousand Markes by yeere, and to resigne it to him at his death: whereas Duke Robert shaking his head (beke he saw no other remedy) easily consented, and returned forthwith into Normandy.

(10) And, if we compare this with the Monke of *Saint Albans* report, wee may well beleue, that William was forward enough in his offers, though euen as vnruly in performance; for the Barons then being vp, and he not able to allay them, did that by his word, which he could not by his sword, protesting to them that he was willing to resigne the Kingdom and would be content either with Minney or Possessions, if those that were his Fathers Over-seers should thinke it meete; and for any Ordinances touching the affaires of the Common weale, he would referre it wholly to themselves, provided alwaies his owne honour should not thereby be impeached. But when the Cloudes of these feares were altogether over-blowne, no budde once appeared from their faire planted grafts.

(11) For Lanfranc deceas'd, and both King deprived of a politike director, and Common-weale of a principall Stait, he presently shewed the bent of his inclination, lawfully giuing where no defects had engendred, and exacting extreme tributes, when no Necessity required; always cooerous, yet neuer thrifty, and still gathering, yet neuer enriching his Coffers: All Ecclesiastical promotions then vacant he assumed into his owne hands, and kept the See of *Canterbury* without an Archbishop above foure yeeres, setting to sale the free-rights of the Church, and he that would give most came soonest to preferment, whereby both the Lands and good estate of the Clergy was daily diminished.

These greunances were complained of vnto Pope *Prius*, but hee over-busied to forward an expedition of Christian Princes for the winning of *Ierusalem*, had no leasure seriously to thinke upon their estates, or els he might haue diuerted Kings out of their owne by-ways, whif perſons he meant to referre for his owne gain.

(12) The Storme thus decreed without any thander; King Rufus set the eye of desire vpon Duke Robert's dominions, who lately had done the like with his, and suddenly burst into Normandy, as *Scipio* did into *Africke*, pretending reuenge of injuries done to his Kingdom; first therefore surprizing the Castles of *Saint Valery* and *Albemarle*, hee stored them with his owne Souldiers, then piercing forward did great spoile in the Countie. Robert desirous of meane and knowing his Normans euer vnfaithfull, sent to Philip the

An. D. 1089

Thus Odo
was by Odo,
but it
appears to
have beene
by William
Conqueror.
Died day book.
1089 G. 1089.

William's word
of Odo's
death, 1089.

March 1089
Odo's death
in England.

Rufus pretended
to be in the
1089 in fact.

Dejection, 1089.

March 1089
Rufus's death
in fact.

Faint words
of Odo's
death, 1089.

Lanfranc's death.

King William as
manager of
Ecclesiastical
promotions.
G. 1089.

Pope's name
not in
Chronicle
shows to remedy
Church wrongs.

An. D. 1090

William's
death.
King William
died in
Normandy.

Peace made between the King and Duke.

1118 Osmest. Math. Park.

Tyng. Henr. Math. Park.

Both Henr. and King Henry the younger brother.

1118 Henr.

King William was married in a large.

Math. Park. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

Faire wedding peace made, as often decent the wife.

King William presents him that another son.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

A friendly Enmity.

An embroilment between.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

the French King, desiring his assistance against this Brother-Enemy; who preparing to invade Normandy, was stopped with such golden shewers from King William that he could not pass, so that Duke Robert was constrained to make a peace with his brother, though for himself a very sorry one, as said Gervase, which, as *Paris* reporteth, was effected by twine Princes upon either part, and the conditions as followeth: that King William should retain and enjoy the County of *Evreux* with *Franchome*, the Abbeie of *Mont Saint-Michel*, and all the Castles he had gotten in Normandy: for the Duke it was agreed, that his brother King William should aide and assist him to recover those lands & territories beyond the sea, which had bene belonging to their Father. That all such Normans as had lost their lands in England, in taking part with Duke Robert, should be restored: and lastly, whether of them should die first, the survivor should be his heir.

(13) Peace thus established, and both their powers waited, they beat altogether against Henry their youngest brother, who having after-claps, had strongly fortified the Castle of *Mont Saint-Michel*, situated upon the confines of Normandy and Brittain: him, whom they ought to have provided for, (said Gervase) they went about to expell, and all the Lent long laid siege against him.

It chanced one day as his men sallied out, & made a braudo in the face of their beleaguers, King William alone, more bold then wife, rode against them, thinking none so hardy as to encounter him single; but presently a Knight flew his horse vnder him, & his foot entangled in the stirrups hee was overthrown; his enemy therefore with drawn sword, was ready to have slaine him, had hee not revealed himself by his voice: the armed men with great reverence then took him up and brought him another horse: when the King not staying for the stirrup, sprang into the saddle, and with an angry countenance demanded, who it was that overthrew him? the Knight as boldly answered, and shewed himself who he was; by *Laure* face, quoth William (for that was his oach) thou shalt bee my Knight, and be enrolled in my Cheeke, with a Fee answerable to thy worth.

(14) During this siege, Prince Henry being sore distressed for water, and knowing Duke Robert to be of the milder temperate, first him word of his want, desiring to have that permitted, which God had made common, and given even to brute beasts, as well as to men; Duke Robert therefore commanded him to be supplied, whereat William was wroth, telling his Brother he wanted discretion, & policy in warre, which allowed all advantages to surpris the Enemy: And doth thou (said Robert) deserve more of water, which is every where to be got, then of a Brother, having no more but him and me? In which distinction, Earle Henry got the more; and by policy took a very long towne called *Dunferd*, where presently was a reconciliation made amongst these three brethren, who thereupon forthwith rooke the Seas together for England.

(15) About this time, in the yeere of Grace, 1091, and fourth of King Rufus his reign, one *Emma* the sonne of *Cadwall* Lord of *Dyfed*, moving rebellion against *Rees* a Trader Prince of *Southwales*, drew to his side *Ieffyn* Lord of *Glamorgan*, upon promise to become his sonne in law by the marriage of his daughter: *Ieffyn* notwithstanding, iudging their faction too weak, first *Eurus* into England, where hee was well acquainted, to procure aide against *Rees*: who entering conference of his business with *Robert Fitz-Samson* a worthy Knight of the Kings Prime-Chamber, wrought so far with him, being a man easily drawn to the exercise of warre, that for a Salarie he undertooke the service, and with twelve Knights, and a competent number of Souldiers went into Wales, where joining with *Ieffyn*, in battle flew Prince *Rees* a Trader, with Co-

was his sonne. *Robert Fitz-Samson*, now minding to return, demanded his pay according to covenants, which *Ieffyn* in some part denied, alledging that *Rees* had gone beyond his commission: so hereupon such discord arose, that these friends fell out, and *Rees* thus touched in his reputation, sided with the *Welsh* against his owne Country-men; whereupon a battell was fought, and *Ieffyn* with most of his Welsh slaine, so that *Robert* with his followers obtained a fruitfull possession in those parts, (which by their posterity are enioied even to this day) whose names, as they are found written in a *British* record, were as followeth.

NAMES.

POSSESSION.

- 1 William de Londres. Ogmore.
- 2 Richard de Grana Villa. North.
- 3 Pagon de Turberville. Cefy.
- 4 Robert de S. Quentin. Llan Blethyn.
- 5 Richard de Spward. Telamon.
- 6 Gilbert de Hanfreulle. Penmarke.
- 7 Roger de Bockrolles. Egl Orchard.
- 8 Reynald de Salty. Sully.
- 9 Peter de Saure. Ffieton.
- 10 John Le Fleming. Saint George.
- 11 Oliver de Saint John. Ffennan.
- 12 William de Eglwring. Saint Denais.

Rob Fitz-Samson and his followers possesed the Welsh.

The *Welsh* who assisted *Fitz-Samson*.

An.D. 1092

Malcolm King of Scotland entered into the English Marches as farre as to Chester in the streets, doing much harme; whose further outrage to prevent, William incontinently halted, sending by his agent Naue of Shippes, and by land his brother Robert, though with much losse of either: for his Fleet was torne by tempest and his horsemen through hunger & cold perished in those barren parts: at length the Kings came to an Interview, where by the means of *Edgar Atheling*, a peace was concluded to both their contents: for William restored to Malcolm twelve Villages, which he had held in England vnder his Father, and gave him yearly twelve Markes in gold: And King Malcolm for his part promised to keepe true peace with him, as he had done with the Conquerour, whereunto hee gave him his Oath, as said *Mathew Paris*.

King William & Malcolm were in some League.

Tyng. Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

King William & Duke Robert at variance againe.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

1118 Henr. 1118 Henr. 1118 Henr.

(16) As these things were commenced betwixt England, Normandy, and Wales, *Malcolm* King of Scotland entered into the English Marches as farre as to Chester in the streets, doing much harme; whose further outrage to prevent, William incontinently halted, sending by his agent Naue of Shippes, and by land his brother Robert, though with much losse of either: for his Fleet was torne by tempest and his horsemen through hunger & cold perished in those barren parts: at length the Kings came to an Interview, where by the means of *Edgar Atheling*, a peace was concluded to both their contents: for William restored to Malcolm twelve Villages, which he had held in England vnder his Father, and gave him yearly twelve Markes in gold: And King Malcolm for his part promised to keepe true peace with him, as he had done with the Conquerour, whereunto hee gave him his Oath, as said *Mathew Paris*.

(17) But as these two Kings of Enemies were made friends, so the two Brethren of reconciled friends became againe enemies: for Duke Robert well perceiving, that King William meant nothing less then performance of covenants, (protrailing time upon some secret purposes, as his insidious head conceived) in great displeasure returned into Normandy, taking with him *Edgar Atheling*, whom he held in an especial account.

(18) King William then repairing those Castles which the Scots had destroyed, new built in *Cumberland* the City *Cairled*, which two hundred yeeres before had bene spoiled by the Danes; and having defended it with walles, built there the Castle, Churches, and Houses, wherein hee placed a Colonie of Southerne Souldiers, with their wives and children, granting large priuiledges to the place, which the City enioieth even unto this day.

(19) And having ended his affairs thus in the North, returneth with triumph into the South, where immediately hee fell dangerously sicke, in the sixth yeere of his Reigne, at the Cite of *Gloucester*, whose sickness beganne to fit so acere his heart, (not looking to continue to commit many more) that hee sore repented him of the same, making

An.D. 1093

King William fell sickly and was much afflicted.

No Spring
Clothes and
Monasteries.

did as it were flea off their skins; for the Churches and Monasteries, having fild away their Jewels and Chances to satiate his appetite, and answering they could make no more; the King replied, with some scorn; And haue you not, I beech you, Coffins of Gold and Silver for dead men bones? Accounting the money laid out vpon this holy Expedition, to be better imploied then to garnish the reliques of the dead.

And now,
An.D. 1095

(18) The King thus finding his fortune in all things pliable to his wishes, and his heart therewith greatly puffed vp, his purpose was now at its turne from *Normandy*, to make a full conquest of *Wales*; therefore redoubling his forces he drew into the Marches, where pitching his Tents hee consulted with his Captaines what was best to be done. The *Welshmen* finding themselves outweakened, fled according to their accustomed manner, into the Woods and Mountains, taking there by such advantage against their pursuers, that the King returned without any notable deed done; and with the like success hee undertooke an other Expedition against them the yere following.

An.D. 1096

(29) But bearing a minde still to subdue all *Wales*, he had first in hisrie the Island *Anglesey*, against which he sent *Hugh Montgomery* Earle of *Shrovetuburgh*, and *Hugh Lupus* Earle of *Cheshire*, who there executed their Conquests with very great cruelties, cutting off the Noses, Hands, and Armes of their resistors, without regard of age or sexe, nor sparing either places or persons, sacred or prophane: At which very time it chanced *Matysse* King of *Norway*, the sonne of *Olafus*, (the sonne of *Harald Harfager*) to haue made his Conquest of the Isle of *Orkney*, and then waiting along the Seas, fought to come on Land in *Anglesey*, whom to impeach, the King made all their powers; where *Hugh Montgomery* armed at all partes, but only the light of his Boote, was shot into his right eye, whereby hee died right daies after.

An.D. 1097

(30) The holy voyage now led forward, (vnto which Pope *Urbanus* was a chief instigator) thrie thousand Christians tooke the Signe of the Croisse, wearing it ouer their garments as the cognizance of their deuoted warfare: The chieftain Captaine of which Princely Army, was *Peter apocet* Hermit, who returning from *Ierusalem*, certified the Pope of the Christians great miserie vnder those mercilesse Infidels: but the good man more exercised in praises (the weapons of *Voluntaries*) then expert to guide an Army, was soone entrapped among the *Salgarres*, and slaine with most of his souldiers. But yet the businesse still prosecuted, the number of all degrees and ages flocking to the seruice, is reported to haue amounted (a thing almost incredible) vnto seven hundred thousand. In chiefe command of which huge Armie, were imploied many braue Princes of Christendome as *Goffrey* the famous Duke of *Loraine*, with his brethren *Esquiers* and *Baldouin*; *Robert* Duke of *Normay*, and his Nephew *Tancredus*; *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*; *Hugh le grand*, brother to *Philip* the French King; *Raymond*, Earle of *Sygidia*, and besides many other great Princes, the forsaide *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, not the last in chiefe for his renowned seruice; as his memorable prowess in that imploiment did afterwards make apparant vnto the world. All these meeting at *Canstantinople* (where *Alerius* was Emperour) passed ouer *Hellspont*, and proceeded with better success then the *Normans* had done, subduing Cities and Countreies before them, with the slaughter of an hundred thousand Infidels, and purchase of great spoiles: and lastly, tooke *Ierusalem* the holy City, in the thirry ninth day after the Siege thereof. For let vs from *Ierurie* returne into *England*.

An.D. 1099

(31) King *William* at rest whilst his Brother and the reit were in warres, thinking now both of fortifying and beautifying his Kingdome, caused new walles to be built about the Tower of *London*, and

at *Westminster* (where before was the ancient Palace of Saint *Edward* and his Ancestors) laid new foundations of a moit large and Princely Palace; the Hall whereof, by the testimony of *Paris*, should haue extended (if he had liued to finish it) from the Riuer *Thames* euen vnto the common high way, as might appeare by the first groundsketch, at the time wherein *Paris* wrote: but that stately Building, which now we call the Great Hall, hee finished as yet no standeth, containing in length two hundred and twenty four, and breadth twenty four: yet (when some praised the largeness thereof) I heere found fault that it was not made bigger, accounting it fittly worthy the name of a Bed-Chamber, in respect of that which hee inclosed to build.

And certes, of a right indignominous disposition was this *Rufus*, as appeared at such times, when sitting at dinner, purposing forthwith to take his pleasure in hunting, a messenger brought him sudden newes of the Siege of *Mayne*, a City in *Normandy*: whereto when the King answered, He would take aduice what to doe: But thy Subiects (replied the party) are in distress, and cannot be deliuered; whereas the King swore his wonted Oath, that if they could not, they should not; and that he would not turne his backe till hee was with them; and thereupon commanded to breake downe the wall that he might goe forth the next way to the Sea, leaving straight Communion for his Nobles to follow him with all celerity.

(32) But the winds being contrary, and thereby both the Sea and the King in a great rage; his Pilot misdoubting hazard of Shipwrecke, desired him humbly to expect a while, till those boisterous Elements were calmer and passage more safe. Wherunto he answered, as no what daunted: Half thou canst heare that say - King hath bene drowned? I therefore hope to the *Sauies*, I charge thee and be gone. The City vpon this unexpected speed of the King, was soone releafed, and *Hedus*, Constall of *Cirenaia*, who did beliauee it, being taken by a traine, was by King *William* killed at his face, as a man neither of Martiall prowesse nor police: 24 at which indignity the Noble *Hedus* disdainingly storming, with great boldnesse said vnto *Rufus*: I am now thy Prisoner, not by thy power, but by chance of warre, and my owne misfortune: but were I at liberty, thou shouldst well knowe, I am not the man thus to be laughed at. The King well liking the confidence of his spirit: Well then (said hee) I give thee full liberty, go thy waies, doe it in thine liberty I am the man that euer will make thee.

(33) And surely, howsoever he might be blemished with many flumes of bad Government, yet for his valour and resolutions in wars he is greatly commended; and so much by some, that, it were not against the faith of Christianity, it might be thought (such *Matthew* sayeth) that the Soule of *Caesar* had entered into the body of this *Rufus*, as that of *Euphrates* is said to haue done into *Pythagoras*: yea, & those flumes (we may well thinke) were no whit lessened by his flouery writers, who were dependantes of the Romish See; for that hee little fauoured their Holy Father, or any such as adhered vnto the See of *Rome*, against the Prerogative of his Crowne; especially appeared in his Office conceiued against *Anselmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for his too *Romish* humor. There was at that time a Schisme in the *Roman* Church, which Mosler-like had then two heads on one Body, the Emperour (who claimed that as his right) placing one, and the *Roman* Clergy setting another, *Phrasus* by name, with whom comforted *Anselmus*, against the Kings command.

The King alleged, that no Archbishop or Bishop of the Kingdome should (or ought) be subiect to the Pope or Court of *Rome*, with whom they had thought to doe: that he and his Realme had as large franchises, euer since the receiving of the Christian faith, as the Emperour had in his Empire; and that therefore none ought in his Realme to be received for Pope, whom himselfe and his State should not first

* *Angela*.

* *St. Paul*.

* *Angela* Hall.

The length and breadth thereof.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela* Hall.

The Emperour.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

The courage of *William* a Prince.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

* *Angela*.

approve: that without his licence none should goe or appeale to Rome in any cause: that *Anselme* could not keepe his Allegiance to his Soueraigne, and also to the Pope. Vpon all which points the Prelates of England, excepting only *Gundulphus* B. of Rochester assented to the King against *Anselme*, that he was guilty of High Treason, for attempting to depriue the Crowne of these prerogatiues.

(34) And because the King vnderthrew that here in he did no more then his Father had done before him, it shal not be impertinent to obserue heere, how that as *Phraus* vied *Anselme* for his inhumane to draw the King to his becke: so Pope *Gregorie* before him vied Archbishop *Laufraunce* helps for vndermining of *William* the Conquerour, and to subiect him and his Seate to the Papacie, which that it may appeare the better, I will here insert the Conquerours owne Letter to the Pope.

To Gregory the most Excellent Pastor of Holy Church, William by the grace of God, King of England and Duke of Normandy, with his health and friendship. Your Legat Hubert (Religious Father) came vnto me, exhorting me, in your name, to make Allegiance to you, and your Successors, and to take better order for the money which my Predecessors were wont to send to the Church of Rome. The one I have granted; of the other I have not admitted. Fealitie to you, I neither would nor will make; for I neither promised you so much, neither finde I that my Antecessors did performe to you. The money hath bene negligently gathered, my selfe almost these three yeeres being in France; but being by Gods mercy returned into my Kingdome, as much as is collected is now sent by the said Legate: the rest shal be sent when it may conveniently, by the messengers of Lanfrance our faithful servant. Pray for vs, and for the good estate of our Kingdome; for I haue loued your Predecessors, and my desire is shone all others sincerely to loue you, and to heare you obediently.

His Holinesse was then very wroth, that things did not cotten better to his desires in England. But *Laufraunce* cleared himselfe of the blame, shewing him how diligently (but indeed traitorously) hee had belittled himselfe, in counselling the King to yeeld to swear obedience to the Pope: *Snuffed* him perswas (saith he) I haue so aduised him, but I could not persuade him.

(35) By which incredible pride and Popish incoachments, attempted by the means of these chiefest Prelates of the Kingdome, King *William Rufus* (no doubt) saw it was high time for him to prevent farther mischiefes to his Seate, by following his Fathers Steps in timely repressing such Papall intrusions: yea so farre was hee from yeelding his necke to that yoke, that hee aowed, that the Pope, though boasting of Peters Chaire, had not from him any power of binding or loosing, whose godly sleepe they wholly neglected, following onely after Laue and worldly Honours; that also it was but impollute to teach Intercession, and boolefesse to vie Inuocation to Saints, euen to Saint Peter himselfe. And as for the rest of the Romish Clergie, who then gaue themselves strangely to worldly and fleshly pleasures, wearing their guilt girdles and spottes, and trimming their bulbie Locks; their loose liues the King much detested, and sought to punish; which most incensed their Choler: and these were the hairens no doubt in those Monkish writers Pennes that euer blotted his faire name, and their fall-running, and vnclean hands. For so much may we gather from *Gometrichs* the Recorder of his life, who hauing reported many Acts of this Kings, seemeth laithly to checke himselfe for going so farre where (he saith) These and many other like things were could truely report of him, were it not that I think it vnconuenient largely to relate his actions, because hee persecuted ouer many of Gods seruants, and the holy Church not a little, for which it is thought by the most part of wisesmen, that hee repented too late and vnprofitably.

(36) And true it is, that some of them haue taxed

him for great Pride and Courtesuffie, whereof yet some pregnant examples to the contrary are not wanting: as, (though the illiance bee somewhat familiar) when his Chamberlaine bringing him a paire of new hoafe, and hee demanding the price, was answered that they cost three shillings: Away haie fellow (quoth he) asethel beforewearing a King? bring mee of a Marke price: his seruant went, but brought him another paire of no greater cost, yet tolde him (as great Mens reckonings usually are made) that they were of the rate appointed: wherewith the King was very well pleased, and disharied that great Price to fulfill his owne pride.

(37) His Courtesuffie what it was, may hence appeare, that when two Monkes whose Abbat was lately dead, repaired to his Court, and each in large offers out-bid and ouerbad the other, to succeed in the Abhacie; a third Monke very sober, and poore in shew, accompanying them in their businesse, stood by; whom the King asked what he would giue to be made Abbat? Nothing, said the Monke; for I entered my profession to be poore, and hitherto haue bene, little esteeming the pompe or riches of the world. Then thou art the man (replied the King) and shalt hee their Abbat, more worthy in thy poouertie, then they for their price; and so conferring on him that high honour, checked the others to their open infamy and reproach.

As the like he also did to *Hugh* a Norman Knight, and Souldier by profession, who of a sincere deuotion had entered the Monkish Order in the Monasterie of *S. Augusline* at *Canterbury*, and at the death of *Vide* the Abbat, was but a Probationer; when comming with others to the King for the election of another, was chosen himselfe (though fore against his will) without any request or proffert; whose penitency and vnfained humility so moued the King, that in this his Election hee burst forth into teares.

(38) Other faults I grant hee is charged with, wherein we haue not and cannot vtruly acquit him: as this besides others, that his chiefest Conforts were Effeminate persons, *Ruffians* and the like, and himselfe said to haue delighted continually in Adulteries, and the Company of Concubines, *etiam eorum Sole*, himselfe and in the sight of the Sunne; though none of them be named, nor any his illegitimate issue knowne, and yet onely, or especially for his sins, many strange signes of Gods wrath are reported to haue happened in the time of his reigne.

(39) For in his second yeere a terrible and most dreadful Earthquake happened: And in his fourth, a vehement Lightning pierced the Steeple of the Abbey at *Wincombe*, rent the beames of the rooffe, cast downe the Crucifixe, brake off his right legge, and withall ouerthrew the Image of our Lady standing hard by, leaving such a flonch in the Church, that neither incense, holy-water, nor the singing of the Monkes could allay it. And not long after, so great a tempest of winde happened, that in *London* it bare downe sixe hundred Houses, and blew off the rooffe of *Beau-Church*, which with the Beames were borne into the Aire a great height: sixe whereof being twenty seven foot long, with their fall were driuen twenty three foote deepe into the ground, the streets of the City lying then vnpaired.

In the ninth of his Reigne a blazing Starre appeared with two buisters, and other Starres seemed to shoote darts each against others, so no little feare and amazement of the beholders. The last of his Reigne, the Sea breakeing ouer his limked banks, drowned an innumerable multitude of people in many Countries, and in *Kent* ouerwhelmed the lands that sometime were Earle *Godwinus*, which as yet are called *Godwinus Sands*, lying very dangerous for all Navigators. But most fearefull was the Wel of blood, which for fifteene daies roke vp out of the ground at *Finschamsted* neere *Abington* in *Bedfordshire*. His owne dream, wherein it seemed the wines of his Armes to be broken, and abundance of his blood streaming

Rub of Oliver.

Chorus, &c.

An example of
of which in
wonderfull
Pride.
Every body
knows will not
goe without.

T

His maries
Papal vrs.

Papal vs. p. 22.

A pointed
chance.
I would all
S-m-m-s might
in be incured.

A prebent
beloued valon-
led.

Of King will-
any inco-
cy.

Mark, Peter.
No life Regi-
mure of his
knows.

An. D. 1039
Strange suc-
cesses of this
Earthquake.

Lighning.

Winds.

John New.

An. D. 1096
Vacant Stairs.

Deluge.

Godwin Sands.
Mellor Sands.

A Well of blood
will, &c.
Mar. W. W.
Henry W.
Rend. W.

Predecessor his death.

March 7. A.D. 1065.

March 7. A.D. 1065.

King William Rufus with an Arrow in his hand.

March 7. A.D. 1065.

on the floor, as likewise that Monke, who in his sleep saw the Crucifier to burne the King to the ground: these with many like, were held as prefiges of his death, which presently followed. Of all which, or the most part, what better censure can wee give, then that which King William himselfe (when this last vision was told him) did deliver; saying, *Well, a Monke he is, and can dreame (Monacholiter) as Monkes use to doe, myselfe to gaze. Came from an hundred sleepings, left he should think he had dreamed himselfe.*

(40) Whatsoever force those prefiges had, it is true, that vpon the second day of August, as he was hunting in the new Forrest, and in the place called Choringham, all his Company being scattered from him, leaving onely a French Knight, whose name was *Walter Tirell*, the King with his arrow strooke a Stag, which yet not greatly hurt ranne away; to make therefore the course that it tooke, he held vp his hand betwixt his eye and the Sonne, when vnawares also *Walter Tirell* so shot, that his Arrow glancing against a tree, strooke the King in his breast, who hastily breaking off so much as stucke out of his body, with one onely groane fell downe and died. Of which sudden chance, his followers soone vnderstanding, most of them made away, but those few which remained, laid his body (baldy God wor, but as necessity suffred) into a Colliers Cart, which drawne with one silly leane Beate, through a very foule and filthy way, the Cart broke, and there lay the spectacle of worldly glory, both pitifully goared, and fithily bemired, till afterward he was thence conuayed vnto *Winchester*,

and burned vnder a plaine flat Marble stone in the Quire of *Saint Swithens*, the Cathedral Church of the City, whose bones were since taken vp, and laid into a Coffin, with the bones of *Canutus*. Hee died after he had reigned twelue yeeres, eleven moneths lacking eight daies, being the yeere of his age forty three, and of *Christ* *Iesus*, 1100.

(41) He was of person indifferent, not of any great stature, yet very well set, his belly (like his Fathers) somewhat bearing out: of complexion a ruddy, whereof he tooke his surname, and his haire somewhat yellow, his forehead flat and square, and his Eyes diversely coloured; a stammering tongue, especially in his anger; gorgeous in apparell, and yet no sparing diet; very bountifull to Souldiers, often hard to Churchmen, burdensome to his Subjects, an expert Souldier, that could well both endure labour of the Body, and put off cares of the minde; in his affaires circumspect, of his ward stedfast, and in his warres no lesse diligent, then fortunate. Hee gave to the Monkes called *de Charitate*, the great New Church of *Saint Saviour* of *Barnesby* in *Southern*, which he built, with his Mannor of *Barnesby* it selfe, and all the appurtenances, together with the Towne of *Charlton*: confirming all that had bene given them before. He also of an old Monastery in *York* founded a new Hospital, to the honour of *Saint Peter*, for the sustentation of poore men and women: dying as we haue said, without Wife or Issue, or without receipt of time for dispose of his Crowne, or other wordly affaires.

Yeeres of his age and Reigne.

His description of his body.

His works of devotion.

Lib. Bernard.



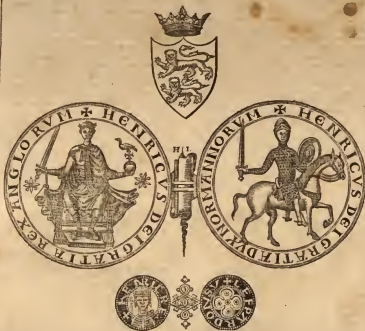
HENRY



Henry I.

HENRIE, THE FIRST OF THAT
NAME, THE FORTIETH ONE MO-
NARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN:
HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES,
AND ISSUE.

Monarch 41



CHAPTER III.

AN.D. 1100
100. 11. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



Henry, the youngest sonne of the Conquerour and third King of his race, was born here in England, and brought vp in learning and frō his child-hood, whereby hee gained to himselfe the high honour very rare in those daies, especially in Princes, to be, and to bee stiled the *Beauclerk*: whose portion of Treasure was not a little, given him by his father, neither any whit spared by himselfe to purchase friends at the death of his Brother, *Henry of Newburgh* the right Noble, vertuous and learned Earle of *Northwicke*, ever making his way both with the Clergy and Nobles, who refused to admit any King but with capitulation and covenantes to their owne likings.

(1) The Steps then by which hee moaned the

Throne of Maicesty, were the dislikes of *Williams* over-hard curbing of his *Natives*, as hee ever called the *English*: the rash and giddy head of his brother *Robert*: his absence in *Syria*, for whose returne to stay was dangerous, and whose election for King of *Ierusalem*, was likely to imploy his person there: his *English-birth*, having both a King and Queene to his Parents; his faire promises for reformation of bad and rigorous Lawes, imposed by his Father and Brother; the restoring of the Clergy from exile, and to their Church-Livings; remission of Taxes exacted on the Subjects, and due punishments of such persons as were the chiefe Causers thereof, in which behalfe to satisfy the People hee committed *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* to the Tower. Then promising by Oath to frame iust Lawes grounded on those of *Saint Edward* (then which nothing was more desired) did winde himselfe so farre into the loves of all, that with a generall concurrence hee was saluted King.

(1) He

Henry helps to the Crown, in A. Gomer.

Idem.

Henry Hunsd.

Henry Hunsd.

Ralph Bishop of Durham imprisoned. Idem. Paris.

* This was the last time that Henry I. was seen from the Conqueror, to no contrivance and playman. Idem. Paris. 11. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

His Coronation
at Dorset.

William Malines.

The forerune
Princes valuing
in his time.

The reformation
of his Court.
Read. Hist. in
Pictor. lib. 7. ca. 12.

"Hundred
reformation;
" Statute lib. 1.
at Regium.
Publick Libe-
ties by him
granted.
Sives Analen.

Math. Paris.

By Issue of right
hand, such Mal-
ice. Of Hand and
Crests, Remem-
ber of lib. 2.
cap. 23.
Of Lies and Co-
mittals, Henric.
Malice lib. 1.
Sives Dm.
vill. Malice.
King Edward
Lovers returned
again.

His Charters
sent to be kept
in Monasteries.
Math. Paris.

Gen. Do.

Tristram Mar-
ria.

His Marriage in
to the English
Queen.
vill. Genuis.
cap. 21.
Math. Paris.

(1) He began his reign the second of August, the sacred rites of whose Coronation were celebrated in Westminster by Maurice Bishop of London (in the absence of Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury) the fifth day of the same month, the year of Christ 1100. When Henry the fourth possessed the Imperial Diadem, Philip the first twined the Scepter of France, Edgar wore the Crown of Scotland, and Paschal the second fate in the See of Rome.

(4) His first business was to put in execution what he had promised; and because he might be thought unfit to guide a large kingdom, who cannot reform those who are curer at his elbow, began (as a good Prince ought) with his own Court and Household (as knowing that to be the pattern and warrant of others enormities) whence he catholized all Court-millions and nice or effeminate wansons, and enacting a decree against his Courtiers Rapines, Adulteries and Robberies, punished their Thiefs with death, and Lechery with the loss of their Eyes, and other parts peccat.

Then he restored to the English the vic of Lighth, which his father forbad by the ringing of a Bell, and had now continued for the space of thirty three years, ordaining likewise many good Laws, and common Liberties, exemplified at large in Mathew Paris, which summarily may be thus abridged.

- 1 The Freedome of the Church from oppressi-
on, or reformation of their possessions op-
pression.
- 2 That the Heirs of his Nobility should pos-
sess the Lands of their Fathers, without
redemption from him, which favour the
Nobility likewise should afford to their Ten-
ants.
- 3 That the Gentry might give in Marriage their
Daughters and Kinswomen without his
license, so it were not to his Enemy.
- 4 That the widows should have her Jointure, and
not be compelled to marry against her own
liking.
- 5 That the Mother or next of kindred, shall be
Guardian of the Lands of her Children.
- 6 That Coiners of false money should be pu-
nished; a statute was ordained a measure
to the length of his Arm to be a standard
for Commerce among his People.
- 7 Then did he forgive all debts to the Crown
before his coronation, and murders com-
mitted before the day of his Coronation:
with some other like indulgences: But, to
the greatest content of the People, he gave
power and strength unto King Edwards
Latter.

(1) To these his Ordinances he set his Name and Seal, with the subscription of sundry Peeres, commanding as many Copies as there were Counties in England to be transcribed and kept in the Monasteries of every Province. Then did he recall Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury forced out of the Land by Rufus, and bestowed all vacant Church-mings upon the worthiest persons. But to ground his new planted affection more deepe in the hearts of the English, he became a sister to Edgar King of Scotland, to have his sister to wife, which was Made the daughter of Queen Margaret, Sister to Edgar Etheling and Grand-child of Edmund Transile, whereby his issue might merely be both of the English blood and of the ancient English Kings.

(6) Since by report of some writers had vowed Virginity, and was brought up in a house of Religi-

on at Winchester (having entered the profession of a Nun under her Aunt Chelgiva) whose sanctity and knowledge both in matters humane and divine, with her mother Margarets, are highly commended (Faith Gomerayn) in a book written of their lives: Notwith-
standing others hold that she valued her self but for a shift, to put off some unworthy matches, which her father Adalmeir would have imposed her; and indeed this scruple was such a Core in Anselm his mouth that he would not pronounce the words of Contract until her self had cleared the doubt by her open confession.

(7) Duke Robert, who now had bin five years in the holy warres, and therein borne himself with such valour that he of all the Christian Princes was thought the worthiest to bee anointed King of Iersusalem, had their voice and election standing in the Temple before the Altar, upon Easter-Eve: and that the rather by a miracle of his Taper, which tooklight of it selfe, or from Heaven (if we will be so light to believe it); but he hearing of the death of Rufus, refused that inhope to have England; for which his neglect of Divine appointment, it is said God neuer after prospered him: then returning from Syria into Normandy was there joyfully received, and assumed again his Dukedome (which he had engaged to his brother William) without repentment of any money: where hearing that Henry his younger, was flept into his throne of England, laid projects in his minde how to delecte him. And to further these his designs, Ralph Bishop of Durham, corrupting his keepers, brake out of the Tower of London bigar into Normandy, where he instigated Duke Robert against his brother of England; others also delighting in alterations, solicited Robert to make into England, with promise of their assistance to recover the Crowne.

(8) King Henrie for his part resolving to hold what he had got, neglected no means to keepe the Diadem as it was set, and therefore rigged forth his Naue to secure the Seas, manned his forerellers, and with a great Army repaired towards the Coast, where nere unto Hastings he lodged his Campe, relying more upon his own strength and valour of his People, then any iust title he had to the Kingdom.

(9) Duke Robert by this time had taken the Seas, and was upon the Kings fleet before they were aware, where preparing for Conflict, the most of the English fell to the Norman, either by the persuation of the Duke or in hatred of Henry, that then began to tyrannize over them as they did imagine: By which means the Duke, had safe landing at Pevesmouth, and did not a little reioice in this his fortunate beginning; threatening his brother to be reuted for his wrongs, & blaming the Nobility for suffering him thus to be abused, whilst he for the common good of Christen-
dome, was employed in the Holy-Lands warre. King Henry, as wise, as the other was valorous, wrought under hand for an agreement of peace; for hee very well saw, that the event of warre hath commonly li-
fue from the first successe, and as one and the same time doth bolden and weaken the courage of the multitude; therefore certaine Noblemen on both sides so trasified the business, that the Brethren in short time became friends, and a composition was thus, that, because Henry was borne after his fathers Conquest of this Land, and stood now the Crownd King with common consent, hee should during his life, enjoy the same, paying Duke Robert in way of fealty three thousand Markes by yeere; and the summour to be heire to his brother deceased, if hee died without a sonne. In which it was also con-
cluded, that all, either English or Norman, which had taken part with the King or Duke, should be pardoned of all offences, and their Livings againe restored: for the Confirmation whereof, and the performance accordingly, twelve Princes upon either parties took their Corporall Oathes; and the Armies presently dissolved.

His Wife 6. 8. a
nasty.

Genuis. cap. 10.

Edalmeir.

King. Higden. in
Polyton. lib. 7.
cap. 16.

Math. Paris.
Duke Robert was
his female in the
holy warres.

Duke Robert ob-
tained King of
Iersusalem.

King Higden. in
Polyton. lib. 7. ca. 12.
Math. Paris.

He returned into
Normandy.
vill. Genuis.
cap. 21.
His entrance for
Judea. Paris.
Roger. Hoved.

vill. Malice.
Henry Rane.

King Henry
conquered
Iersusalem against
Duke Robert.

An. D. 1101
An. Reg. 2.
The English tell
off to Duke Ro-
bert.

Math. Paris.
The Duke had
safe landing.
vill. Genuis.
cap. 10.

Henry labours
for peace.

Henry Rane.
Agreement
made between
the Brethren.

The coronation
of Peace.

vill. Thom.
Genuis. cap.
10. ca. 20.

Duke Robert en-
terred in King
Mon. Annot.
W. G. Gant.
C. 13.

(11) The *Norman Duke* princely entertained the
space of six months in the Court of King *Henry*,
shewed himself rather open & credulous, then any way
suspicious, in all his carriages, & so with much liking, &
love to his brother, departed into his own Country.
But the Sanno-fine of these faire daies, began forth-
with to be overcast, by the incitation of such as en-
deuoured to sow discord betwixt the two Brethren,
and not only those in *Normandy*, which euer haue
inualities into Duke *Robert's* cares, but eue in *England*
also, some fell in dislike of King *Henry*, and affecting
alteration, with the malignant crew of enuy beheld the
glory of this beauteous Crowne.

Rob. Bellifus a-
gainst the King.
A.D. 1102.

Simon Dani.
An. Reg. 3.

Roger Hume.
Math. Paris.

Henry Hist.

(12) Amongst whom, *Robert Bellifus* Earle of
Shrewsbury, the eldest sonne of *Roger Montgomery*,
Brethren of the Towns and Castles of *Shrewsbury*,
Bridgenorth, *Trebeis*, and *Arundell*, with virtuall ma-
nition, and men, against the King, alluring likewise the
fickle *Welshmen* vnto his designs. *Henry* therefore in
rage & haite, marched thitherward with a great power
against *Arundell's* Castle, hee raised another of wood:
and took it, besieged *Bridgenorth*, which presently
yielded, and *Shrewsbury* lent him their keyes and
pledges of their obedience: when *Bellifus* with his
brother *Arnulfus*, and *Roger de Poyters*, were constrain-
ed to shure the Land for euer, and thereupon went
into *Normandy*, where they ceased not to raise more
sparks from that brand which others before them
had blowne.

Math. Paris.

* Confratres vno
An. Reg. 1102.

Math. Paris.

Confratres a-
vno monachis.

Math. Paris
in W. G. Gant.

The Archbisop
goes to Rome.

An. D. 1103

An. Reg. 4.

W. G. Gant.

The King sends
Ambassadors to
Rome.

Math. Paris.

The King will
not let his un-
derlings be his
enemies.

Math. Paris.

The Pope will
let his head
rather than suffer
his to be in
danger.

Math. Paris.

The Pope will
let his head
rather than suffer
his to be in
danger.

Math. Paris.

The Pope will
let his head
rather than suffer
his to be in
danger.

Math. Paris.

The Pope will
let his head
rather than suffer
his to be in
danger.

Math. Paris.

The Pope will
let his head
rather than suffer
his to be in
danger.

Math. Paris.

The Pope will
let his head
rather than suffer
his to be in
danger.

Math. Paris.

from the Church to the State.

(13) *Robert Curiause*, either to sound his brothers
designes, or to congratulate him in a brotherly love,
came into *England*, where hee was to royally entertain-
ed, that all suspicion was quenched, and himselfe so
well contented, that at the onely motion and request
of *Queen Matild*, he remitted the three thousand
Marks, hee wanted to be paid yearly vnto him,
though he were left able to forebear, then King
Henry to grace. But when his wants told him of this his
overlawfull release, he openly exclaimed against
King *Henry*, that hee had craftily circumvented, and
deceitfully cheated him: and now giving open care
and credit to such as fought their dilation, gaue his
Brother all occasions of enmy, who was ready e-
nough of himselfe, to make the least very great.
For besides this present displeasure conceived against
Duke *Robert*, he added others, and this especially that
he had willfully waited the Inheritance which his fa-
ther had left him to wit the Dukedom of *Normandy*,
having nothing now almost in that Dominion be-
sides the City of *Rouen*, which he would haue parted
with all, had not the Citizens thereto denied their
consents.

(16) Neither was it the least morine to King *Hen-
ry's* displeasure, that his traitorous subjects were
so willingly received by his brother: for besides *Robert
Bellifus* and others, *William*, Earle of *Mortaign* in
Normandy, and of *Cornewall* in *England*, the sonne of
Robert, halfe brother to the Conquerour, became the
Earldome of *Kent* (which he made claime vnto, as
heire to his vnkle *Odo*) was denied him, in a discontent
goth him into *Normandy*, where besides his valiant fa-
milars of the Kings Castles, and Souldiers, hee much
endangered the possessions of *Richard* Earle of *Ches-
ter*, then a child and the Kings *Ward*: so that the flames
of warre raised by these seditions, seemed to be blown
from *England* vnto the parts beyond the Seas, and to
fire the territories of the *English* thereto neither is it e-
asie to declare (saith *Hauenden*) what misery (the meane
while) by exactions the land felt here at home.

(17) For the King incited into *Normandy* vpon
these occasions, by large distributions of money
carried out of *England*, wonne the *Norman* Nobility
to trauell from their Lord, and took the Towne and
Castle of *Caen* by composition, and burnt *Bayeux* with
the beautifull Church of *Saint Maries*, whereupon
the *Priorities* of *Normandy* yielded themselves vnto
his Protection, by whose example the *Brittaines* and
those of *Amur* did the like, so that their Castles and
forts were filled with the Garrisons of King *Henry*,
Duke *Robert* in no wise able to resist, which done *Hen-
ry* with triumph returned into *England*.

(18) The *Curiause* by his *Norman* thus vacuo-
uously dealt with, saw it was bootlesse against so
great a fire to strive, and therefore thought best
to lay away weapons, and to become himselfe a
Mediator for Peace. With which resolution ta-
king the seas, hee followed his brother vnto *Nor-
thampton*, where humbling himselfe in a more de-
cise manner, then either his birth, or owne nature
could well brooke, desired the Kings grace, both
in respect of their brotherly vnion, and the regard of
his owne accustomed clemency: willing him to
consider, that warre was not only vnatural betwixt
brethren, but that a reproch euer follows the cha-
racter of the Victor, desiring him not to triumph
in his overthrow, who was now ready to render all that
he had into his hands: but King *Henry* murthering
to himselfe, turned away from his brother without a-
ny answer.

(19) For God (saith *Paris*) was pleased to giue the ef-
fect, though the *Beno*-clerk felt a remorse in con-
science, for usurping his Kingdom: (being indeed very lea-
sed, and well understanding the duties both of equity
and law) and thereupon became both to free some vio-
lent insurrection of the *Welsh*, and also the increasing
wrath of God vpon him for his treacheries and vnjust de-
lings towards his elder brother, to whom undoubtedly the
King James

Duke Robert en-
terred in King
Mon. Annot.
W. G. Gant.
C. 13.

Henricus quon-
iam a pater in
Litteris.
An. Reg. 5.

D. Robertus quon-
iam a pater in
Litteris.
An. Reg. 5.

W. G. Gant of
Mortaign against
the King.
T. 13. 1102.

Math. Paris.
T. 13. 1102.
W. G. Gant.

Math. Paris.
E. Henry allows
the Normans to
fight with him.
An. D. 1105

Reg. 1105
An. Reg. 6.

Henry Hist.
Facts of *Norman*
yielded to the
King.

An. D. 1106

Duke Robert
leaves France and
returns to perfu-
sion.

An. Reg. 7.

Math. Paris.
Henry Hist.
D. Robert's in-
fluence.

E. Henry reflects
in story.

Math. Paris.

E. Henry reflects
the council of
his own coun-
cil.

**A presumption
ground to defer
prosecution.**

King Henry-wins
his Nobles with
false words.

Mar. 2006

*in clamour by all right did opportune: yet flood her rather in fear of men than God, whose favour he continually laboured to keep; whom he meant to please another time by building of an Abbey for his satisfaction. Duke Henry then seeing and detesting the Kings frowline power, polled backe unto *Normandy* to gather his power. *Henry* also held in good policy, not to give passage unto *Roberts* wrath, knowing him a Souleifer, and well waying his desperate estate: and therefore calling his Lords unto *London*, in an assembly tickled their eares with their delectable and smooth words.*

(20) My friends, and faithful Counsellors, and
 & native Countrymen, you know by true report
 how my Brother *Robert* was elected, and by God
 himselfe called to be the fortunate King of *Scots-
 land*, and how unfortunately, or rather intolently, he
 refused that sacred office, whereby he is now mol-
 tually reprobated of God: you also know by man-
 other experiments, his pride and arrogance for be-
 lying a man of a warring humor, hee is not only im-
 patient of any peace, but also wilfully desirous to
 trample vpon you as men of abject and contempti-
 ble disposition, vnderstanding you for idle drowns,
 for beelies good, and what not? But I your King, na-
 turally inclined to bee both humble and peaceable,
 take delight in nothing more then to do you good,
 to maintain your tranquillity and ancient liberties,
 (as I have often sworn vnto you,) and meekely
 and willing to yeild my selfe to *Gods* will,
 whereby I may circumpectly gouerne you as a
 clement Prince, and to that end euen now will
 I confirme (if your wisdoms do thinke fit) your
 ouer-worne and vndermined Charters, and will
 re-nobate them most firmly with a new oath and
 ratification. Meane while, all the lawes which the
 holy King *Edward* by Gods inspiring did esta-
 blish, I doe here commend to bee inuiolably
 obserued, hereby to moue you to adhere steadfastly
 vnto mee, in repelling cheerfully, willingly and
 powerfully the wrongs offered me, by my Brother
 that I say I say, by my most deadly enemy & yours,
 and of the whole *English* Nation: For if I bee guar-
 ded with the valours and affections of *Englishmen*,
 I shall forme the threats of him and his *Ad-
 uisers*, as forcelesse, and no whit to be feared. And
 with these faire promises (which yet afterwards he
 vicerly neglected) hee wonne the hearts of them
 all, that they would die with him, or for him, against
 any hostility whatsoever.

(21) Duke Robert gone, and preparing for warre, Henry thus scul'd in his peoples affection, followed him with all expedition, having in his company the choice Nobility of England, Normandy, Gaunt, and Britaine, so that hee was exceedingly strong. With Robert, for men of chiefe account, were Robert Be lufme, Earle of Shrewsburie, and William Earle of Mortaigne, in like dispute with the King, and therefore armed with the like desperate boldnes.

(22) Henry his Army had pierced into Normandy, even as farre as *Tremouille*. Caille of the Earle of *Montaigne*, vying all means possible to surpriſe the ſiege, for whole refuge, the Duke with thie Conforts, made all diligence to diſſolve the ſiege, and after ſome few ſkarmatches joined a bloody battaile, bravely fought on each part, where at the firſt onely, the Kings power (though much greater in number) went down but by their multitude and manhood (ſpecially through the Kings example and encouragement) they ſooner prevailed, where Duke *Robert*, with Earle *William*, and ſundry other, of good note, manfully fighting in the very preſſe of their enemies, were taken priſoners; but *Robert* being ſcaped by flight. And thus (as *Matthew Paris* obſerved) Gods Juſtice & Mercy took effect in this Juſtice upon *Robert*, for the rebell of *Jerusalem*, ſiege, and vnto Henry his ſauour, according to the prophetic of King *William* his Father. This battaile was fought, and Normandy woone vpon

Saturday, being the Vigill of *S. Michael*, euen the fift day forty years that *William* the Bastard fet foot on *Englands* Shoare for his Conquest; God so disposeth (saith *Mabinsbury*) that *Normandy* should be subiect to *England* that very day, wherein *England* was subdud to *Normandy*.

(31) *Red Rovers*, that now valourous Prince, and *William Marston*, that valiant, but headstrong Earl, were forthwith sent into England and imprisoned: the Earle in the Tower of London, and the Duke in Cardiffe Castle in Wales, after he had governed the Duchy of Normandy nineteen years, and was for echeime in Chiquerie accounted among the best Captains that the world then afforded, had not beene (as commonly maniall spirits vnder be tooke rash and vaulted in his other enterprises which headline life did now draw vpon him a penance of twenty five yeeres continuance, in the afflicted state of a forlorne Captive. And Henry now no longer as a brother, recelling the keyes of Normandy, as a Conquerour returned into England.

(24) For loke it was not ere *Drake Robert*, weary of this vnwonted durance, fought to cleape and haue liberty to walke in the Kings Meadowes, Forrester and *Parker*, brake from his Keepers without any Asailers, or meanes for security: who being milde, was prefentely postured, and taken in a quag-mire wherein his Horle lay hid: whereupon the Kings hearing of this his attempt, considering that woods were no wall to restraine the fierce Lyon, and that to play with his claw was to endanger a flate, commanded him not onely a greater restraint and harder durance; but also (to a thing vnfit for a brother to suffer, but most vnworthy for *Beaulieu* to see) to fast his eyes to be put out, causing his head to be held in a burning bason (to auoid the deformity of breaking the eye-balls) wth litle glasses rounde hadt loth the office of retaining their light.

(25) Having thus quieted all foraine oppositions, King Henry set his minde to prevent Dumetick; and therefore (about this time) those *Flemings*, whose Lands the Seas had deuoured some twenty years before, and place was granted them in Cumberland, first by King *Rufus*, and afterwards by *Henry*, were now by the King, upon better aduicement, remooued into *Wales*, both to disburden his Island of such guests, and that so they might be a defence betwixt him and those euer stirring people. Which project nothing decayed his expectation; for by the testimony of *Giraldus*, They were a Colony stout and hardy, and continually endured the wrongs of the *Welsh*. In *Nauis* a most determined to fetch gaine by cloathing, by striffling also and staruishing by Sea and Land, vnderstanding any prices, or perills whatsoever. A people of very greater power, and at time and place requiered, ready to turne to take plough in hand and till the ground, as ready to take to the field and fight it out; and that I may make this much more (faith he) a Nation most fully devoted to the King of England, and as faithfully to the Englishmen.

226) By the which his policy, he attained that which his brother Xufu could not, who many a time had but small success in those parts though otherwise, ever sped most fortunately in all his adventures of warres : But it is thought by some, that as the Mountainous cragginess of the Country ; and Sharpness of the Aire, encouraged them in their rebellion : So the same impeached Xufu his success.

Bar King Henric (Sixth of Malmesbury) who with many
 warlike expedition went about to force the Welshmen,
 by stirring unto Rebellion, for to yield and to submit
 themselves; in the end refused upon this wholesome poli-
 cy to take down their pride, for brought thither all the
 Flemings that dwell in England: a great number of
 which Nation in those daies, in regard of his mothers kin-
 dred by her Father side, flocking thither, were closely
 founded in England, in so much as they for their mu-
 tual freedom burdened unto the Realme: Wherefore
 he sent them all together with their selfe, and their Wives,

Handwritten signature: *Handwritten signature*

W.L.C. 1900.

Robert reflected
on his loss.

An.D.1107

NEAR, very fine

Am. Rep. 8.

Mash. Farin.

Duke Zaher
Hes per met.
Mat. P. m.

An. D. 1103

Firmships pla
ted in W. Aca.

Am. Reg. 9.

West Creek.

The construction of the *Fischer*...

The Flamingo
rugs help de-
termining the

Clay, Raynor had
into Cassette in
1914.

W. R. M. Jones

ing Maryland
- - - - - I find
- - - - - the same

King Henry
confidence of the
English.

Math. Paris.
King Henry I.
under Normandy.

2012, G. 1000

Mat Taww said
a Marabou.

A fierce battle
between the
G. forces and
chase forces,
Mat. Paris.
Duke Robert
taken prisoner.
Richard.
Mat. Paris.
"Yet he'll long
after was taken
and call him
perpetual pri-
soner."
and Melchior.
Mat. Paris.
it was the S. C.
and Mat.]

and Children, into Rolle a Country in Wales, as it were into a common avoidance, thereby both to purge his own kinde, and also to quash and repress the desperate boldness of his Enemies.

(27) And now being free from all feare of subverters King Henry, growing disdainefull (saith Paris) refused to fulfil what he had so oft promised to his Nobles, keeping threats upon threats; for God had bestowed on him three beauties, wisdom, valour, and riches, above any of his Predecessors: but for all these he showed himselfe to God most unthankfull: And of his Clergy (wee may say) too regardlesse, in suffering Anselm, newly reconciled, so lay heavy punishments vpon the married Priests, putting many from their places, because they denied to put away their Lawfull wiues, whereof great contention followed, and grievous finnes in short time committed, both against God and Nature.

(28) Among these proceedings in England, Philip King of France deceased, and his sonne Lewis furnished Cressus succeeded in his gouernement, which how he stood affected to Henry was doubted, and therefore to make sure worke, the King sailed into Normandy, furnishing his Townes, Castles, and Fortresses, with all habiliments of warre, with provisions besetting such suspected times; and so returning, he found attending his coming, the Ambassadors of Henrie the fourth Emperour, as letters from their Master to obtaine Lady Maude the Kings daughter in Marriage, then not past five yeeres of age, which was willingly granted, and the espousals by way of Proxy solemnized, with great feasts and magnificent triumphs.

(29) About which time the death of Archbishop Anselm happening, gave no small hope to the Clergy, as themselves conceived, againe to enioy the liberty of matrimoniall society; wherein they were not a little deceived: for the King seemed willing that the Ecclesiasticall Ordinance before made should be more neerely looked into; whereupon men for feare, and in the sight of men, carried themselves accordingly, but if in secret they did warfe (saith Zedemur) let the charge light on their own heads, with every man shall beare his own finnes: for I know, (saith hee) that if Forerectors and Adversaries God will iudge, the sinners of their owne Consens, (I will not say, their own Sisters and Daughters) shal not surely escape his iudgement.

(30) The Kings peace, which seemed to be secured by his new allyance with the Emperour, and his glory raised to the high, began now to bee enuied, and his brother Duke Roberts extremities greatly to be pitied, both by some English and also Normans. For Faulke Earle of Armoie both threatened the reuenge, and by corrupting the inhabitants wanne the City of Constance, from his obedience. To stay whose interruptions King Henry passed into Normandy, where hee vied great extremity, and put to death Helis Earle of Cornouaille, who held that County against him; for which cause Godfrey Earle of Gaunt tooke such displeasure that hee entered into that Earldome, and marrying the said Helis his daughter, kept the County perforce against King Henries great power. But Robert de Breteigne that had escaped at Duke Roberts overthrow, was then taken and committed prisoner to Warham Castle, too gentle a punishment for so blood-thirstie a man, whose nature was such, that he delighted himselfe only in cruelty, an example whereof hee showed vpon his owne sonne, who being but a child and playing with him, the father for a pastime, put his thumbs in the boies eyes, and thrust out the ballles thereof.

(31) These warres somewhat alluaged, King Henry returned into England, where the people conceived much grudge at his importunate taxes, and the Clergy no lesse at his reuocation of Church liuings in their vacancies, vnder pretence of keeping them for the worthiest; but how vnworthily he oftentimes

bestowed the, may be gathered by that pretty reproof of Guymond his Chaplain, who grieuing to see vnworthymen (for the most part) advanced to Bishopricks and other dignities; when on the Rogation day he celebrated diuine seruice in the Kings Chapel, being to read that lesson out of Saint Iohnes, it rained not on the earth IIII yeeres, and VI. months, hee purposely read it, it rained not, one, one, one, yeeres, and one, one, one, month. All men either laughing or wondering at his reading; the King checked him for it, and asked him the reason; marry (quoth he) I see you bestow your preferments onely on such, as can read so: which secret touch the King well weighing, did both precisely preferre him to the gouernment of Saint Friderikes in the Vniuersity of Oxford, and afterward was more carefull in all other his choices.

(32) The King had not beene long in England after his returne from Normandy, before the Welshmen (then a restless people) were in Armes against such English, as had feet footing in that Country, which were Gilbert Strangborne Earle of Strrygh, and others, whose lands in the south part Owen ap Cadogan fore molested and spoiled; the like did Griffith ap Cuman Prince of North-Wales vpon Hugh Earle of Cheshyre County, and both of them denied King Henry either seruice or tribute. These Earles so incensed the King, touching these and other outrages of the Welshmen, that in a rage he vowed not to leaue one alive in all North-Wales, nor in Powys-land, and straight repairing thitherward, diuided his Arme into 3. parts. The first was led by Earle Gilbert against South-wales; the second band by Alexander King of seotland and Hugh Earle of Cheshyre against North-Wales; and the King himselfe lead the third, vnder whose Standard was the chief strength of middle England. But the Welsh seeing themselves far vnable to withstand this present preparation, tooke into the Mountaines and Woods, (their surest holds) where being followed, with great difficulty, many of them were slaine, and the rest yielded to King Henry, who now as a Conquerour in triumph returned to London.

(33) Whither immediately resorted vnto him, the Ambassadors of his sonne in law the Emperour, to haue his wife Lady Maude now marriage-able, to be sent vnto him; to which request the King most willingly condescended, and to furnish her forth accordingly, laid a taxe vpon his Subiects, taking three shillings for every Hide of land: whereupon the was presently conducted by his greatest Peeres into Germany, and at Mainz married to the Emperour Henry the fourth, being there consecrated and crowned his Emperresse.

(34) Shortly after King Henry tooke the Seas for Normandy, and there created his sonne William (about the age of twelve yeeres (Hauenden saith but eight) Duke of that Country, causing the people to sweare him fealty, whereof grew a custome that thenceforth the Kings of England made euermore their eldest sonnes Dukes of Normandy; which done, he returned, and nothing recorded of his next yeeres adventures, but onely that the Sea gave place to the Sands, and by low Ebbes restored some part of her treasures that long had laien hid and buried in her depth; the riuers likewise forgat their wonted swiftnesse, and as it were seemed vnvilling to pay their ancient tribute into that dejected Element, and among them Thames not the least, whose waters so failed for two daies, that betwix London Bridge and the Tower he became passable and scarce two foot deepe.

(35) King Henry free now from all forraigne & domesticall trouble (saith Griffith ap Rees somewhat vnquiet in Wales) gave his thoughts to assure the Crowne into his line, and to ordaine lawes for the well gouerning of his people, for calling an assembly at Salisbury, caused the Estates both Spirituall and Temporall, to sweare fealty to himselfe, and

Reij. S. Frid. Vnde Oum. a limes 17.

An.D. 1114
Flem. Wigh. Math. Paris. Mat. Wylm. John Cyl. Chron. 1114.

The King goes with a power against the Welsh.

Henry King.

Fin. Wigh.

The Welsh subdued.

Math. Paris. Henry Mart. "Loyers call this Ayle a Reuerer, & Paylor, Wyl. 16. 11. which this was the first prefidence I hat lately for both this, and therefore in triumph of the Kings children, are mentioned in the great Calender of Normandy, and was in vie among the Roman Emperours: Sertanus in Caligula. The English Kings Eldest Sonnes Dukes of Normandy.

Wyl. Thome.

An.D. 1115
Math. Paris.

An.D. 1116
Paylor. 16. 11.

Ger. Dar.

The beginning of our Parliament.

The difference between this and the Ancients of the State.

Campaign.

Henry Hunt, Officer and captain of debates between King Henry and King Lewis of France.

Attempts to dissolve the Treaty of Normandy.

Henry goes to France Normandy.

Mark Paris.

An D. 1117

Plot. Wiper. An D. 1118

An D. 1119 A picture held between the Kings of England and France. An. Reg. 20. action. f. 145.

Mark Paris. The Army of the French King.

The Army of the English King.

to his sonne *William*, the Hope of succession: then reforming many abuses, and ending certain contentions both of his Nobles and Prelates, laid here the first foundation of our High Court of Parliament: for the English Kings in elder times, ordered the affairs of the Common-wealth, by their Edicts, by their officers, and by the Governors of their Country, and seldom had the joint advice of their people; living only at beginning of their government, and in time of warre, whereas now the Subject, best understanding his owne grievances, hath both liberty in choice of their Knights and Burgesses, as also free voice to complain thereof in that honourable assembly.

(16) At this time *Therbold* Earle of *Blessie*, *Nephew* unto *King Henry*, upon occasion of displeasure rose up in Armes against the French King, to whose aid *King Henry* sent whereto *Lewis* found himselfe obliged, and drew to his side *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, and *Fulk* Earle of *Armon*, whotogether tooke oath to dispossesse *Henry* of *Normandy*, and to make *William* the sonne of the *Countess* Duke thereof, to whom it belonged by right and descent; to which also many of the Nobles of *Normandy* consented; pitying the wrong of the noble spiritued Child, and the wretched captivity of the blind, and over-borne Father.

(17) *Henry* as wisely wrought against their designs, and leavayng a great tax upon his Subjects, passed therewith into *Normandy*, where visiting the aides of the foreland *Therbold* as also of the Earle of *Brittain*, with his English, hee made a great show in the field: at which time *King Lewis* with the Earles of *Flanders* and *Armon* being entered *Normandy*, and hearing of *King Henrys* approach and power, flaid scarcely one night, but as me without hart or courage returned, and left the Country for him: so that all things seemed well quietted for a yeare or two; nothing disturbing *King Henrys* peace, excepting onely the expectance of the Popes Legate, whom hee prohibited to enter *England*, and the death of his Quene *Maud*, the very mirror of piety, humility, and princely bounty.

(18) But coules of displeasure kindled betwixt *King Henry* and *Lewis* of *France*, were not quite extinct, though they had laine for a while, as raked up vnder cold ashes. For the next yeare following, and twentieth of his reign, *Lewis* came into *Normandy* as hote in rage to do some what, as before he departed thence calme and cold; where forth with he began to molest the Country, which *Henry* tooke a while suffered, till his friends noted him of cowardize; to whom he replied that he had learned of his Father, to break the same hardines of the French, by patience rather than by force: that they should not wonder, if he were loath to be prodigall of their blood, whom he found so full friends unto him: that he would not gladly winne a Kingdome with their deaths, whose lites hee full found devoted to all hazards for his cause: that hee vied this backwardnesse, onely to flay them, whom hee saw so forward to teele their zeale voluntarily, even with their blood: which to proceed from providence, and not from dauntardnesse, they should soone perceive. This accordingly hee made good; and a pitched field was fought betwixt the Kings of *England* and *France*, wherof let vs heare the Monke *Paris* report. The French King (saith hee) having ordered his Arme into two Battalions, in the former of them placed *William* the sonne of Duke *Robert*, the brother of *King Henry*; the other, *Lewis* himselfe led, consisting of his speciall and chiefeest Souldiers. *King Henry* also disposed his forces into three Battalies, the first, consisting of his Peeres and men of *Normandy*: In the second, some selfe kept among his owne guard, and daile attendants; and in the third, hee marshalled his forces with the maine strength of the Footmen. The Armes thus ordered, the troupes on both sides gave assault, wherof the first Battalions of the French brake through the ranks of the

Norman Nobles, overthrowing their Harbours, and forcing them to scatter, in which violence they likewise brake into *King Henrys* battail, and put it much out of order: but he taking courage, and comforting his men became a most bloody and bold conflikt: wherof himselfe was twice broke upon the head by *William* Crispin Countie of *Eureux* (whom for his offences *Henry* had before banished) whose sword and javels were so fure and so heave, that albeit the Kings helmet was impenetrable, yet wasteful force was it beaten fast to his head, inasmuch that the blood came forth in abundance: but *Henry* seeing himselfe to be wounded, gathered with his rage more strength, and brake the said Countie in such sort, that at one blow hee overthrew both him and his horse, and took him prisoner, by which example his Souldiers were led to fight like *Lions*, and the French to betake themselves unto flight. In this battail died many thousands, and among them *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*: *King Henry* returning victorious, was received triumphantly into *Rouen*.

(19) *Smith* Earle of *Armon* having lost *Baldwin* his martiall Companion, and seeing it was booties to bridle against the *Stemurke*, fell to an agreement with him, which was confirmed by giving his daughter unto his sonne *Prince William* (now seaventeene yeeres old) whom *Henry* made inheritor of all his Kingdomes, wherupon both *France* and *Flanders* became his reconciled friends, and *William* did homage to *King Lewis* for his Duchie of *Normandy*. These things thus ordered *King Henry* upon the twentie last of *November*, loosed from land at *Barfleit*, and prosperously arrived in *England*.

(20) *Prince William*, who now wanted but onely the name of a King, commanded another flippie to bee prepared for himselfe, his Brethren and Sisters, with many other Nobles and Gallants Courtiers, both of *England* and *Normandy*, who plying the Mariners with pots and wine (thereby being instruments of their owne calamity approaching) made them braggeto out-faile the Kings ship gone before; and in the night putting forth from land, with a merry gale made way over the dancing waves, as swift as an arrow: but as if the Heavens would have *King Henry* too great felicitious, and tempered with sense of Courtly variety, in the middle of their iollity and singing, (as they sang their last, and little thought on death) for suddainly the flippie dashed against a *Rocke*, not very farr from the *Shoore*, at which fearful disaster, a hideous cry arooke, all of them flitting (and yet through amazement not knowing how to flit) to save themselves from the danger: For God repaying the reward for sinne, suffered not those a naturall wanton (for such were many of them, faith *Paris*) to have *Christian* Buriall, but were so swallowed up of the *Sea*, when her waves were most calme. *Prince William* got speedily into the Cocke-boate, and might well have escaped, had hee not pittied his filther the Countesse of *Perche*, crying vnto him for helpe; when turning the boate to her aid, so many strined to get in (every man in such a case esteeming his life as much as a Prince) that with their weight it presently sincke, and of so princely a Traine no one escaped to relate that dolefull tragedie, save onely a bale fellow (a Butcher some say) who (wamme all the night upon the *Maine-mate*, and got boare in the morning with much danger of life.

(21) This was the most vnfortunate Shipwracke that ever hapned in our Seas, bringing an inconceivable heauinesse to the King, and whole State: for therein perished *Prince William* Duke of *Normandy*, the ioy of his Father, and hope of his Nation; *Richard* his base Brother, his Sister *Maud* Countesse of *Perch*, *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, with his wife *Lady Lucy*, the Kings Niece by his Sister *Adela*, *Oswald* the Earles Brother, the young Dukes Governour, diuers of the Kings chiefe Officers, and most of the Princes, *Geffrey* *Riddle*, *Robert* *Manduin*, *Dodd* *William*

Henry Hunt, The Kings daughter twofold married.

Ypoc. X. French.

And to be truly acquiescent.

Railroad Earle of Flanders flayed.

An D. 1120

Gren. Duc. Prince at the marriage of the Duke of Armon daughter. Roger. Mand.

Prince William Duke of Normandy.

Barfleit.

Prince William goes on sea.

A most lamentable disaster. William Maud.

Prodigious like to the first storm, which I saw.

Princes William party as his sister could have his life.

Adela's Sister, de Reg. Only one of all her traine escaped.

The chiefs of these who were perished. Mark. Paris. John. Rous. Rand. English.

William Bigod, Geoffrey Arch-bishop of Hereford, Walter de Cruce, and many other of prime note and estate, to the number of one hundred and sixty persons, none of their bodies being found, though great search was made for them.

An.D. 1121
Badmston.

King Henry made
his grace,
Giles Dorch.
Henry, Hench.
J. Wat. Perce.

Land. High.
Folsh. 12. 12. 12.

A Cholerick
Prelate.

Badmston.
J. Wat. Perce.
An.D. 1119.

* Folsh. 12. 12. 12.

* Folsh. 12. 12. 12.
J. Wat. Perce.
J. Wat. Perce.
J. Wat. Perce.
J. Wat. Perce.
J. Wat. Perce.
J. Wat. Perce.

Will. Malms.

Quoniam Cat-
logus.

Matth. Paris.

Will. Malms.

Will. Malms.
Rand. Higley.

Quoniam Cat-

Will. Malms.

An Army con-
ducted against
them.

(42) King Henry that at once deprived of all his lawful Potentia (onely Maude the Emperesse excepted) vpon the tenth of April and two and twentieth yere of his Raigne, married his second wife Adelicia, a Lady of surpassing beauty, the daughter of Geoffrey first Duke of Lowan, in hope (though it proved otherwise) to haue repaired his late losses by issue of her: whose Coronation was appointed to be celebrated by Roger Bishop of Saris-bury, the infirmity of Palsy to troubling Ralph Arch-bishop of Canterbury, that him selfe could not performe it: yet because Roger was not appointed by him, he forbad his imploiment; and the King wearing his Crowne, faith the Monke of Cheshir, this testy old man could hardly bee entreated by the Lords, to with-hold his hands from striking the flame from the Kings head: of such Spirites then were those spiritual Prelates, and lesaue to loose their pompous prehemence of honour: but his high top was somewhat born down by the boisterous blaib of Pope Calist, from whose holy band Thurstan Arch-bishop of York (contrary to the Kings com-mand, and his owne Oath) hauing receiued con-secration, and thereupon forbidden by the King to put foot againe within his Dominions, his holines commanded his New-Creature should be installed (= against all right and custom) without professing any subiection to the See of Canterbury, and threatned with his curse to interdict both Prouinces till that was performed. The cause of the Popes indignation against Ralph is supposed to bee, for that hee had receiued his Infeudature of the King, who contrary to the Canons of the late Romane Synode, did still challenge and practise that Regall prerogative.

(43) Whether it were about this contention of Infeudation, or about a Fryer of the Holy Sepulchre, whom (as Atalamb. faith) the King had imprisoned, or about Thurstans hard vage; certain it is, that the Pope much desiring to haue priuate talke with the King, came to him into Normandy, and so at Gisors conferred (faith Paris) the Great King and the high Priest: but notwithstanding the Popes threats or intreaties, Thurstan was kept in banishment full five yeares, and then for the Popes pleasure was restored. But at this meeting the King was so liberal of rich gifts to the Pope and his Cardina, that therefore the Pope (faith a Monke) held him a most wise and eloquent perswaser, and his allians very profitable: But it seemeth the Cardinals were neither so eloquent nor learned as they should be, for that (faith hee) two yeantes in the Kings Company, Iouers of the Earle of Melient (learned both, and therefore fite to be with that learned King) yesseing of some points with them, and disputing Scholler-like with Logical syllogismes, the Card Robbes (vied to other exercises at home, then studying) were quite gawelled, and had nought to say, but that more learning was in these Willeme parts then they had thought. But as these Church-fittes did not a little disquiet the King, so also did new Welsh tumults, raised by Meredith ap Iethym, who with the three fones of Cadogan, Enean, Madoc, and Atergan, tore troubled the Kings people and peace, by breaking into the Marches, and especially into Cheshire, where they burned two Castles. The King therefore making towards them, had sent his maine Army to conduct the Carriages, whilst him selfe with a small Company tooke a nearer way through the Mountaines and Seraites; which being foreleaid by the Enemy, was with great courage set vpon, and through the advantage of the Place, many of his men slaine, and more hurt, by the Welsh Archers, whose showers of Arrowes rained thicke vpon them from the higher ground: amongst which, one was so le-

nelled at the King, that it struck him on the breast, yet being fully armed, did him no hurt; but hee therewith all wonderfully dismayed, and by likelihood fearing some treason amongst his owne, (for, then hee swore by our Lords death, his vniual oath, that no Welshman shoulde that Arrow, but one of his owne Prouinciall) and considering that by these his ouer-rul proceedings his glory purchased in this wild and rude Country, came to a Parley & Peace; receiuing of the King a thousand head of Cattle, and leauing for Fitzwarren Lieutenant of the Marches, returned to England, where hee held three Parliaments in the same yere, one at Norwich, another at Northampton, and the third at London.

(44) The Normans still repining at the Capitiuity of Robert their late Duke; and standing well affected vnto his Sonne, thought now the time fitting, (Prince William being dead) to raise the other William his Cousen Germane into his place: who, as the Monke of Cheshir affirmeth, married Sybil the other daughter of Eadlie, Earle of Anjou, with whom hee receiued the Earldome of Ceu-mannia, vpon displeasure that King Henry witheld the formers dowry in England. The chiefe in this action was Robert Earle of Melient, who was lately fallen off from the King: Henry therefore hailing into Normandy, besieged his Castle Pont-Audemor, and tooke it, and at that time built a large and high wall with many Bulwarkes about the Tower of Reues, repaired the Castles of Caen, Arches, Gisors, Falaise, Argentan, Damfort, Vernon, Amboise, and sundry others.

(45) In the meane time, Earle Admont desirous to bee reuenged vpon the King, associated Hugh Earle of Mortuier and others vnto his aide, who entering Normandy with fire and sword, did much harme as they went, thinking to bring all to their obediace: against whose outrages, William Tankerville the Kings Chamberlaine, and Lieutenant in those parts, addrest himselfe, and training them into danger of an Ambush, laid for that purpose, after long fight tooke them both prisoners, and presented them to his Master, whereby the warres ceased for a time in those parts.

(46) In this the Kings absence, but yet with his licence, Iohannes Crenouille the Popes holy Cardinal, came into England, sent by Honorius the Second, therto to redresse the ill continged sinne-seeming abuse of the Clergy, in retaining and vling, according to Gods owne Ordinance, the Society of their wives. This Pontificall Prelate was entertained by all the Bishops and Abbots with great and costly Pretences, and afterward being solemnely sent in a Councell at London, vpon the birth-day of the Blessed Virgine, made a soleme Oration in praise of Virginitie and Chastity, with a terrible inuective against the married Priests: and to amplify their finnes the more, hee shewed what extreme impiety it was, to rise from the bed of vnlawfull lust, (for so was their challe Marriage termed) and with polluted hands to touch the Sacrament of the body of Christ: but the same night following he = haung that very day consecrated that holy Sacrament, was himselfe taken with a Whore, the matter being so apparant, that it could not bee hid, (neither ought it to be silenced, faith Huntingdon) to the great reproach of those most vncatche boasters of Chastite, as both Paris and Higden themselves doe confesse: and so hee returned to Rome with shame enough, but with little successe in that intended boineisse: till some few yeres after = King Henry, feeling very desirous to settle his pretended continency in the Clergy; in a Councell held at London, obtained (through simplicity of the Archbishop of Canterbury, faith Paris) that him selfe should haue the execution of iustice and punishments of the Priests, that offended either in keeping of their wives, or vling of Consecrines, (for likely those that liked not the ooe, loued the other,

The King struck
with an Arrow.

King Henry's
last Oath.
Malmsbury.

A Peace con-
cluded.

John Collier,
Giles, Malms.

An.D. 1123
The Normans
vnto Duke Robert
fune.

He married Sy-
bil daughter to
the Earle of An-
jou.
Land. High.
Folsh. 12. 12. 12.

An.D. 1123
Roger Wood,
J. Wat. Perce.
King Henry re-
stores the Ca-
stles of Norma-
ndy.

An.D. 1124

Henry Hunt,
J. Wat. Perce.
Tankerville takes
the Treason-
able Earle in Nor-
mandy.

Malmsbury.

An.D. 1125
Cardinal Crenouille,
the Popes Legat
to settle
Pseudo marriage

Folsh. 12. 12. 12.
cap. 10.

Here, Hunting-
don, J. Wat. Perce.
Hunt, in Henr. 5.

Taken with a
whore the same
day he celebra-
ted the Sacra-
ment.
Hist. 1. 1. 1.
Huntingdon,
Bos. Higden.

* Viz. An.D.
1129.

Folsh.
Hist. 1. 1. 1.
Huntingdon,
Roger Hunt.

The Kings first
wifelye was
Henrie's first
wifelye, who
was to be later.

Polychron. lib. 9.
cap. 12.

An. D. 1134
Henrie's first
wifelye, who
was to be later.

Math. Park.
Math. 109.

King Henry's death
in Normandy.

Windsor.
Windsor. Math. 109.

An. D. 1135

Will. Gemet.
Math. 109.

Polychron. lib. 9.
cap. 12.

Math. Park.
Henry's first
wifelye.

Math. Park.
Math. 109.

Hamington. L. B.
Hamington.
Tand. 109. in Pa-
ly. in. lib. 9. in 29.
a 1/2 of royal
prebendancy.
a 1/2 of royal
prebendancy.

Princes vices
come to light of
their death.

Defcription of
his person and
qualities.
Windsor. Math.
109.

1. Cor. 11. 34.

full an Eclipse of the Sunne, that *Malimbury* the re-
porter saith, himselfe then saw the starres plain-
ly in the Firmament about the Sunne, and that two
daies after, so great and fearful an Earthquake
happened, that the house where in himselfe late, was
lifted vp with a double remoue; and others say, that
out of rissie in the earth, burning flames arose, that
could not be quenched, which diuers iudged to be
fatal prodiges of the deathes of those Princes that
soone after ensued.

(56) For *Robert the Curtise*, after twenty five yeeres
imprisonment and blindness, through griefe con-
ceiued at the putting on of a faire new robe, (too
large for the King, and therefore in kindnesse sent
to Duke *Robert* to wear) grew weary of his life (as
disdaining to be mocked with his brothers cast
clothes,) and curling the time of his unfortunate
Nativity, refused thenceforth to take any visitance,
and so pined himselfe to death. His body was buried
at *Ginsester* in the Church of *Saint Peter*, and
middle of the Quire, where to this day remaineth his
Tombe, with a carved Image of his feature, as the
monument of a most unfortunate man.

(57) And not long after *K. Henry* in *Normandy* com-
mending his very well from Hunting in the Forest
of *Lymen*, and Towne of *Saint Denys*, made his re-
port of a dith of *Lampreyes* (which meat he too well
loved, but could never well digest,) whereupon he
fell more grievously sicke, and the same fall increas-
ing, after seven daies sickness, upon the first
of December, the sixty five of his age, and yeare of
Christ Iesus, 1135. when he had reigned King of
England, thirty five yeeres, four moneths, lacking
four daies, & Duke of *Normandy*, twenty nine yeeres
and four moneths: he died in the said towne of
S. Denys, and from thence was conueyed to *Ram*,
where his Bowels, Eyes and Braines were taken
out, and buried; the body also sliced, and pow-
dered with much salt, was wrapped in a Bulls
hide to anoint the stench, being so inrolleable, (a
point fitting for such great Princes to thinke on, &
in their great glory and pleasures to remember
their frail and humane condition,) that the Physi-
cian who tooke out his braines was poisoned
therewith, and presently died: whereupon some ob-
served, that other Kings killed men in their life; that
he also after he was dead; thence was his Corps
carried into *England*, and honourably buried upon
the day of Christ's Nativity, at *Reading* in *Bartholomew*,
in the Abbey that himselfe had there founded, and
endowed with large possessions.

(58) After his death (saith *Hamington* and *Ha-
nnington*) men spake their mind as freely of him,
as of any other dead man: some commending him
for these three glorious felicities, a *Wifelye*, a *Politic*,
and a *Worthy*; others condemning him for three
speciall vices, *Covetousnesse*, *Cruelty*, and *Lechery*; some
influences of which hee had roched in the course
of his life; the first three, in obtaining and keeping
the Crowne; the last, in his most pious taxations,
cruell handling and imprisoning his Brethren;
and his incontinency of life shall presently appeare,
by his many illegitimate issues, the fruites of his wan-
tonnes, and witness of his shame: in that Princes
who are to punish such sinners in others, ought them-
selves especially to be free from them: for though
their living fortunes stoppe mens tongues from
vpraiding: yet after their death the tongues of the
vulgar, and penes of the learned, will make the in-
famy of their vices to bee immortal.

(59) He was for personage of a reasonable sta-
ture, broad breasted, well jointed, and full of flesh;
amiable of countenance, sharpe and faire eyes, blacke
of haire, and that somewhat carelesly hanging on
his forehead; his mind was enriched with many
vertues, a follower of Justice, a lover of Religion,
severe against theues, and all effeminate niceties;
So that hee commanded mens long haire (which
against God and Nature's law was matchable at that

time with womens) to be cut off: temperate of di-
et, and never drinking but for thirst; valiant in bat-
talle, yet very circumspect, seeking rather to win
by wile care, then by effusion of blood: and by the
report of most Writers excelled all the Princes of
the World in his time, in *Merry*, *Wealth*, and
Bounty, vnto *Manueries*: the land hee defend-
ed by Garrisons of Souldiers planted on the
Coastlines of his neighbour Princes, building many
Fortes, Bulwarkes and Calles; besides twenty five
Townes and Cities: whatsoever was wisely or vir-
tuously performed in his Governement, is chiefly
ascribed to his younger yeeres institution in true
Learning and Philo sophy, which was the great
argument of him vnto the Science of Regality, being of-
ten heard to say, that hee esteemed an *unlearned*
King but a crowned *Ass*. In which regard (saith
a *Politic*, hee took his pleasure to reside in his new
Palace, which himselfe built at *Oxford*, both for the
delight hee had in learned men, himselfe being very learn-
ed, and for the vicinity of his new Palace at *Windsor*,
which hee had fringed with all kind of strange beasts,
wherein he much delighted, as *Lions*, *Leopards*, *Lynxes*,
Camels, *Porcupines*, and the like. His delight also in
works of deuotion, shewes it selfe both in the erec-
tion and indowment of the Collegiate and Episco-
pall Sees of *Carlisle*, and *Ely*, as also of the Abbeyes
of *Hildesburgh*, *Reading*, and the Priory of *Dun-
stable*: His Wife *Queen Mat* and founded the Pri-
ory of *Holy Trinity* within *Algate*, and the Hospital
of *Saint Giles* in the *Fields*: so that by himselfe, his
Queene, and other deuoted persons, twenty foure
foundations to religious vices (if not more) were erec-
ted in the raigne of this King.

His Wifery.

(60) Made the first Wife of King *Henry*, was
the daughter of *Matheus* the third, Iurymare, a *Can-
mar*, King of *Scotland*: her mother was *S. Mar-
garet*, daughter to *Edward*, sonne of *Edmund* the *Irre-
side* King of *England*. She was married vnto him at
London in the first yeare of his raigne, Anno 100: by
Anselme Archbishop of *Canterbury*: having former-
ly vowed her selfe a Nunne, which some swore she
did not for love of single life, but to anioide some
vnworthy matches, which her Father would haue
imposed on her. Her Coronation was at *Westminster*
by the same *Anselme*, on Sunday the eleuenth
of *November* in the same yeare. She was his wife
seuenteene yeeres and more, famous for her learn-
ing, lone to learning, charity to the poore, and all
vertuous dispositions; and deceased at *Westminster*
the first of *May*, in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne,
and yeere of our Salvation, 1118. where shee was
buried in *S. Peters* Church, on the right side of King
Edward the Confessor.

(61) *Adelise*, or *Alise*, the second wife of King
Henry, was the daughter of *Godfrey* the first Duke of
Lorraine, by the daughter of the Emperour *Henrie*
the fourth, and sister to Duke *Godfrey*, and *Isabel*
of *Lmain*. Shee was married vnto him the nine
and twentieth of *January*, in the twentie one of his
raigne, and yeere of Christ, 1121. and was crowned
the morrow after being sunday. Shee was his wife
fifteene yeeres, but euer childlesse, and in iur-
ing him, was remarried to *William* *Danby* Earle
of *Arundell*, and was mother of Earle *William* the
second, *Reyner*, *Godfrey*, and *Iohn*, married to *Iohn*
Earle of *Angi*, &c.

His Issue.

(62) *William*, the sonne of King *Henry* and *Queen*
Mat and his first wife, was born the second of his Fathers
Raigne, and of Christ, 1102. When he came to
age of foureteene yeeres, the Nobility of *England*
did him homage, and swore their fealties vnto him
at *Sherburne*. The third yeere after, hee married
the

Windsor. L. B. 113.
Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

Windsor. Math. 109.

the daughter of *Fauke*, Earle of *Anjou*; and the same yere hee was made Duke of *Normandy*, doing his homage for the same to *Leueis the Greffe*, King of *France*; and receiued the homage and oathes of the Nobility of that Country: but in his returne for *England*, hee was vnfortunatly drowned nere vnto *Bartholomew* vpon the twenty first of November, the yere of Grace 1120. and eighteenth of his owne age, without any issue, to the great griefe of his Father.

Maud. (63) *Maud* the daughter of King *Henry*, and of Queene *Maud* his first wife, was borne the fourth yere of her Fathers reign. She was the second wife of the Emperour *Henric* the fourth, espoused at fixe yeres of age, and at eleuen with great solemnity was married and crowned his Emperesse at *Mentz* in *Germany*, 6. January, Anno 1114. the ninth of her husbands, and fourteenth other Fathers Reignes. Shee was his wife twelue yeres, and furnished him without any issue of him, & coming into *England* a widowe, hee had fealty sworn vnto her by the Nobility, and was married to *Geffrey Plantagenet* Earle of *Anjou*, sonne of *Fauke* King of *Ierusalem*, vpon the third of April and yere of Grace 1127. by whom shee had issue, *Henry*, the second, King of *England*, *Geffrey* Earle of *Norman* in *Brittaine*, and *William* who was called Earle of *Poys*: she was his wife twenty three yeres, and furnished him also continued a widowe the last seuentee yeres of her life, which she ended in the City of *Rouen* the tenth of September, 1167. the fourteenth of the reign of King *Henry* her sonne, and was buried in the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*.

Richard. (64) *Richard* a second sonne to King *Henry*, and Queene *Maud*, by the testimony of *Cornelius* the Monke of *Canterbury*, who maketh *Maud* their eldest Child, *William* the seconds and lastly, *Richard*; and then (saith he) the left bearing: but *Malmsbury* saith, shee had but two Children, one of each sexe.

Rufus. (65) *Eufora* also another daughter, and fourth Child (by *Heitor Boetius* the Scottish Historian) is said to be borne vnto the Beaulieu by Queene *Maud*; the credite of the two last, I leaue to the reporters, who onely thus name them without any further relation.

His Naturall Issue.

Robert. (66) *Robert*, the naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was Earle of *Gloucester*, and married *Matilda* daughter and heire of *Robert Fitzhamon* Lord of *Gloucester*, by whom hee had issue *William* Earle of *Gloucester*, *Richard* Bishop of *Egyon*, *Roger* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Maud* the wife of *Randolph* German, the mother of *Hugh Kenest* Earle of *Cheshire*, and *Richard* his brother: Earle *William* married *Ami* daughter of *Robert Basse* Earle of *Leinster*, and had issue three daughters and beires of that Earldome, which by *Ami* the second of them, in the end descended to *Clare* Earle of *Hereford*. This Earle *Robert* died the last of October, in the twelfth yere of King *Stephen*, and was buried at *Brighthelm* in the Church of *S. James*, which hee had founded, and his body laide in the middle of the Quire; vnto him *William Malmsbury* dedicated his Booke called *Historia Novella*.

Richard. (67) *Richard* another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was as it seemeth by an ancient Register of the Monastery at *Abington*, borne in the reign of King *William Rufus*, of the widow of *Anskil*, a Nobleman of the Country adjoining to the said Monastery; and it seemeth hee is that *Richard* that was drowned in the *Norman* Seas nere *Burghley*, amongst the rest of King *Henric*s children.

Raynold. (68) *Raynold* the naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was borne of a daughter vnto Sir *Robert Corbet*, Lord of *Alderley* in *Warwickshire*, by the gift of the King in finour of her, who was after married to *Henry Fitzherbert* his Chamberlain. This *Raynold* was created Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Casile comb*, with consent of King 56. [1133] and had issue four

Daughters, of whom haue sprung many faire branches.

(69) *Robert* another of that name, was borne of *Edith*, the sister of *Iac*, sonne and daughter of *Forme*, the sonne of *Sigward*, both of them great Barons in the North: which *Edith* afterwards King *Henry* gave in marriage to *Robert* *Dalitz*, Baron of *Hook-Norton* in *Oxfordshire*, and with her gave him the Mannor of *Eldred*, in the County of *Buckingham*, by whom hee had issue *Henry* *Deyle* Baron of *Hook-Norton*, who oftentimes mentioneth this *Robert* in his Charters, cuer calling him *Robert* his brother the Kings sonne.

(70) *Gilbert* another naturall sonne of King *Henry* is named in the additions to the story of *William Gemetien* the *Norman* Monke, in the Chronicle of that country, written by *John Taylor* being a Translator of that worke out of Latine into French; and lastly, in the Treatise betwixt *England* and *France*, written in the French tongue by *John Tillet*, Secretary to their late King *Henry* the second, and yet in them, not any other mention is made, but only of his name.

(71) *William* also a naturall sonne of *Henry* the King, had giuen vnto him the Towne of *Tracie* in *Normandy*, of which hee tooke his surname, and was called *William* of *Tracie*: But whether he were the Progenitor of the *Traciers*, sometime Barons in *Drenthshire*, or of them that now be of the same surname; or whether Sir *William Tracie*, one of the four Knights, that flew *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were any of his posterity, is not certainly reported: nor any thing else of him, more than that hee died a little after his Father, which was in the yere of Christ, 1115.

(72) *Henry* another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Nesse*, daughter of *Ross* a Tender Prince of South-Wales, who was the Wife of Sir *Gerard Windsor*, and of *Stephen*, Constables of the Castles of *Pembroke*, and *Aberystwyth* in *Wales*, and Progenitors of the Families of the *Fitzgeralds*, and the *Fitz-Stephens* in *Ireland*; hee was borne and bred, and liued, and married in *Wales*, having issue two sonnes, namely, *Meiler* and *Robert*, of which *Meiler* the elder married the daughter of *Hugh Lacy*, Lord of *Meiche* in *Ireland*; hee was as the conflict in the Ile of *Anglesey*, betwixen *Magnus* the sonne of *Harald*, Harfager King of *Norway*, and *Bug* of *Montgomery*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Shrewsbury*, wherein hee was slain, as some say, with the said Earle, Anno, 1197.

(73) *Maud* the Naturall daughter of King *Henry* was Countesse of *Ferche*, and the first wife of Earle *Rotrou* the first of that name, sonne of *Arnolfe de Hesling* the first Earle of that County: Shee had issue by him one only daughter named *Magdalen* wife to *Garry* the fourth King of *Nauarre* mother of King *Sanchez*, furnished the wife, from whom all the Kings of *Nauarre* are descended: Shee died vpon Friday the twenty sixth of *November*, in the twentieth of her Fathers reign, and yere of Grace 1120. being drowned in the Sea with her brother Duke *William*.

(74) *Maud* another of that name and naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was married to *Conan* the first of that name furnished the *Grosle*, Earle of little *Brittaine* in *France*, sonne of Earle *Alan* by *Ermenegard* his second wife, by *Alan* (hee had issue *Henri*, pronounced illegitimate, and disinherited by his supposed father *Constance*, that died without issue, and *Bertha* the wife of *Eudes* Earle of *Ferraris*, mother of Earle *Conan* the younger, who by *Margaret* sister of *William* King of *Scots* had issue *Constance* married to *Geffrey* sonne of King *Henry* the second.

(75) *William* likewise another naturall daughter of King *Henry* was married to *Eufance* the illegitimate sonne of *William* Lord of *Brittain* in *Normandy*, who was the sonne and heire of *William Fitz-Osborne* and elder brother of *Roger*, both Earles of *Hereford*

Robert

Gilbert

William

Henry

Maud

Maud

William

in England, and this *Euface* had her beene lawfully borne in wedlocke, had been heire to the Earledomes of *Hereford* and *Leicester*: notwithstanding he had a small part in that inheritance of the Towne of *Potic* from which he tooke his surname, being commonly called *Euface* of *Pacy*, and had issue by this Italian his wife, *William* and *Roger* of *Pacy* his sonnes.

(76) A naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the continuator of the History of *William Gemeticus*, and by *John Tiller* his follower, is reported by them to have beene married to one *William Gaet* a *Norman*; but in neither of these writers is any mention made of her name, or of his estate, issue or other relation.

(77) Another naturall daughter of King *Henry* is without name, recited by the said Authors, and by them reported to be married to the Vicount of *Beaumont*, which is a Towne within the County of *Mayne*. Shee had issue by him, as *Roger* of *Houeden* writeth, *Richard* Vicount *Beaumont*, Father of Queen *Ermengard* the wife of King *William* of *Scotland*: and

Robert the Abbot of *Mount-Saint Michael* mentioneth another of her sonnes, named *Ralph*, who (as he saith) was Bishop of *Angiers*.

(78) Another naturall daughter also of King *Henry* is recited by the *Norman* and *French* writers before avouched, and reported by them to be married to *Mathew* of *Mountmerancy*, the sonne of *Bochard* of *Mountmerancy*, from whom perhaps descended the House of *Mountmerancy*, who after came to be Earles and Dukes, being growne to be one of the greatest houses in *France*, next to the Princes of the bloud, for possessions, alliances, and honour.

(79) *Elizabeth* the last naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the former Authors, was vmarried in the time of the one, and her husband unknowne to the other; but both of them agree, that she was borne of *Elizabeth* the sister of *Walter* Earle of *Meulan*, who was sister also of *Robert* Bassar Earle of *Leicester*, wife of *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembroke*, and mother of Earle *Richard* *Strangbow*, the Conquerour of *Ireland*.

Elizabeth.



STEPHEN

A traitorous po-
tion.
Reg. de Henric.
John Para
Mans. (Mansel,
1814.)
idem.

* O high Sta-
ward
Mat. Fern.
Th. Mat.
Tudor.
Tudor.

* idem.
Tudor. (Tudor in
Tudor.)

* idem. (Mansel,
1814.)
Mansel.

Stephen. (Tudor)
Tudor.

idem. (Mansel,
1814.)
Mansel.

Reg. de Henric.
John Para
Mans. (Mansel,
1814.)
idem.

* idem. (Mansel,
1814.)
Mansel.

A traitorous po-
tion.
Reg. de Henric.
John Para
Mans. (Mansel,
1814.)
idem.

King. (Tudor)
Tudor.

idem. (Mansel,
1814.)
Mansel.

* idem. (Mansel,
1814.)
Mansel.

* idem. (Mansel,
1814.)
Mansel.

* idem. (Mansel,
1814.)
Mansel.

bishop of *Canterbury*, the very first man that had sworn vnto *Maud* the Emperesse: by whose example many others were winded into the like pernicie, & traitorously auowing, that it was balancie for so many, and so great Peeres, to be shiefte vnto a Woman. And to helpe firward those audacious beginnings, *Roger* Bishoppe of *Salisbury*, the late Kings Treasurer protested (*Malinsbury*, who reports it him- selfe heard it from him) that they were free from the oath made to the Emperesse, for that without consent of the Barons he had married out of the Realm; but that which wrought most, was the testimony of *Hugh Bigot*, a Seneciall vnto King *Henry* departed, who coming ouer with *Stephen*, tooke his corporall oath, that the King on his death-bed, vpon some offence taken against his daughter *Maud*, disinherited her, and appointed this *Stephen* his nephew to be his successeur. These colourable insinuations so moued the *Incredulous* Archbishop and the Peeres, that they all swore fealty vnto him and became his Liegemen.

(1) His first landing in *England*, (being at *Whitland-bay*) by a tempest of thunder so wonderfull & terrible that the people thought verily the ende of all was at hand, did prognosticke the storms of troubles which his pernicie brought with him; for euen then both *Dover* & *Canterbury* fortified themselves against him, though *London* gave better leaue to his entrance, whose Person and presence drew euer the affections of the beholder, being in all parts complete with natures endowments, of personage passing comely, of disposition louing, cheerefull, and affable to the meane, alwayes very liberrall; but now especially, knowing his *Parle* the best *Language* to plead for his *Tithes*; and in *Marshall* prowesse gave place to none of that time wherein, though his whole raigne was continually spent, yet (by reason of King *Henries* great Treason left) neuer hathured he the Commons with any exactions, a thing that enrgaineth the loue of the common sort: neither is he taxed with any other obferable crime, save onely his pernicie against the Emperesse *Matilda* and her sonne.

(4) Hee entred his gouernement the yeare of *Christ* Iesus, 1135. the second day of *December*, and was crowned at *Westminster* the twenty first of the same Month, being *Saint Stephens* day, by *William Corbell* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who with the rest of the Prelates doing him homage, and knowing now hee would yeild to any conditions for performance whereof his Brother of *Winchester* did there engage himselfe for a pledge, they all tooke their oath of allegiaunce conditionally, (traitorously, I might say) to obey him as their King, so long as he should preferre their Church Liberties, and the vigour of Discipline: And that the Lay-Barons made vialsof this policie, appeareth by *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, who sware to be true Liegeman to the King, as long as the King would preferre to him his dignities, and keepe all Couenants, wherupon the King promised for the present, that he would speedily reforme the ouer-hard lawes of his Predecessors, and mollifie the extremities thereof to their owne likings, vnder his Seale and Charter: and so thence hastning to meete the Corps of his deceased vnclie, (which was now brought into *England*) he honoured that pompous funeral, with his owne, and all his great Prelates and Peeres, attendance at *Reading*; whence presently he went to *Oxford*, where becalend his fore-promised Charter of many indulgent fauours: & prefacing therein, that hee attained the Crowne by Election onely, and that Pope *Innocentius* confirmed the same; whereby may be conceived, that his Holinesse, either out of hatred to the Emperesse, (whose husband *Henry* was no friend to the Papacie) or for some other holy ends, had no small hand in aduancing *Stephen* perjured and disloyall intrusion. The Tenour of the Charter is this: That all Liberties, Customes, and Possessions granted to the Church, should bee firme and inuoluntarily

that all Persons and Causes Ecclesiasticall should appertaine onely to Ecclesiasticall iudicature: that none but Clergy men should enuey the possessions of Churches, or any Church-mens goods; that all bad vsages in the Land touching forreign, exactions, &c. should be utterly extirpate; the ancient Lawes restored, &c. As *Stephen* well knew, that they had chosen him their King, onely to make their vices of him, so these immunities he granted, rather to blear their Eyes, then with any purpose to manacle his own hands with such Parchment-Chaines.

(5) This his entrance was very peaceable (saith *Germanus of Canterbury*) but by little, and little civil discord increased, to the lamentable destruction of men, and the land: whereto *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, half-brother of the Emperesse, whose wisdom and power King *Stephen* much feared, gaue secret beginning, when amongst them that loue him finally, hee concluded his (as we said) with this refection, that his owne authority should be nothing impaired, meaning no longer to respect him as his King, then the King should him as a Peere: and a general siffurance, to erect Castles for strength throughout the land, was no security to his peaceable estate. Intended indeed to strengthen the peace, it ended against *Maud* the Emperesse; but proued the base of all sibi-cite obedience: which was politickly considered by *Henry Fitz-Emperesse*, in the conclusion of Peace betwixt King *Stephen* and him, when a thousand one hundred and fiftene Castles so raised, were againe razed and call downe.

(6) The first man that profitably set himselfe opposite to *Stephens* usurpation, was *Baldwin de Reders*, who fortified the City and Caille of *Exeter* against him; the *Welshmen* also, bearing in minde the harms that *K. Henry* had done them, desired reuenge, and made many slaughters vpon the Kings people: Against these, *Stephen* proceeded with his band of *English* and *Flemmings*, and after a strong and chargeable liege, by famine drew forth *Baldwin*, his wife, and children, all which hee did inherited and expulsed the Land, vnto so great lenity towards all other offenders there, that it gaue great encouragement to others rebellions. But in *Wales* the businesse prospered not so well, where at *Cardigan* a great battell was fought, with such slaughter and ouerbearing of the *English*, that the men by women were taken and led away Captiue, and so many drowned by the fall of a Bridge ouer *Towd*, that a passage was made ouer the water with the dead Carcases therein heaped.

(7) Neither thus onely, but some of the *English* also dissenting King *Stephen*, secretly instigated *David* King of *Scotland*, to reuenge the wrongs done to the Emperesse *Maud*, a seruice as they wraged it very gratefull vnto her, and euen pleasing to God and Man. He therefore confirming, invaded the borders, and tooke from the *English* both *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, which hee staffed with Garrisons. Against these, King *Stephen* prepared, and with a great power came into those parts, where diuers accidents by diuers reporters are related, yet all agree that ere long peace was concluded. *Carlisle* still enioied by King *David*, and the Earldome of *Huntington* by Prince *Henry* his sonne; for which hee did homage at his fathers command, *David* himselfe refusing to doe (as *Helmer* Doctor the Scottish writer affirmeth) for that he had giuen his faith before vnto *Maud* the Emperesse.

(8) King *Stephen* returned, and all in good quiet, he suddenly fell sick of a *Lethargy*, yet & in such danger of life that the common report gaue fourth hee was dead, which stirred great troubles both in *England* and else where, for thereby his friends were stricken into great feare, and the factious more bold to prepare for Queene *Maud*; for *Hugh Bigot* one of his chiefeest and first raiuers fortified himselfe in the Caille of *Norwich*, and would not deliuer it vnto any save onely to the King, yea and very unwillingly also vnto him: and in *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader*

1135. (Mansel,
1814.)
idem.

1135. (Mansel,
1814.)
idem.

1135. (Mansel,
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1135. (Mansel,
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1135. (Mansel,
1814.)
idem.

1135. (Mansel,
1814.)
idem.

Gen. Wall. a.

Tumultuous re-
turns in Nor-
mandy.
P. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Stephen elder
brother loses
France.

Idem.

Stephen goes in-
to Normandy.
P. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Gen. Dorel.

He makes league
with France.
P. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Stephen holds
his elder brother
Tale.
P. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

He supports the
Empress's suc-
cessors with money.

An. D. 1138.

An. Reg. 3.

Gen. Dorel.

England again
in tumult.

King Stephen re-
turns to Eng-
land.

King Stephen.

Math. Paris.
The King of
France against
King Stephen.

Yp. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

The English No-
bles against King
Stephen.
Simon Dun.

the sons of *Grafth ap Conan* Prince of that Country, earned great spoils from the English, as of other goods, to all of Horse and Armour, and habilliments for warre, likewise in *Normandy*, Conspiracies began to had forth: for *Geoffrey Earle of Arden*, who in right of his wife made claime vnto all, really got the hearts and endeavours of many to adhere vnto the true heire; possessing himselfe of certaine Castles; but entering further on the Demaines of one *Talvas*, a man of noe professed for some offence or displeasure by *King Stephen* the *Normans* disliking that, and some other his doings, sent for *Thobald Earle of Blouys* (his elder Brother) offering him both their Dukedome, and their swordes, and liues to defend him in it; who conuincing to *Lacous*, *Robert Earle of Gloucester*, (not vntilling any way to weaken *King Stephen*) deliuered vnto him vpon composition, the County of *Salisbury*, himselfe carrying no small summe of money thence out of *King Henries* Treasure, and very thoroughly, (though secretly) watching all opportunities to aduance the title and desires of the Emperesse.

(9) *Stephen* recovered, and hearing these stirres, prepared himselfe first into *Normandy*, at whose approach, after some small attempts, the people (distracted betwixt feare, and sense of their duty) yielded themselves vnto his power; surrendering their fenced Cities, and other strong holds. This good successe thus fortunately begonne, he hoped further to prosecute, by means of a league, which hee lately had made with *Leno* the sixteenth King, of *France*: and heereupon created *Engage* his eldest son lining, Duke of *Normandie*, commanding him to do his homage for the same to *Leno*.

(10) *Earle Thobald* living himselfe thus defeated of his hopes and purposes, stormed at the wrongs done by *King Stephen*; for hee, (his elder by birth, and *Blayfes* Earldomes lawfull heire) laide his title both for *Normandie* and *England* also, now vsurped by *Stephen* his yonger: notwithstanding (age nought auailing without power) hee came to a composition, and remitted his Claime for two thousand markes annually to be paid. *Geoffrey of Arden* likewise, whose title by his Wife was better then them both, not able at the present (being so far ouer-matched by the Kings power, wealth, & confederates) to do what he would, yielded to necessity, and for fine thousand markes yearly to be paid, iustified *Stephen* quietly to enjoy the Crowne.

(11) Having thus at once swept the two greatest rubbes out of his fortunes way, hee well hoped that all cloudes of displeasure, and opposition, were now ouer-blowne, when vntexpectedly newes came, that *England* was in tumult, the sparkes of conspiracie, kindled secretly before in the hearts of fassious *Peers*, now openly breaking forth, vpon aduantage of his absence in *Normandie* therefore, hauing not altogether coposed his buisines in those parts, he took ship for *England* in the depth of the winter, and euen in the *Fygh* of *Christis Natinnie*, besieged, and after tooke the Castle of *Besford*, that was manned against him in the behalfe of the *Seats*; about which time *David* their King having entered *Northumberland* in the quarrell of *Queene Maud*, the ruler fort of his Armie (as commonly the best governed is not emptic of such) reuenged too tragically the wrongs of the Emperesse, in ripping vp the wombes of women with child, and toying their infants vpon the points of their speares, slaying the Priests at the Altar, and dismembred the flaine bodies in most vnhumane manner.

(12) Against these, *King Stephen* made hastie forward, altho' it was no policie, to give one haire rest vnto the *Enemie*: and threatening more then hee accomplished, entered *Scotland* whence after some small reuenge wrought, hee was hastily recalled; so many of his Nobles in *England* now in Armes against him, that hee was in a sort beset on corrie side, And what other could hee, a *Farper*, expect from them,

but *Treason*, whom himselfe had formerly taught to be *Treason* to their rightfull Soueraigne. But yet (as no *Rebellion* was euer without pretence of *Reason* and *Iustice*) they alledged, that hee had violated his Oath touching their Forreits, and other Immunities of Church and Common-wealth: but Church and Common-wealth, were but publicke colours for priuate grudges, (as *Malmerbury*, who then liued, well vnderstood) which the Great-Ones conceived against their King, because he would not grant them such Castles, Commands, and Lordships, as themselves liked and expected of him, whom they thought to be so obliged vnto them, that he ought denie them nothing. The endlesse and hamlesse importunities of these men, sometimes hee put off, alcadging thereby, the empasse of his *Crownes* reuenges; sometimes hee was faine to listle, *disgracing* their falling from him: whose loathe notwithstanding being built on so vn-noble grounds, was but reuered, and therefore could not long be permanent. Neither was it. For *Robert of Gloucester* (the Emperesse half-brother, and now her cluife Counsellor and Captaine) finding those particular dislikes apt to be wrought on, and made seruicable for a common bechoffe; whetted on with the touch of conscience, and counsells of the learned men, (who vrged him, with the hazard both of his credit, and soule, for neglect of his feith, and only lawfull Oath to the Emperesse) thus threatening meillages vnto *King Stephen*, charging him with his Oath of Allegiance vnto *Lady Maud* his Soueraigne, against whom hee had shewed himselfe a most perfidious man, and had impiously drawne him with others to doe the like; and so denouncing *Stephen* an open Enemieto the State, and himselfe vnto *Stephen*, made from his faction with the assistance of many Nobles among whom, *Mile*, a chiefe man of warre, and High Countable to *King Stephen*, reuolted from him, and became a great help to their proceedings.

(13) *Earle Robert* (whom erstwhile the enraged King discharged of his honours and possessions in *England*) tooke into the Castle of *Brifson*, and made good alio his Castle of *Stile*; his complices likewise did the like in other places: for *William Talbot* manac'd the Castle of *Horford*, *William Lancel* the Castle of *Caric*, *Peter de* the Castle of *Ludlow*, *William de Mount* the Castle of *Danforth*, *Robert de Nihel* the Castle of *Warren*, *Engace* *Fitz-Alan* the Castle of *Alenace*, *William Fitz-Alan* the Castle of *Shrewsbury*, and *William de* the Castle of *Dunelm*. And thus those forts which were erected to defend the Crowne, first offended the King, some few wherof as hee recouered, he flatted to the ground, and willed the other no higher walls; still (swearing by *Gods Birth* (his viall Oath) hee would not so lightly bee vntaken of his Crowne, and wondering what should moue them, who had so readie aduanced him, so speedily to vntake him. One fresh mo' iue to these Noble-mens discontents was the Kings. Seizing on some great men and their lands, on bare suspicion of their iollitie; and on the other side, the extraordinary fauour, which *Stephen* shewed to *William de Tracy*, and his *Flemings* (which they interpreted as a contempt of themselves and their Nation) whose counsells hee generally followed, and euerie flie relied vpon: In disaine wherof, they lent word to the Emperesse, that within fine Monethes, shee should haue the Realme at command, according to their Oath made to her Father.

(14) These rumoules thus working in the bowels of the Kingdome, *David King of Scotland* had better opportunitie to assaile the sides and skirts thereof; and following what hee had begonne, with a very great Armie entering *Northumberland*, made great slaughter of the English, and destruction of their Countrey: Against whom the Northern Lords prepared, at the command of *Thurstan Arch-bishop of York* (left by *King Stephen* Lieutenant in those parts) who being by sickness kept from the Field, ap-
Cccc 2 pointed

• Hastings. 13.

Malmerbury, lib. 1. pag. 145.

Idem. lib. 1. pag. 145.

Idem.

Paul. Robert. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Idem.

Malmerbury, lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Gen. Dorel, lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Eng. lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Henry. lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

• De Otobris.

King Stephen. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Malmerbury, lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Gen. Dorel.

An. D. 1139.

The King of Scotland, his army, against King Stephen.

Simon Dun.

Monks,
Wendover,
Monks, Hunting.

This field was
fought in August
An. 1138. after
the month of
November.
Mat. Paris.

The great value
of Prince Henry
at Sandwic.

Stah. Park.
Hunting. & ally.
Palsgrave.

Rend. W. 138.
Ryle. 138.
Lanc. 138.

A Peace betwixt
the King of Eng-
land and Scotland.
Mat. Paris.
Henry II.

Hunting.
Henry II.

A. Do. 1140
King Stephen
placed down
the Calles.

Mat. Paris.
138.

Henry II.
Hunting.

A great Council
at Oxford.

Gros. 138.

Mat. Paris.
138.

The Kings wife
of his Priests.

138.

* Oxford. Park.

pounted Ralph Bishop of Durham his General whose
Inevitable Oration before their joining of bataille,
occasionally upon the forced madame canons of
some undisciplined Scots, is at large set down by
Harden, Huntingdon, Wendover and others; in the
close whereof, he absolved them from punishment of sin,
all such of his fides, should die in this bataille which
made the English more desperate in fight, who so
forcely pressed upon their enemies that they forsooke
their King, he notwithstanding valiantly persuing till
his dearest friends earnestly urged him to avoid. But his
son Henry, esteeming more of glory the life, rushed in
amongst his retiring soldiers, and with undaunted
courage, perswading them to regard chemeilus and
his presence, with threat of shameful deaths to all
such as fled, he held them in for a time till at length
over-laid with the maine-battle of the English, the
magnanimous Prince Henry, likewise quitted the
field, bitterly cursing the forwardnes of Fortune,
and the mischance that hapned that day.

(15) With like fortunate successe, proceeded
Stephen against his disobedient Barons, and wanne
from them the Castles of Hereford, Gloucester, & Exeter,
Bristol, & Salisbury, whereby he weakened
Earle Robert so much, that he was constrained to
flee into France, and there indignated his sister the Em-
press to come into England.

(16) These domestike opposites thus removed
out of his way, King Stephen re-addressed himselfe
for the North, to prosecute that which Thorsland had
beguene: first therefore winning the Castle of Leeds,
he went into Scotland, where by the persuasion &
prowesse of Mary and Matilda (Sister Paris) a Peace
was concluded betwixt the two Kings; and Stephen
there returning, brought Prince Henry (whom he
created Earle of Huntingdon) with him into England,
and at the siege of London Castle, the adventurous
Prince was almost surpris'd, where the besieged with
an Iron Grapple pluckt him from his horse, and so
had taken him, but that King Stephen himselfe, with
great valour and honour recovered him: who ha-
ving wonne the Castle, went presently to Oxford,
whither newes was brought him that the Emperesse
was preparing for England.

(17) To make all sure as he went, Stephen thought
it good to demolish, and raze those Castles lately
built, (having had experience to what troubles they
had brought him) and to prevent the building of
new ones, namely, that of the Danes, now (as hee sur-
mised) in fortifying against him: hee therefore knit
for Roger Bishop of Salisbury (the Founder both of
that Castle, as also those other of Sherburne & Malms-
bury) a man who in a bad cause had stood King Ste-
phen in good stead, howsoever some envying his
greatnes, had incensed the King against him, and o-
ther Prelates, as if they were fallen from his side. The
Bishop standing peremptorily on his innocence,
yet mistrusting the euen, craued the company of
Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and of Nigel Bishop
of Ely; so with a great and well appointed traine,
replied to Oxford vnto the Court, where Stephen
had summoned a Grand-Council of the States.

(18) The King who expected of Church-men
humility, seeing them now armed as men for the
field, commanded his attendants to take armour
likewise, and so coming communication of duers
matters with his Peeres and Prelates, their Soldi-
ers casually meeting, fell at variance, where the Bi-
shops friends had the worse, so that many of them
were wounded, and therewith forsaking their matters
ranne away. This great assembly thus disturbed,
the King required the Bishops to satisfy his Court
for these outrages of their seruants, which satisfaction
should be, to deliver the keys of all their Castles to
the King, as pledges of their fidelity, which the yre-
fuming, the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln were laid
hold of; but Ely escaped to the Castle of Dunelm:
Alexander was imprisoned, till hee had yielded him
his Castles of New-castle, and Slisford; Roger the

Castles of Sherburne, and the Danes (accused then
one of the goodliest Castles of Europe) besides forty
thousand Markes in filkes; (which Iohes the Bishop
did not long survive). The King employed the mo-
ney to purchase Lady Constance, sister to Lewis King
of France, to be wife vnto his sonne Eustace: all which
was to strengthen himselfe against the Emperesse
Matilda, whose coming he continually feared, &
now before his expectation she was landed in Eng-
land, at a fitt time for her designs, when all the
great Prelates (who formerly were his chiefest
friends) were highly incensed against the King for
such oppression of their Brethren.

(19) The place of her arriuage was at the port
of Arundell, into which Calte there was joyfully re-
ceived by William de Albini, who had married Queen
Adeliza, the late wife to King Henry, whose Dowrie
it was; from hence Earle Robert deserting his course
only with tenne horse-men, and as many Archers,
(for in all hee brought over but one hundred, and
forty with him for so great an exploit) passed throgh
the Land vnto Wallingford and Winchester, soliciting
his Complices for the aid of his sister the Emperesse.
A man who then liued, holds him, in this bold at-
tempt with so small forces, no way inferior to Ju-
lius Caesar, whom Lincie reports to haue begun his
ciuill war, and to haue set himselfe against the whole
world, onlie with fise Cohorts of Soldiours.

(20) King Stephen as then lay in siege of Mar-
tineburgh Castle, but hauing intelligence of this more
dangerous an enemy, dilogged thence, and with all
expedition made towards Arundell, whereto the
Emperesse, waiting her Counsellor, was wonderfull
perplexed, yet wanted not a womans wit to helpe
at need; in somuch that by the report of Gernesfor,
left her dignity and right might any way be endamaged,
shee took an oath, that none of those King's enemies
by her aduise or consent had carried the land, but with
condition to carry themselves orderly without impeach-
ment of the honour and allegiance due to the King; by
which policy (to geue it no worse name) shee laste-
fied King Stephen (whom all do censure for too much
credulity and facility towards his foes) that hee caus-
ed her to be commended honourably vnto Bristol,
where she remained the space of two monethes, and
then got thence vnto Wallingford.

(21) Earle Robert in the meane while disperised
the newes of the Emperesses approach, vnto whose aid
so many gathered, that the time Monke reporteth,
no man was able to sit downe their multitudes in con-
text of byshire, much lesse by way of Computation: then
became (saith he) both labour and dolour, which brought
the whole Realme to a most grievous distress, and in a ma-
ner to an utter raine: for those that favoured the King,
what could former could be wrought or imagined, they did
against them, that took part with the Emperesse;
and contrariwise, Earle Robert, whose power daily encreased,
tormented with cruelties all those that stood for the
King, and to augment a more mischiefe, the Flemings
left their home Country, and came over by multitudes,
like vnto a Company of hunger-starved Wolves, seeking
to bring the Land felicity vnto nothing.

(22) Stephen, whose head was now full of troubles,
delaid no time to forward his Fortunes, but straight-
waies besieged Matilda and her brother in Wallingford
Castle; notwithstanding, wearied with long labour
and prosing lirie, hee caused a Tower of wood to
be there erected, which he strongly fortified with me
and munition, and then removed to the siege of
Atalmebury. His brother also of Winchester, who out
and pollicke Prelate indeede, bestrid all his willie
wittes in Stephens behalfe; for insuaining certaine No-
ble-men to his Palace at Winchester, retained them
prisoners, till hee had compelled them there, to re-
signe their Castles to the King. In the meane while
Earle Robert subdued and spoiled Winchester: Ralph
Parsell, in the Emperesses fauour, burned Nettingham;
and Ranulph Earle of Chester, joining in wittes with
Robert (whose daughter hee married) shed his selfe

Wendover.
138.
Poly. 138.
cap. 18.

Eng. Monks.

The Emperesse
arrives in Eng-
land.
Huntingdon.
Rend. W. 138.
A. Do. 1140.
Lanc. 138.

W. 138.
Ryle. 138.
Lanc. 138.
A. Do. 1140.
Lanc. 138.

Stephen hastens
to the Emperesse.

Her politike ex-
tra.
G. Do.

Roger, Wend.
Henry II.

The Emperesse
power increased
Gros. 138.

Flemings come
to King Stephen's
aid.

King Stephen be-
sieges Walling-
ford Castle.
G. Do.

The Bishop of
Winchester co-
strains the Nobles
March. Paris.

not unwilling to annoy King Stephen though he had received great honours at his hands. The Emperesse her selfe, the better to secure her owne person, and to give access unto her favourites,ooke into *Lincolne*, where the means to make her abode, storing the City with all provisions necessarie.

(21) King Stephen, as vigilant as the other was pollicke, made straight waies thitherward and begg'd the Cause with a braue siege, where hee had surpris'd his greatest Enemy, had thee not found mem'es thence to escape; so possessing himselfe of the City, settled it, & the whole Countrey in verie good quiet. Soone after whose departure, *Ranulph* Earle of *Chesler*, with his Countesse, and Brother, comming to *Lincolne*, to keepe their Christmas; the Citizens knowing the Kings jealousy, and desirous to carrie favour with him, sent secret intelligence, that if he would surprize both those Brethren, he had now the fittest advantage: where the King giving care, came thither with great expedition; and whiles they, thus circumvented, stood on their guard in the Castle, the Earle escaped forth, and went to craze aid of the Emperesse, for rescue of his wife and brother whom hee left beliedged. Earle Robert, hearing the newes, and glad of so faire an opportunity, joined with *Ranulph*, and they both gathered all their powers both of *Welsh* and *English*, for the reliefe of their friends in *Lincolne*: where, resolute first wading through the *Kneer*, (which parted them from the Kings Armie, and then deepe) upon Candlemas day and yeere of Christ Iesus one thousand one hundred forty one, they pitched their Tents, and in the Kings sight ordered their Battail: One Squadroner whereof, was lead by Earle *Ranulph*: the *Dispersed* were the *Guards* of another; in the third was Earle Robert himselfe; and the *Welsh-men* served for the Wing. Their troopes thus marshalled, *Ranulph* appointed in rich Armour, and full of braue resolution, spake thus to his followers, in the presence of Robert of *Gloucester*.

(24) "I yeld you unfained thanks, (Immeible Captaine, and you, our companions in Armes) which here so resolute witness your looves vnto mee, vpon my sole request, euen to the hazard of your owne liues. Sith then, I am the chiefe cause of this your perill, it will beside mee, that I my selfe be forsooke at the hazard, and give the first on-sette of battail against this faithlesse King; who made vs a shew of cruce, onely to take advantage for our ruines; and therefore both mine owne courage, and the Kings vnusd dealing, gine mee cause to hope, that I shall forthwith beake asunder the strength of his Armie, and make my way through their mass, by dint of this my sword. It shall be argument of your prowess, to follow me, leading you the way, and to imitate mee, giuing you example. My thoughts already tell mee, that euen now I am breaking through his Battles, trampling on the neckes of his Chieftaines, and piercing with this my sword the very sides of the King himselfe. His speech though short and headie, as more fitting a Souldier then an Orator, yet well suited with the time, and was seconded with great applause of the Souldiers: Whereupon Robert Earle of *Gloucester*, stept forth and said.

(25) "It is not against right, most Noble Earle, that the honor of this daies seruice, and first assault, should bee permitted vnto you, in regard of the greatest both of your descent, and your martiall achievement; but yet, if Defense bee stood on, I my selfe am both the sonne, and nephew, of a Mightie King; if Valour, here now are many of choic'd worth, of whom none lining can challenge precedence for prowess. But other reason ought now to sway. For sith the King, contrary to his Oath made to my Sister, impiously vsurp'd the Kingdome, he hath made a confusion of all things, both in casting the blood of many thousands to bee spilt, and in making many Owners (as him-

selfe was) of that which was not their owne, by depriving other of their rightfull inheritance: These therefore thus dishonored, ought of right (in assistance of helpe from their righteous Iudge and reuenger) giue first assault on their vnrighteous oppressor; and God who iustly iudgeth his people, will (doubtlesse) looke downe from his heavenly habitation, and will not leaue vs succourlesse, whiles in a iust cause, wee impugne a most vnusd Intruder. But one thing, (most resolute Captaines and Souldiers) I would haue you throughly to consider, that through these Fennes (which with so macha doe you have passed) there is no way fit for escape: here must wee either vnquill, or leaue our liues, for hope of flight is none at all, nor is there any other way, left vs now to goe, but by our swords into the Citie: and (if I please right) euen this, that wee haue no means to flee, will bee to vs the means (by diuine assistance) to get the Victorie; because they must needs trust to their Manhood, who see no hope to thrise by their Cowardize. Indeed, the Citizens of *Lincolne* keepe nigh to their houses, and in the brunt of the Battel, there will their minds bee, and thither will their heeles follow, whyles you victoriously shall keepe the field. And consider farther with mee, what kinde of Captaines they haue: First *Alain* Duke of *Britaine*, he comes armed, not against you, but God himselfe, a furious person, spotted with all filth of sinne, in malice vnmatchable, who thinks it his greatest dishonour, to see any man excell him in crueltie: with him cometh the treacherous Earle Robert Mollent, the very craftiest master of fraud, in whose heart dwells impiety, guile in his mouth, cowardize in his actions; guile of minde, vaine glorious in words, degenerate in performance; last in the fight, first in the flight. Next, comes Hugh Bigod, his name secretly sounding his perurie; who thought it not sufficient to beake his oath with the Emperesse, but that hee must bee once againe forsworn (as all the world doth know) that Henry at his death bequeathed the Crowne vnto Stephen, to the prejudice of his owne daughter; a man (in a word) who accounts Treachery a *Peruise*, and *Peruise* a courtly quality. Among these Gallants marcheth the Earle *Albemarle*, a man of a singular constancy in euill; very ready to attempt, & very loath to leaue any mischietous folly; wife, through irksomnes of his vnfortunate holty qualities, is gone from him; & the Earle that keeps her, bee cometh against vs too, a notorious adulterer, and the *Non-parrell* of impurity, a true Souldier of *Batshus*, a stranger to *Mari* to whom the sight of all blood, except of the Grape, is verie facefull. Then stretch forth *Simas* Earle of *Hampton*, whose deeds consist altogether in words, and whose liberality onely in promises, for when he hath said, he hath done, and yet get no more. Lastly, you see here gathered a knot of Perres, all like to their Prince, accustomed to robberies, enriched with rapines; fained with man-slaughters, and all tainted with perurie. You therefore (Noble spirits) whom great Henry aduanced, and this Stephen hath cast downe, whom Henry made wealthy, and Stephen hath empow'ered, be now courageous, and vpon assured confidence of your great valours, yes, of Gods iustice, seek both your iust *Engle*, which God euen puts into your hands, on these vngodly wretches; and immortal *Glorie*, which shall hence-forward attend both your selues, and your posterity for euer. If you are all of this mind, for executing this Iudgement of God now vpon them, then vow your selues vnto God, and thus his seruice; and forbear, nay rather forswear, to shew your backs to your foes.

At which words, all iointly lifting vp their hands, and acclamations vnto heauen, with a terrible shout abjured all thought of flight, and quickning vp their braue spirits, aduanced gallantly towards the enemy.

Simas Duke,
Bigod issued.

Alain Duke,
Hampton.

Robert Mollent,
Earle Robert
King Stephen and
his adherents
pitch their Battel

Earle Robert.

Ranulph Orator
before the Duke
Robert Howard.

Robert Howard,
Earle Robert
Orator before
the Duke.
Robert Howard,
Henry Ham,
Polishman.

Alain Duke of
Britaine.

Robert Mollent,

Hugh Bigod.

Earle Albemarle.

Earle Simas.

King Stephen ad-
dresse to the
Barons.

Math. Paris.
Sum. Diet.

Henry Hunt.
Anglo. Norm.

Earle Robert.

Earle Thomas.

The Monk.

(26) King Stephen, the meane while, was farre from being idle, who also ordered his Arme into three seuerall Battalions: the greater part and best furnished, whose horses he had sent away (perhaps also to deprive his men of all hope of flight) he appointed to remaine on foot with himself, and creaw of his Nobles, all vnder one Banner. The horsemen hee disposed into two seuerall wings, the one commanded by *Alane Duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigod Earle of Norfolk, Simon Earle of Hampton*, with the two *Earles of Meles and Warren*; and the other Wing was governed by *William de Tress* the Fleming. Then the King, because his voice was not very pleasing or audible, commanded *Raldwine Fitz-Gilbert*, a man of great honour and prowesse, to utter his mind vnto the Army, who standing conveniently to be heard, spake vnto them as followeth.

"(27) All such as address themselves, and expose their liues, to the hazard of battaile, haue three things aduicely to be thought on: The equall of their cause; the Number of the Forces; the sufficiency of their men. The first, lest they endanger the state of their Soules; the next, lest they be overleaid with multitude of their enemies; and the last, lest while they presume vpon numbers, they find them but faint-hearted, to their vtter ruine. But in all these, wee know ourselues to be sufficiently furnished. The Iustice of our cause is, for obliuious the vow made before God vnto our King, to withstand them that haue falsified their faith, euen to the hazard of our liues. For our Number, in Horsemen, is not inferior to theirs, in Footmen we farre exceede them: and for sufficiency, what words can equall the noble valour of so many Earles, Lords, Capaines and Followers, trained vp euer in the warres! But above all, the incomparable prowesse and presence of our King, will be in head of thousands to vs. Such then this our Lord, and the Lords Anointed (to whom you vowed your faith) is in field here amongst you; now performe this your vow vnto God; assured, that the more constant you proue in this your Princes service, and faithful against those faithles periured persons, the more shall your reward bee at the hands of God, and of him. Therefore be both courageous, and confident; che rather, considering against whom you fight: euen against *Robert the Base-born* General, whose vile mouth worth is well knowne; for he can threaten much, and performe as little: a Lions tongue, and a Hares heart: his faire speech is his credit, his foule actions are his shame. *Cheffers Earle* what is hee? a man audacious, but without all iudgement; ready to plot a treason, but still waunting in the pursuit of it: ready to runne into battaile, but vtterly insensible in any danger: aiming beyond his reach, and conceiting things merely impossible; and therefore hath he few with him that know him, but leads onely a rout of vagrant rascals: so there is nothing in him to be feared; for whatsoever he begins like a Man, he ends it like a Woman; fortunate in all his vndertakings, in his encounters still either vanquished, or if he chance (rarely God woe) on a victorie, it is with farre greater losses then the conqueror. The *Welshmen* he brings with him, are fitter for our contempt then feare: their rashness you may easily see, for it is naked and vnarmed, who wanting both military Art and Prudence, runne headlong like brutes vpon the Hunters lauels. The rest aswell Nobles (if such they may be termed) as common Souldiers, are but stragglers and runnagates: of whom I would wish their number greater; for the more they be, the more successefull will bee their service. You therefore (great Peeres and Worthies) it now behooueth (and indeed it much becometh you) to bee very mindfull, both of your Valours, and Noblesse: this day a duncie your Prowes to the height,

"and following the footsteps of your famous Ancestors, leaue to your posterities both a noble pattern, and an euerslasting renouew. Your dayly successe of victories, should quicken your hearts this day to achieve brauely, and the continuall miscarrying of our enemies, will quicken their heeles to flie as speedily; and (I dare say) they already repent of their coming hither, and are by this time casting how to begone, if the nature of the place would giue them leaue. Then sith it is vnpossible for them either to fight, or flie; why come they hither, but euen by Gods own appointment, to offer the milke, and all their provisions into your hands? and here you see their horses, their Armour, yea and their bodies, to rest at your pleasure: reach forth therefore your warlike hands to seize on that ioyfully, which God hath freely brought you.

Which exhortation hee had scarcely closed, when the noise of Trumpets, and shout of the enemies coming on, was rhetoricke enough to incite them to their task.

(28) A fore battaile was fought, and with equall successe a long time maintained: for the band of the disherited, whose particular wrongs whetted their courage, (and were therefore politickly placed in the front) beate terribly into the Kings Vanguard; and contrariwise *William de Tress* into the Welsh, vntill the Foreward of the Kings horsemen beganne to shrinke backe, and (vnto without suspicion of treason) galloped away; when presently the Earle of *Chester* encountered the Kings battaile of foote, in whose strength he reposed most trust, but it being overlaid with Affaires, beganne also to faint and to flie, leaving the King enraged, but with his friends faint heartedness, and with his foes successe. *A very strange fight it was* (saith Paris) *there to behold King Stephen, left almost alone in the field, yet no man daring to approach him, whiles grinding his teeth, and foaming like a furious wild Beare, he drave backe with his battle-axe whole troupes of afoiling him, compassing the chiefest of them to the eternal renouew of his courage: if but a hundred such had there bene with him, a whole Army had neuer beene able to surprize his person: yet as hee was single, hee held out, till first his Battle-axe brake, and after that, his sword also, with the force of his vnresistible strokes, flew in peeces; and hee now weaponlesse, and (by an vnknowne doubtlesse, an vn-noble hand) stricken down with a great stone thrown at him, was seized on by *William de Robesme* a most stout Knight, and by Earle *Robert* commaund, preiured from any violence to his person, was carried prisoner vnto *M* and the Emperesse at *Gloucester*, & thence was feat bound vnto *Windsor*, where in the Castle he remained in safe custody.*

(29) The Emperesse having thus got the Lion in her hold, triumphed not a little in her own fortune, & now as sole Soueraign of *Englands* Monarchie, commanded all his nobles, elected her Counsellors, and bestowed many dignities where three most favoured. Notwithstanding, that these altered not her stile of Emperesse, or Queene of *Romanes*, may appeare by this her *Bread-Scale* ensuing; vnder which shee granted the custody of the *Tower of London* vnto *Goffrey de Manduliv*, and his Heires, covenanthing with him therein, that he would not make peace with the Citizens of *London*, without the said *Coffreys* consent because they were his mortal enemies; but this Earle heing afterwards vnawares apprehended in the Kings Court at *Salisbury*, could not bee released, till hee had surrendered both the *Tower of London*, and other his Castles to the King.

Vpon these happy successes of the Emperesse the States-men stood not any longer for King Stephen, but their Father turning with his Fortunes, all of them surrendered their allegiance vnto her; the *Kentish* onely excepted, where *Stephen Queens*, and *William de Tress*, maintained his quarrell to the vttermost of their powers.

The Barons Army.

Henry Hunt.
Math. Paris.
Sum. Diet.

Paris.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.
Sum. Diet.

Math. Paris.
Sum. Diet.

Math. Paris.
Sum. Diet.

Math. Paris.

The Emperesse
at Gloucestre.

Math. Paris.
Sum. Diet.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.

THE TRUE SCULPTURE OF MAYD THE EMPRESSES BROAD SEALE,
APPENDANT TO HER CHARTERS.



Gen. Dor.
The Clergie ap-
proves the Em-
presses rule.
w. Malin.

Malin. Malin.
id. id.

The Empress
receiveth into
London.

Normandy taketh
from King Ste-
phen w. R. P. Armes.

Gen. Dor.

Stephen desireth
Marriage, and
the Countess.

Tridig. W. H. H.
King Stephen
would be a Monk
or Pilgrime.
* In the year and
Marriage.

The Empress
not facile to
grant them.

Her Affairs
extenuated.

(10) But the Empresse conducted in State to Winchester, had the Regall Crowne of the Kingdome there deliuered her; no man more forward then Henry the Bishop, and Brother of Stephen, who vpon the vowing to bee ruled by his advise in affairs of State, being then the *Pope's Legate*, solemnly in a Synode of the Clergie, accursed all such as withstood the Empresse, and blessed all them that assisted her interest: but both hee, and his friends forgot not to adde that wondrous trayterous estate of their oath, *so long to keepe faith to her as shee kept her Countess with them*: and so with applause of the people, she came to London, and after much perorisation and mediation (for that the Citizens were very stiff against her) was received into the City with a roiall Procession.

(11) Neither was King Stephen thus defeated of England onely, but Normandy also cast off the yoke of subiection: for Geoffrey of Anjou, husband of the Empresse, having some intelligence of this achieved victorie, indued the Normans to incline vnto him, by publishing the captiuation of Stephen, vnable now to relieve them, or himselfe; and David King of Scotland for his part was not behind to set forward the claime of Lady Matilda, assuming in her behalfe the County of Northumberland.

(12) Matilda thus established, all now esteemed her as Fortune deare darling, and beheld her as their onely rising sonne; the Prison walls overshadowing the Presence, feature, and fauours of the now dejected vnfortunate Stephen, whose sorrowfull wife Queen Matilda incessantly solicited the Empresse in her husbands behalfe, desiring his liberty, but not his Crowne, which hee was now contented to lether enioy; and therunto offered for pledges many great persons, who protested for him to the Empresse, that hee therewith would devote himselfe vnto God, & either become a Monke or a Pilgrime: Henry of Winchester also became a suiter vnto her in the behalfe of his Nephew Emflace, King Stephen's sonne, that the Counties belonging before to the Father, might bee conferred vpon the sonne.

(13) The Londoners likewise hauing received her into the City as their Lady, thought now (as most doe with new Princesses) they might haue what they would aske, and became her importunate Suppliants, that the ouer hard lawes imposed by her Father, might now be remitted, and those of King Edward might wholly bee in force. But shee reiected all these Petitioners, out of pride, by some; but it may seeme rather of policy, holding it safest, to passe matters of importance, not vpon intreaty, but by deaduice, and to gouerne the subiect with a Queere auerternesse, rather then an indulgent lenitie. But this too regular strictness, which might haue done well in aisted gouernment, in this her yet

greene, and vnaccured estate, proued not so be-houefull. For first, Queene Matilda sent to her sonne Emflace, that their suites must bee obtained onely by warres willing him to make strong his party by the assistance of the Kentish: the Nobles likewise, Stephens vnder-takers, repined, that they were so lightly regarded, or rather reiect-ed: and the Londoners also storming at the repulse of their desires, desired how they might take the Empresse their Prisoner, and so redeem King Stephen, to whom their affections were ever firm: but the hearing of their conspiracie, fled secretly in the night, and tooke in to Oxford, which in all her difficulties shee euer found true vnto her, out of their lone, both to her cause, and to her Father; & threatening due reuenge for her late wrongs, wrought it vpon the Nobles in prison, and (more then was due or decent) vpon Stephen himself, whom hee commanded to be laden with Irons, and to bee abridged of all princely ser- uices.

(14) Winchester's high mind not brooking the Em- presses deniall of his suite, in behalfe of his Nephew Emflace, vpon secret conferences with Queen Matilda, by her lamentable entreaties, began to melt in his affection towards the distressed King his brother; & in fine, resolving to trie the vttermost for him, absouled all those whom before hee had excommuni- cated; pretending, that the Barons had all kept faith with her, *but shee had not kept faith with them*, and think- ing this a liue time to worke for his brother, solicited the discontented Londoners in his behalfe, and stored the Castles of Waltham, Farnham, and Winchester with Munition and men; meane while the Empresse came speedily to Gloucester, to conferre with Matilda her chiefe friend, and secretly againe returning to Oxford, (which shee chose for her Court and chiefe place of abode) was there maintained on- ly at his charge, not hauing one dayes diet, or pro- vision of her owne; to requite which fidelity, and other noble seruices, shee there created him Earle of Hereford.

(15) Her forces recollected, & thither assembled, she went forthwith to the City of Winchester, accom- panied with David King of Scotland her vnkle, Earle Robert her brother, and many other Nobles; where sending for the Bishop being then in the City (whose aid shee could hardly spare, and therefore was desir- ous of his reconciliation) though hee mistrusted some perill, yet not daring to send a deniall, returned the Messenger with this equiuocall answer, that hee would with all speed address himselfe, as if hee had meant to follow them: so forthwith issuing secretly out of the City, did indeed address himselfe to worke her ruine: for, sending for Queene Matilda her sonne Emflace, the Londoners, and William Tytes, (afterwards created Earle of Kent) made strong his part, himselfe and friends abiding in the City, whiles

* King Stephen
vnto.

The Nobles of
London, fell off
from her.
* Name of Matilda
id. id.

The Londoners
conspire against
her.
Mat. Triump.

Essex Barons.

Gen. Dor.

Malin. Malin.
id. id.

Henry of W. H.
Armes recall his
Excommunication.

* Idem inuolunt.

The Empresse
was in need
of Matilda
id. id.

The Bishop of
Winchester ap-
peared.
* Essex Barons
w. Malin.

Will. Malme.
Grou. Dursh.

How Geo.
Warr. Dursh.
" At the C.
arm. at Hyle.
Malme.

Geo. Dursh.
The Bishop of
arr. for con-
surrept the
Empress.

Malme. Hyle.

The Empress
carried as a dead
Corse.
Will. Warr. Dursh.
Tud. Geo. Hyle.

Malme.
Geo. Dur.

Earle Robert
when.
Malme. Hyle.

Will. Malme.

Will. Malme.
An.D. 1142.
The King and
Earle Robert re-
deemed each o-
ther one of
prison.
Roger Henden.

Malme. Paris.
Malme.

the Empresse and her Nobles defended themselves in the Caille, notwithstanding to goe forth amongst so many their mortall enemies: and soone after, to worke his wrathfull will, knowing the Citizens to bee more affected to the Empresse then to him, commanded the said Cille to bee set on fire, where in, the *Manastrey of Nunnys, above twentie Churches, the Count of S. Groumold, and the better part of the Cille, were consumed to ashes.*

(16) Seven weekes thus spent, in this counter-siege of the Cille and Caille, the Bishoppe, to decieve the Empresse, commanded peace to bee proclaimed, and the Gates to bee let open towards evening. The Empresse then, who had endured such troubles and so long a restraint, gratefully desired to change her lodging, and to recreate her perplexed spirits in some other place; so taking horse, accompanied with her brother, *Edmond Earle of Cornwalsh*, her servants, and many others her friends, besides Earle Robert, who followed behind with a troupe of Nobles and Knights; presencie at the Bishoppes commandment, there was pursued by his Souldiers, and many of her traine wounded and taken prisoners; the Empresse by good providence escaped into the Caille of *Lategardshull*, and thence to the Caille *Dinnes*: where understanding that there was still in hazard to bee surprized, there was contented, (as what will not necessity endure, & a womans wit devise?) to bee laide in a cofine bound fast with cords; and so, as it had bene her Corse, carried in a hoefeliter to the Cille of *Glocester*: in which bonds of her owne distresse, there had good occasion to remember the chaines of King *Stephens* captivitee. To such extremities were these two Princes at the selfe same time subiect, that whiles they tormented for spacious Kingdomes, brought themselves to the very extrem wanes, of aire, and of elbow-roume; but with such dalliance doth *Fortune* (wee see) oftentimes follow her game, that these two King Monarchs the Ball of her play, and toldeth them lastly into the *Harard*, whence hardly they escape with safetie of life. Yet this was not the worst; for Earle Robert her brother, whilst hee was *busy in providing for her safetie*, then for his owne, was taken by his putiours at *Stratburg* with others; brought backe to *Winchester*, and there presented by the Bishop unto Queene *Maud*, King *Stephens* wife, who committed him to the custodie of *William Tytes*, and he for more safety to *Glocester*; but others taking advantage in the *Nant* Monastery of *Warred* were burned together with the Earle: Thus then the King on the one side, and the Earle on the other, were kept in safe custodie; but the Queene labouring for the Kings release, and the Countesse for the Earles, many Articles were propounded, and many messengers imploied: at length, this was thought best, that *Stephen* should bee restored to his kingdom, and *Robert* under him to have the whole government of the Land; so that both of them should now jointly uphold that, which they (the two King-leaders) by opposition had cast downe. But Earle Robert as he was no whit dejected in mind, with any frowne of *Fortune* whatsoever, so refused hee his fidelity to the Empresse vntained, and unmoved either with feare or faire inticements, still refusing to capitulate for his freedome, but to his Sisters liking who likewise bare so brave a minde, that were her state never so weak, shee would not consent nor care the least care to any composition for the Crowne.

(17) Then was civillie increased, the Kingdom divided, and the peoples hatred kindled in maintaining the factions, all fore-running the ruine of the Land: For these two Chieftaines wearied with infomies of irons, and hard imprisonment, made exchange the one for the other, without any farther mention of peace, and so studied not onely to renew their former designs, but to enervate the lands miserie by more eager warres. *Stephen* in England wrought the people for him, & *Robert* taking plede-

es of the Nobles to attend and guard the Empresse at Oxford till his returne, went into *Normandie* to sollicite *Geffrey* her husband for her defence. But the Earle having troubles with his owne Nobilitie, and the *Normans* hardly brought to any subjection, thought it not convenient by his owne absence for a state in hope, to hazard that in hand; and therefore sent with *Robert* some strength of Armes, and with them his young sonne Prince *Henrie* into England.

(18) The Empresse in his absence had well fortified herselfe in Oxford, whom *Stephen* (vying the benefit of *Roberts* absence) followed with an eager persuit, and wanne the Suburbs even vnto the Cille gates; then girt hee the Empresse with so strait a siege, (meaning never to give over, till hee had now made her sure in his possession) that for two monethes whatsoever *Strength* or *Stratagem* could performe in assault or defense, was there put in practise, till at length great penurie enforced to thinke of a surrender: but shee, a woman (whose sexe hath often deceived wise men) resolved once againe to over-reach her foe by wit, whom shee could not by force: whereto the time did fit her wises, for being a winter, sharpe about measure, the River *Themsis* that runnes by the Cille walls, was then congealed with a strong, cruised Ice, and besides a great snow did then continue, and had covered the ground. And vpon these advantages, put in practise a most dangerous attempt: for cloathing herselfe, and some choice of her company, in white linnen garments, to decieve the eyes of the Senninels, issued secretly by night out of a postern-gate, and passing the frozen River, ranne on foote, through ice, and snow, ditches, and vallies, for five miles, even to *Abingdon*, the falling snow still beating in their faces; and there taking horse, the same night got to the Caille of *Wallingford*, to the great joy, and also admiration, of all that were therein.

(19) In the meane while, Earle Robert, with Prince *Henrie*, were arrived in England at *Warrham* haven, and presencie besieged the Caille there, (so to withdraw the King from siege of his sister;) but hearing of the happy escape of the Empresse, came with young *Henrie* vnto his mocher, whose fight made her forget the grile and sorowes that shee had long endured. Then was Oxford vpon conditions yielded to the King; and *Stratburg* fired by the ballard Earle Robert: The Towre of *London*, with the Castles of *Walden*, *Plisley*, and *Lincolne*, yielded to *Stephen*; the Castles of *Warham*, and *Portland*, yielded to Robert: The Earles of *Chester*, and *Essex*, surprized by the King; *William Martell* the great favourite, taken and imprisoned by the Earle. Thus fundrie yeeres passing with variable successes and frowne, and every yeere heaping on each side, fresh calamities, to the great ruine of the whole land; the Empresse, even wearied with those warres and vacerantancies of successe, went into *Normandie*, chusing rather to be vnder the protection of her husband in peace, then to raigue in England perplexed with troubles: and to the same end shee had not long before, sent her young sonne *Henrie* to his father, who desired to hate him rather heire of a Dukedome with safetie, then of a Crowne with daylie hazard.

(20) *Stephen*, that by a fresh surprizall of *Edmond Earle of Chester* had got *Lincolne*, and entring thence into (which no King before him durst doe, for that certaine wizards had prophesied euill luck vnto such) at christmas did there wear the Regall Crowne on his head, and after the Empresses departure, caused the Barons of England, to sweare allegiance vnto Prince *Eustace* his sonne; by which two complements, hee supposed all had bene sure on his side; and the rather, for that the most faithfull, puissant, and ever-renowned Earles, *Robert of Glocester*, and *Miles of Hereford* the two great and glorious pillars, which had by many Conquests supported their *Ancestors* cause, were now conquered by death; and the rest of the Nobles, applying themselves to the

The warres re-
newed.

The Empresse
belonged to Ox-
ford.
Geo. Dursh.

Nr. Trin.
Will. Warr.
Hyle.

Wallingford.
Geo. Dur.

March Paris
she escapes by a
wile.

Will. Malme.
Edmond Dur.

Tud. Geo. Warr.
Geo. Dursh.

Prince Henrie
arrived.
Groum.

An.D. 1141.

An.D. 1144.

An.D. 1145.
March Paris.

An.D. 1146.

The Empresse
and the Prince
returne to Nor-
mandie.
An.D. 1147.

Geo. Dursh.

Kings death see
before Earle
Robert.
Groum.

Earle Robert and
Earle Miles.

Times,

An.D. 1148.
Prince Henry
marries
England.
An.D. 1149
Gr. Dur.

Times, kept themselves quiet in the absence of these Competitors; all which gave no little assurance vnto Stephen's estate.

(41) But *Henry Fitz-Empress*, grown now from a Child, thought it best a while to leave *Mercury*, (for it is said he was *Berkely*) and to follow *Mars*; so knowing his presence would preferre much his purposes (for men would be loth to hazard all for one, who himselfe would neglect all) haisted againe into *England*, with an Armie of valiant and choice Souldiers; to whom joined the discontented Earle of *Chesler*, *Roger* the sonne of *Miles* deceased, with many more Knights and Gallants of the *English*: hee therefore tooke into the North, and met with *David* his cozen, King of *Scotland*, of whom hee was most honourably receiued, and solemnely sacred with the Military honour of Knighthood: and thence forward sought all occasions to prouoke both King *Stephen*, and his sonne *Eustace* against him: and hauing setled some courtes with certain Peeres for the pursuit of his desires in *England*, hee returned into *Normandy* to compose & set forward some other busineses, which might be auailable for these ends.

(42) Where long he staid not, but that *Gyffrey* his Father departed this life, and left him his Heire both of *Anjou* and *Normandy*; and the yeere following, he matched in marriage with *Eleanor* Dutchesse of *Guien* and *Aquitaine*, lately divorced from *Lodowick* King of *France* for consanguinity, and adultery (as *Paris*) after hee had borne him two daughters; *Lodowick* fearing issue-male by this marriage to the disheriting of his said daughters, greatly impugned Duke *Henry*, and *Stephen* suspecting his greatness, now being Duke of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Aquitaine*, and *Guien*, both of them sought each way to impeach his peace: *Lodowick*, with Prince *Eustace*, in the parts beyond seas, and *Stephen* in *England*, to make sure his succession, sought to inuelt the said Prince *Eustace* with the *English* Diademe, both to preuent, and vtterly deprive *Henry Fitz-Empress* for euer: for calling a Councell at *London*, King *Stephen* commanded *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to consecrate Prince *Eustace* for their King; which hee refused to doe, and that by commandement from the Pope (whose holy See can deale on both sides, as makes most for their advantage) alleged now, that his Father was an usurper, and perjured Inuader: whereupon the honest Archbishop fled into *Normandy*, and the King seized vpon all his possessions. It may seeme, that one cause of the Popes inclining to young *Henries* title, was to strengthen him against his enemy King *Lewis* of *France*, who had highly offended his Holines, for casting the *Pope's* Buller (whereby hee receiued the fruits of Vacancies of all Cathedrall Churches in *France*) into the fire, saying, hee had rather the *Pope's* Buller should rest in the fire, then his owne soule should fricke in hell.

(43) King *Stephen* thus defeated of his purpose, and seeing his Title questioned by the Church, who had before approued it, resolved to make it good by the sword: for winning the Castle of *Maly*, fortified *Malmesbury*, and laid a strait siege vnto *Wallingford*, against which, hee erected the Castle *Cranmerke*, to stoppe the passages of their reliefe, or continuing forth. But *Henry* after hee had calmed the boisterous Rormes of warre, in the parts beyond the seas, came ouer into *England* well appointed, vnto whom all resorted many of the Nobility, who yielded vp themselves, and about thirty strong Castles to the young Duke; now well furnished, haisted to raise the siege of *Wallingford*, and there undertooke a great enterprise; for hee iocinded the *Refusers* with a great and deepe Trench, whereby hee kept them from reliefe, as they did keepe the *Refused*.

(44) *Stephen* following hastily to succour his men, (though with the lesse edge, for that hee neuer fled well in any assault of that Castle) pitched downe his

Tents, even nere his enemy; and, ready on both sides to giue battaile: the Winter stormes were suddenly so troublesome, that nothing could be done; but thole somewhat ouerblowne, and the Armies feare three furions asunder; as King *Stephen* was busied in disposing of his healt, and giuing direction for order of the battaile, his horse vnder him tiling with his fore-feet, fell flat vpon the earth, not without danger to his Rider; and thus did hee thricere he left, which thing his Nobles secretly muttering, interpreted for an vnlyck presage: when *William* Earle of *Arundell*, a bold and eloquent man, went to him and aduised him to a peace, affirming the title of Duke *Henry* to be iust; that the Nobility on both parts present, were necerly linked in Alliances & Blood, and how these stood affected, was very doubtfull; yea, that Brethren were there assembled, the one against the other, whereof much needs follow an vnnaturall warre betwixt them, & of dangerous consequence, euen to him that conquested. With these and the like allegations at last *Stephen* beganne to bend, and a parley for peace was signified vnto the Duke. *Henry* already warme for the battaile, and his thoughts fixed on nothing lesse then peace, could hardly moderate his youthfull affections; yet at his friends importunity, hee yielded to confurre with King *Stephen*.

(45) The place for conference was so appointed; that the river *Thames* parted the presence of these two Princes; so that from either bankes they saluted each others, and after a long conference, agreeing on a truce, and vpon faire tearmes of amity departed, commanding all weapons and attempts of warre to be laid aside.

(46) But *Eustace*, who hitherto had attended Fortune for the Crowne, and now hopelesse to haue as his Fathers Successor, was greatly displeased with this new moulded friendship, and in a fury departed the field, purposing to raise himselfe by his owne merites; and coming to *Bury*, vrged the Monks of *Saint Edmunds* for money, to let forward his heady desires: But the wiser amongst them unwilling to be wagers of new warres (which though all for all fores, yet promised euer work to the Clergie mens possessions) denied his request; wherewith enraged, hee commanded his men to curry their corne and other prouision into his owne Castle, situated hard by. But being (at dinner, wee reade of him (saith mine Author) that once the worse first hit that hee put in his month, drave him into a frensie, whereof shortly after hee died) in his fury hee interred at *Wenlock* in *Kent*.

(47) The death of Prince *Eustace* so much aduantaged Duke *Henry*, that thereupon (the truce in likelihood expiring) many fell off vnto him, and many Castles were deliuered, as *Bernewell*, *Reading*, *Warwicke*, *Stamford*, and others; whereat *Stephen* was not a little displeased, and thinking to entrappe the young venturous Duke, with a strong Army followed him vnto *Wallingford*: But God himselfe looking downe from heauen (saith *Mathew* of *S. Albans*) made there an end of those long calamities, by stirring the minds of these men in the land, to labour for peace: such was *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Herrie* Bishop of *Winchester*, who hauing troubled the realm with fire and sword, moved now to repentance, wrought so effectually with his brother, that hee enclined vnto a wished peace, contented to adopt the Duke for his Son and Successor; and so coming both together to *Oxford*, a blessed light to so distressed and distracted a Kingdome; there did all the Nobles do fealty to him, as to the vndoubted Heire of the land; and the Duke to acknowledge this as a fauour, yielded him the honour of a Father, and the roialtie of all Kingly power during his life.

(48) Notwithstanding, the cleere Sunne of line of these faire daies, was somewhat darkened with a cloud of treacherie, and lewd attempts of the *Flamings*; who enuying *Englands* peace, vpon *Bartholomew*

ready to ioin
battaile.
Henry II.

Valucky presages
to K. Stephen.

A Parley betwixt
K. Stephen and
Henry Fitz-Empress.

Gr. Dur.

A truce concluded.
Mach. Paris.

Eustace K. H.
shows son what
not the arrie.

John Toste.

Folyde.

Gr. Dur.
Prince Eustace
dies.

Folyde.

Math. Paris.

The King and
Fitz-Empress
accommod.

Gr. Dur.

An.D. 1154
Prince Henry in
dispute by in-
ducing.

Gr. Dur.
Gr. Dur.

Prince Henry
reunites into
Normandy.

An.D. 1150

Math. Paris.

Henry II.

Prince Henry
marries Eleanor,
divorced by K.
Lewis.

An.D. 1151

The Archbishop
of Canterbury re-
sists to consec-
rate Eustace
King.
Gr. Dur.
An.D. 1152.
Henry II.

Gr. Dur.

John.

K. Lewis casts the
Popes Bull into
the fire.

Math. Paris.

An.D. 1153.

Henry Fitz-Empress comes
again into Eng-
land.

Gr. Dur. cap. 31
King Stephen and
Henry Fitz-Empress

Deuere, intended to surpriſe Prince *Henry* in his returne from *Deuere*, and preſence of King *Stephen*. In this conſpiracie was *William* the Kings ſon, though but young, who himſelfe meaning to haue one caſt at the Crowne, inſtantly before it ſhould haue beene effeited, was through the wantonnes of his horſe caſt to the ground, and with the fall brake his legges; to wholoſe aliance, whiles euery one gathered and lamented, *Henry* vpon ſecret notice of the treaſon haſted vnto *Canterbury*, and thence to *London*, and ſoone after overthrew him into *Normandy*.

(49) And *Stephen* now after he had reigned eightene yeeres, ten months, and odder daies, departed this life at *Deuere*, in the Monaſtery of the Monke, of an *Itacke* paſſion, mixed with his olde diſeaſe the *Emure*, the twenty five of *October*, and yeere of Chriſts Nauiety, 1154. A moſt worthy Souldier, faith *Paru* and (in word) one who wanted nothing but a iuſt rite to haue made him an excellent King; in his ordinary deportment very deuout; the fruites wherof were ſhewed in erecting with ſufficient endowments, the Abbeyes of *Coſſball* in *Eſſex*, of *Furneſſe* in *Lancſhire*, the bouſe of *Nunnes* at *Carrew*, and *Higham*, an Hoſpitall at *Furke*, and the Monaſtery of *Fenburgh* in *Kent*, where his *Queene*, his ſonne, and laſtly, himſelfe were enterr'd: but ſince, his body for the gaine of the lead, wherein it was confined, was caſt into the riuer. So vncertaine is man (yea greateſt Princes) of any reſt in this world, even after buriall; and reſtleſſe may their bodies be alſo (who for filthy lucre) thus caſt to the dead, the quiet of their graues.

His wife.

(50) *Maud*, the Wife of King *Stephen*, was the daughter of *Eugene* Earle of *Bolgaigne*, the brother of *Godfrey*, and *Baldwin* Kings of *Ieruſalem*: her Mother was *Mary*, ſiſter to *Maud* Queene of *England*, wife of King *Henry*, her husbands Predeceſſor. Shee was crowned at *Weſtminſter* vpon Sunday, being *Eaſter-day*, and the two and twenty of March, in the firſt yeere of her husbands raigne, and of Grace, 1136. and being Queene ſixtene yeeres, ſhe died at *Hemſingham* Caſtle in *Eſſex*, the third of May, and yeere of Chriſt, 1151. and was buried in his Monaſtery at *Fenburgh* in *Kent*.

His iſſue.

(51) *Baldwin*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud* (bearing the name of King *Baldwin* his vncle) was born in the time of the raigne of *K. Henry* his fathers vncle; and died in his infancy, during the raigne of the ſame King. He was buried at *London* in the Church of the Priore of the *Trinity* within *Algate*, which was a houſe of blacke & *Canons* of the *Auguſtine* order, founded by *Q. Maud*, the firſt wife of the foreſaid King *Henry* the firſt.

(52) *Eugene* the ſecond ſonne of King *Stephen*, & of Queene *Maud* his wife, being the here apparent to them both; when his Father was King, was created Earle of *Bolgaigne*, which dignity was the inheritance of his mother. Hee married *Conſtance* ſiſter of *Lewis* the ſeuenth King of *France*, daughter of King *Lewis* the *Grande*: who afterward was remarried to *Raimond* the third Earle of *Tholouſe*: for *Eugene* died before her without iſſue by her, the tenth day of Auguſt, in the eighteenth yeere of his Fathers

raigne, and of Grace, 1151. Hee was buried by his mother in his Fathers Monaſtery at *Fenburgh* in *Kent*.

(53) *William*, the third and yongelt ſonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, marked 1366. daughter and heire of *William* *Warren*, the third Earle of *Surrey*, with whom hee had that Earldome; hee was in his Fathers life time Earle of *Surrey*, Lord of *Normich* and *Penſenſy* in *England*, Earle of *Mortayne*, and Lord Eagle of *Normandy*. After his fathers death, King *Henry* the ſecond made him Knight, reſumed thoſe things that hee held of the Crowne, reſtored him to all that his Father held before hee was King. And ſo he was Earle of *Bolgaigne*, *Surrey*, and *Mortayne*, and being with him in his journey to *Tholouſe*, died without iſſue, in his returne homeward, in the Month of *October*, the ſeuenth of King *Henrys* raigne, and of Chriſt Ieſus, 1160.

(54) *Maud*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, was borne before her father was King, in the raigne of King *Henrie* the firſt, her vncle; in whole time alſo ſhe deſcended, being but yongue, (though ſome report there was wife to the Earle of *Millen*) and was enterr'd at *London*, with her brother *Baldwin*, in the Priore of the *Trinity* aforeſaid, then commonly called *Chriſts-Church*, and now lately named the *Dukes Place* within *Algate*.

(55) *Maria*, the yonger daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, was a Nun, and Abbeſſe of the Nunnerie at *Rumſey* in *Hampſhire*; notwithstanding, when her brother *William*, Earle of *Bolgaigne*, was deſcended without iſſue, ſhe was ſecretly taken from thence, and married to *Matthew* the yonger, ſonne of *Terry* of *Alſace*, and brother of *Philip* Earle of *Hlanders*, who in her right was Earle of *Bolgaigne*. Shee was his wife ten yeeres, and was then diſeſed from him, by the ſentence of the Pope, and enforced to returne to her Monaſtery, having had iſſue by him two daughters, which were *Ide* and *Maud*, allowed by the cenſure of the Church to be legitimate. Lady *Ide*, the elder, was married to *Raymond* of *Damp-Martine*, in her right Earle of *Bolgaigne*; and *Maud*, the yonger, to *Henrie* Duke of *Lorraine*.

His Naturall Iſſue.

(56) *William*, the Naturall ſonne of King *Stephen*, is miſtaken of ſome to bee the ſame *William*, that was Earle of *Bolgaigne*. Others, who know that *William* Earle of *Bolgaigne* was lawfully borne, do thinke that his father had no other ſon named *William* but him; wherein let *William* Earle of *Bolgaigne*, the lawfull ſon of King *Stephen*, be himſelfe a lawfull witneſſe of the truth, who having beſt cauſe to know it, doth beſt prooue it; and in an ancient Charter of his, being written in thoſe daies, and extant in theſe, doth name him for a witneſſe, and calleth him his Brother.

(57) *Gernie*, another Naturall ſonne of King *Stephen*, begotten on a gentle-woman named *Dameſa*, and borne in *Normandy*, was brought into *England* by his father, the fifth yeere of his Raigne, Anno Dom. 1140. Hee was the ſame yeere, by his fathers meanes, made Abbat of *Weſtminſter*, and ſo continued for the ſpace of twenty yeeres. Hee deſcended there the twentieth fixt of Auguſt, in the fixt yeere of the raigne of King *Henrie* the ſecond, the yeere of Grace 1160. and lieth buried in the South part of the cloiſter, within the ſaid Monaſtery, vnder a flat ſtone of blacke marble, which is remaining there vntill this day.

Prince Henry goeth into Normandy.
King Stephen duns.

Perſe.
Booke of S. Al.
James.

John Stow.

Ge. Do.

* The firſt Canon Regular in England was of this place, Anno, 1100. and the Prior the ſame was Alderman of London.
Stow. Survey.

Stow Survey.
p. 105.

Henry second

HENRIE THE SECOND, DVKE OF
NORMANDY, GUYEN AND AQVI-
TAIN, THE FORTIE THIRD MONARCH
OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS AND ISSE.

Monarch 43



CHAPTER VI.



Every of that name the second, by the double interest of descent and adoption (as you have heard) succeeded in the Kingdome of England, whose Pedegree, (which *Matthew Paris* extendeth by the mothers side, in a right line vnto *Noah*) and former fortunes, having already been touched; his counsels, acts, and other affaires of great importance, after the death of King *Stephen* come now to be handled.

(2) Hee came not to the Crowne vnexpected, nor vndesired; for the opinion of the man, and hope conceiv'd of his future government, had the force to hold *England* in good obedience without the presence of a King, about sixe weekes, whose entrance like that of the Soole into the Body, did quicken, and enliven the Realme, as then (in the perieod

England) this closing verse, or Epiphonemae spake:

*Spiritus es, caro sum: te nunc intrante revivis.
Thou, Soules Body am: by thee to life I come.*

Neither did his presence diminish the expectations raised, but was saluted King with generall acclamations, and with no lesse joy at *Westminster* by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, annointed and crowned: the summe of whose first courses for setting his State was this.

(3) Sundry Castles (vests of Rebels) hee flatteth to the earth, some others hee fortifies or resumes at his pleasure; chiefly, such estates, as had beene alienated from the Crowne, as the hire and vniust reward of those who withstood his claime. Others write, that hee promiscuously tooke all such lands into his owne possession, as were by Iurors found vpon oath to haue belonged at any time vnto the Crowne. Some Earles vniustly created, hee reduceth to private condition, and purgeth the Realme from

Henry Hunt,

His secrets and
Conceitment.
Matthew Paris,
Math. Paris.

His first alliance,
Math. Paris.

Ed. Monst. S.
Alben.

Poliph. de. lib. 13.

Prodr. Comite,
each *Math. Paris*.

At d. D. 1335

The great expe-
rience of King
Henric.

Math. Paris,
Henry Hunt.

fortune Souldiers; chiefly from the *Flemings*, whose mercenary warres most polluted the same, and had most infected him. And because Government is the Soule of State, and Wisdome the Soule of Government, he chooseth to himselfe a Body of Counsell out of the most eminent persons of both sorts: such was *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and for that selfe consideration, he laid the Chancellorship of *England* vpon *Thomas Becket*, and held in speciall fauour *Iohn of Oxford*, with sundry other Prelates of chiefest note: of the Laity, he had *Robert Earle of Leicester*, chiefe Iusticiar of *England*, *Richard de Luci*, *Isabel de Bainsill*, *Alan de Neuille* and others: but for a Cabanes-Counsellour at all times, he had his owne mother, *Matilda* the Emperesse, one of the most sage and experienced Ladies of the World. Thus then furnished, and assembling a Council at *Wallingford*, hee selfe for his owne securing, as for the assurance of his Children, swears the Realme to the succession of his sonnes *William* and *Henry*, the one being in remainder to the other.

(4) But quiet consultation did not take vp the most of his time, euen in the daies of these Sun-shining beginnings: for the reign of *Stephen*, a most gentle Prince (who thought, out of the necessity of his owne estate, that it was not safe for him to be secure) hauing giuen way for many of the mighty, to maintaine giurie inuolenies; these now feeling a restraint, beganne not a little to repine: but *Nobles de Mortimer*, wanting with greater, and the most arrogant man a liue, thrust his Castles of *Gloucester*, *Wigmore*, and *Bridgeforth* with rebellious Garrisons, which *Henry* notwithstanding reduced to subjection, though in the siege of the last named, not without imminent perill of his person, had not *Robert de S. Clare*, call himselfe betweene death and the King, taking the arrow into his owne bosome to preterre his Souerainnes life. It bound *Thibaut* to *Seismur* most of all, when a part of the banqueting Cause in which they were, suddenly failing, *Seismur* was found to haue borne the ruine from the Emperour, with the perill of his life: but *Seismur* fastened that aduantage, which one *Senclere* did not, saue onely in the better renowne thereof, which deserves to be immortal, being an Act of piety, worthy of a Statue, with *Coatrus*, *Curius*, *Antimus*, or whosoever else haue willingly sacrificed themselves for their Country, or for the Father of their Country, the King.

(5) *Henric* thus hauing in some sort settled *England*, halseth into *France* to King *Lewis* in the first yeere of his raigne, and there did homage vnto him for *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Angion*, *Main* and *Tourain*, which partly were his patrimony, and partly the inheritance of *Eliane* his wife.

(6) His domesticke enemies being subdued or appeased, hee put his brother *Geoffrey* by force to a pension, the summe whereof (if it be any thing to the purpose to know) was 1000. l. *English*, and 2000. l. *Antius* by yeere, wringing out of his possession all such territories, as by their Fathers last Will and Testament, were bequeathed to him in *France*. But *Geoffrey* did not long enioy the said annuity, or his brothers friendship: for in the third yeare, death thought a discharge, and *Henry* was discharged of those payments. For his violence in taking away those lands King *Henry* might alledge he was eldest brother, but that allegation might be anioied with his owne consent, which once hee gave: but the great *Eliane*, called *Reason of State*, (though falsely so called, vntill it be seasoned with Iustice, and Religion) hath so transmutatua a faculty, as to make Copper seeme Gold, right wrong, and wrong right; yea, when all Pleas faile, it will stand for good, while there are forces to support it.

(7) This accord between the two brethren, being thus (howsoever) established, the King repaires into

England, and *Chesler* enters amity with *Malcalme* King of *Scots*, on such termes, as his Grandfather had done, yet *Salais amicus dignitatis fuit*, saying to himselfe all his dignities: and the said *Malcalme* restored to *Henry* the City of *Karles*, *seu castle* vpon *Tyne*, &c. and *Henry* restored to him the Earldome of *Huntington* in *England*. And, so iustly dreadfull did the growing puissance of this young Monarch appeare to his greater enemies, that *Hugh Bigod Earle of Norfolke*, who had poore means to doe muchiefe, rendered his Caltie to bee his at disposall.

(8) The *Welsh* notwithstanding forsooke not themselves, but did some memorable matters vnder conduct of the valiant Prince *Owen* against the *English*, in defence of *North-Wales*, and their *Connates* liberty, to the losse of the *English*, and extreme danger of the Kings owne person, whose Standard reitold was cowardly abandoned, and the King reported to be slaine: for which *Henric de Eflex*, the Kings Standard-Bearer at that conflict, was afterward accused by *Robert de Montford* his neere Kinsman, and in single battaile within lists was vanquished at *Reading*, where the said *Henry de Eflex* was thorne a Monk, and died. *Matthew Paris* relates the whole voiage of King *Henry* summarily thus: That *Henry* prepared a very great Army against the *Welsh*, with full purpose to ouercome them both by land and sea; that hee cut vp the woods and forrests, and laid open a way; that hee recovered the Caltie of *Richlan* and other fortresses taken from his Ancestors; that hee repaired the Caltie of *St. asgwerke*, and that hauing brought the *Welsh* to his will, hee returned with triumph into *England*.

(9) After this, himselfe and his wife Queene *Eliane* being openly crowned vpon Christmas day, (some say Easter day) at the Cite of *Worcester*, they both at the offertorie laid their Diademes vpon the high Altar, vowing neuer to wear them after; this being now the third time in which at three several places, *Wiminsler*, *Lincolne*, and *Worcester*, he had bene crowned. This deuout act of his, did flow perhaps out of some such speculation as that of *Constantin*, who thought none truly worthy the name of a King, but God alone, or that, vpon which *Geoffrey de Barillon*, refused to wear a crowne of gold in *Hierusalem*, where our Lord and Saviour had bene crowned with thornes. For this King had at times the pangs and symptoms of mortification and piety, and did heerein acknowledge the onely guer and taker-away of kingdoms *God-simighy*; putting himselfe and Realme, vnder the protection of that *Matieus* of whom hee held paramount; and professing (as it were) that from thenceforth hee would direct his actions to the glorie of his omnipotent Master, which is in dedde the onely final cause of all true monarchie.

(10) Not long after, hauing established his affaires in *England*, hee crost the Seas into *Normandie*: where successufully fundrie matters of importance fell out: as the seizure of the City of *Nantz* in *Brittaine* after his brother *Geoffrey* death; his iourney to *Paris*, being inuited thither by *Lewis* and his wife the Queene; the vnpossible siege of *Tolouene* laid by King *Henric*, where *Malcalme* King of *Scots* was in companie with him; the varpe marriage of his sonne *Henric* to *Margaret* the French Kings daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* then Lord Chancellor had formerly conducted with verie great State from *Paris*, by consent of parents for that purpose; the offence taken at those spoulsals by *Lewis*, for that the children were but infants, and that himselfe was a looser thereby; the warre hereupon attempted by *Lewis*, fortifying *Chenouant*, which (the French hauing quie the Field by flight) King *Henric* recovered with aduantage; the Armies of both these great Kings, being afterward at point (as it were) to coline, dispersed vpon reconciliation of the two Kings, by

Reg. Henric. 4. l. 1. p. 10. A. 118. p. 10. 11.

Math. Paris. Typog. Henric. 4. l. 1. p. 10. A. 118. p. 10. 11.

W. of Camb.

Iohn Sarw.

Math. Paris.

* Reg. Henric. 4.

Math. Paris. Typog. Henric.

Reg. Henric.

Galat. Typog.

Henric.

And. 1118.

Math. Paris. A. 118. p. 10. A. 118. p. 10. 11.

Reg. Henric.

Reg. Henric.

tried before secular judges. 5. That it should not be lawful for a Bishop to punish any one for perjury or faith-breach. 6. That the Lark, whether the King or other, should hold pleas of Churches & Tithes, &c.

(16) These points so nearly touched the Papal Sovereignty, and Church-Liberties, that the resolute Metropolitan mainly opposed his whole powers against them. Henry also perished, as his Grandfather Henry the first had done, who having a like warre with *Anselm* his Archbishop, was so vehement therein, as he would not suffer him to returne into England (though after some yeeres banishment) unless hee would absolutely bind himselfe to obedience, not his Fathers Customs only, but his brothers also, who were the two *Barth Williams*, the *Conquerour* and *Rufus*.

(17) Many reasons moved Henry to attempt this business; as first, the enlargement of his Regall authority: Secondly, to exempt his State by degrees, from the dependancy on any external Government, as lineally claiming both from a Conquest and from absolute-Sovereignty Antecessors, and so to introduce that free Empery, to which he saw no way lie open, but by subduing the Persons and Causes of Church-men to the secular sovereignty, in a few points first, and then in other. And that this was the secret, will not obscurely appear in * that Article, which was summarily this: That *Appeales* should be made from the *Consistory* to the Archbishop, from him to the Bishop, thence to the Archbishop, and so to the King. Thus *Barth M. Fox*; but *Mathew Paris* hath more: That the King should command the Archbishop to end the suit, and that it should proceed no further without licence of the King.

(18) A third reason was, for that he had by his own perquisitions, and by the Counsell of one *Erasmus* a Bishop drawn unto his purposes the Archbishop of *Tork*, and all the other Bishops in a manner, who were now sure unto him, & ready to yeeld to his demands, which they law did lend to the good of the State wherein they lived. Moreover, hee was perwaded of great facility in obtaining his desire, both in regard of the advantage which the Schisme then vpholden by *Frederick* the Emperor against *Alexander* the third did give, which might make that Pope afraid to leese or hazard his friends: as also for that the King, till hee found the contrary, thought himselfe assured of his *Thomas*, whom (if *Gulbert* Bishop of *London* said true) hee advanced to that dignity against the will and liking, as well of *Matilda* the Emperesse his mother, as of the Clergie and people.

(19) Besides these and other reasons encouraging the King, Pope *Alexander* very desirous to keepe the Kings love (though secretly wishing well to *Becketts* attempts) sent one *Philip* his Almoner purposely to compose the controuersie, by whom the Pope and Cardinals required the Archbishop to make promise unto the King to the keeping his said Ordinances absolutely, and without any fauours or exceptions: whereupon *Thomas* being his scrupulosity thus disapproved by his Soueraigne, by all his Brethren the Bishops, and by the Court of *Rome* it selfe, hee rode to *Windsor* to the King, and there promised, that hee would keepe his said lawes, *bona fide*, & sine male ingenio, in good faith, and without mal-ingen.

(20) The King afterward (supposing now all contradiction had ended, & that *Thomas* would not waver in his faith) called an Assembly of the States at *Clarendon* (of which place in *Wiltshire* and not in *Norwiche*, as some haue mistaken, the said Customes called by the King, *Antia*, were denominated) to collect and enact those Lawes: where *Iohn of Oxford* sitting President, *Becket*, relapsing againe from his promise given to the King, said, that hee had greuously failed in making that absolute promise, and that hee would not sinne therein any more.

(21) At which the King was so vehemently stirred and inflamed, that he threatened banishment and

destruction to him and his. But the Arch-bishop, bawling definitely resolved to vndergoe any perill, was yet so softened with the tears, prayers, and kneelings of so great and honourable personages, as the Bishops of *Salisbury*, and *Norwich*, the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Cornewall*, and two knights *Templars*, *Richard de Hastings*, and another, perswading repairing vnto him, that before the Kings Clergie and people, hee swore in verbo Sacramentali, in the word of a Priest, and de plano, sincerely, that hee would obey the Lawes, which the King entailed *Antia*, and all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and whole Clergie, with all the Earles, Barons, and Nobilitie, did promise and sweare, the same faithfully and truly to observe and performe, to the King and to his heires for ever. But when the King, not so concurred, would haue him (as enemie one of the Bishops) had done before him) to subscribe, and affix his seale to an instrument, in which those *Canons* or *Laws* (being in number sixtyn) were comprehended; hee once againe starting from his faith, did absolutely refuse, alleging that hee did promise it, onely to doe the King some honour, *verbo tenus*, in word only, but not with intent to confirme those Articles; neither could hee example of the whole State moue him, nor the credit of *Edward*, Arch-bishop of *Rome*, (though sent from the Pope) compell the difference, because Henry would not otherwise agree then as the Pope did by his Bull confirme those Lawes, which would not be granted.

(22) Henry hereupon sent in Ambassage *Iohn of Oxford*, and one *Ridell*, his clerkes, to the *Roman* Bishop, praying that the Legatine power for England, should be committed to *Koger* Archbishop of *Tork*, so that yet hee might at last bring *Thomas* vnder; but neither did this plot thriue for that the Pope (knowing that the cause was his owne more then *Becketts*) would not be an Author of any priuenance vnto him, (who in sorrow for that hee had so yeeld in promising, suspended himselfe from vfe of his priestlike function, till vpon sute hee was * repermitted) yet somewhat to gratifie the king, hee by his Bull granted a sleight authority: which whenthe King saw to be but superficiall, and not well borne for his purpose, with great disdain, he sent the Bull backe againe to the Pope (sall).

(23) There followed now vpon *Thomas* sundry molestations: for first, hee was * condemned in damages for a Manor, which *Iohn de Marshall* claimed; so without hearing the Archbishop had enioined the fine for a long time, without interpellation or disturbance. Then was there at *Northampton*, (where the king had summoned a Parliament) an account demanded of him for the king, to the value of thirtie thousand pound, which came to his hand during his Chancellorship. Whereunto his answer was, * That seeing hee had formerly accounted, and that the kings eldest sonne *Henrie*, on his Fathers behalfe, and all the Barons of the Exchequer, and *Richard de Luci* Justiciar of England, had acquitted him toward the king of all accounts, and that hee came free from all actions and dangers to the Arch-bishoppe, that now therefore hee would not answer, as a Lay-man, judging heretofore had so sufficient discharge: which refusal of his was aggravated with diuers accusations laid vpon him, as of contempt towards the king, in denying to come to his presence, being thereto commanded by him, & the like: whereto though hee made excuses (reasonable enough, if true) yet the *Peeres* and the Bishops condemned all his excuses to the Kings mercy: and the Prelates perceiving the kings displeasure, to tell yet to some farther severity, premonished him to submit himselfe, for that otherwise the Kings Court intended to aduance him a perjured person, and also a Traitor, for not yeelding temporal allegiance to his Temporal Soueraigne as himselfe had sworn to doe: and accordingly the Prelates themselves by joint consent adiuaged him of Perjury, and by the mouth of the Bishop of *Chichester*, disclaimed thenceforward all obedience

The Arch-bishop would not vnder take to subscribe as to *Clarendon*.

Koger Minister.

Gov. Henr.

Idem.

Math. Paris.

Gulst. Wodv.

Idem.

Gov. Henr.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

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Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

* See before in Henry the first.

Reasons moving King Henry to vexe the Archbishop to assist.

* All & Idem. pag. 449.

Math. Paris.

* *Idem.*

* 2 p. Th. apud Reg. Henr.

* 9 p. Th. apud Reg. Henr.

An. D. 1164. A. Reg. H. 2. 10.

Idem.

Wodv. l. 2. c. 18. calls him Henricus Compositus.

Reg. Henr.

The Council at Clarendon.

* *M. Fox.*

Idem. *Math. Paris.* The Archbishop violates his promise.

Math. Paris. where they are all reduction to one.

Idem. *Math. Paris.* where they are all reduction to one.

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Dover, f.

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Hand.
Graf.

Graf, Dorch.
Mat. Paris.
An.D. 1164.

Another Embel.
fage from the
key to the Pope

By. Hand.
Graf.

* Mat. Paris.
see Mat. Paris.

The King's Emble.
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Graf, Dorch.
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* King's Emble.
see, I. I. on the
Lord, who is my
Honor, and my glo-
ry will I not give
to another, etc.
Mat. Paris.

Graf, Dorch.

The incised
Kings preced-
ing.

Mat. Paris. ad
Anno. 1164.

unto him, as their Archbishop. The next day, whilst the Bishops and Peeres were consulting of some further course with him; Becket, not as yet daunted, caused to be sung before him at the Altar: *The Priester sit and speake against me, and the cowardly persecute me, &c.* And forthwith taking his silver Crozier in his owne hands, *(a thing strange and unheard of before)* entered among them with into the Kings presence, though earnestly dissuaded by all that wished him well: where with the King enraged, commanded his Peeres to sit in judgement on him, as on a Traitor and Perjured person; and accordingly they adjudged him to be apprehended, and cast into prison. The Earles of *Cornwall* and *Leicester* (who late as Judges) citing him forthwith to heare his sentence pronounced; hee immediately appealed to the See of *Rome*, as holding them no *Judges competent*: whereupon all reuelling him with the name of Traitor, and the like; he replying, *That were it not for his function he would enter the Duell or Combat with them in the field, to acquit himselfe both of Treason and Perjury* sped from the Court, and from thence without delay into *Flanders*, disguising himselfe vnder the name of *Dereman*.

(24) The King on the other side, to leaue nothing vadoore, whereby to attchieue his desire, forthwith dispatched away *Gilbert*, Bishop of *London*, & *William*, Earle of *Strandell*, to the French King, that hee would not harbour, nor cherish one, that was fled as a Traitor; but prevailed not: for hee, vpon the contrary dealt with the Pope, *That as hee loved the Roman Church and the aid of France, so he would support the cause of Thomas against the King*: which whether hee did it out of Faction, rather then Devotion, let others iudge: for as wee may easily thinke that the French would gladly incommode the king of England: so this is not to bee denied, that *Leiris* was often afterward a Mediator for peace, and vndoubtedly held the man himselfe in great estimation both alife and dead.

(25) The Archbishop growing thus in fauour with the Pope, King Henry sends an Ambassage vnto him of many great Personages, as *Rayn* Archbishop of *York*, the *BB. of London*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Isles of Oxford*, *William Earle of Strandell*, &c. whose whole employment being peace and pious, by requests and gratifications to procure disgrace vnto Becket, their final fruit was, *That the Pope would send two Cardinals into England, fully to take the matter; but the Pope denied it, as holding it derogatory to his owne abluteness*, saying *(like Gods Vice-gerent at least)* *That in my owne glorie, which I will not give to any other, but when he is to be iudged, I will iudge him my selfe*: For he knew the King of England was mighty both in speech and meane; and that Legates might easily be corrupted, as being men, more thirsty after gold and silver, then after iustice and equity: and the Pope and Cardinals thusly refused (saith the Monke of *Canterbury*) that as if this Archbishop were now upheld in his cause, it would be a pattern for others in like case to resist Kings, so, if he should flie, no Bishops euer after would dare oppose themselves to their Soveraignes pleasure, and so the State of the Catholike Church would be shaken, and the Popes authority be crossed.

(26) The King having received this foile, and impatient of repaile, where his owne subiect was a party, thought the indignity offered by the Pope vnjustifiable, and to let him vnderstand how hee tooke it, directs his Writs vnto the Sherifes in England, commanding them to attach such as did appeale to the Roman Court: the fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, nephews, and wives, of all such of the Clergy, as were with the Archbishop, and to put them under searvice, as also to seise the revenues, goods, and chattels, of the said Clergie-men. Again, by other his letters to *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, hee requested the profits and living, which within his Diocese did belong to any of the Clergie, who were fled to *Thomas*, that (vnto the Kings leave) they might haue no part

thereof. Lastly, to his Iustices he signified, that they should take-keepe whosoever did bring any interdict into England till the Kings pleasure were further knowne: hee also called the Church of *Canterbury*, and all the Archbishops goods to bee confiscated, grounding himselfe (as may probably bee supposed) vpon the iudgement giuen against *Becket* at *Northampton*, notwithstanding that the said sentence was expressely nullified by the Popes Bull, and not onely by word of mouth, as *Matthew Paris* seemes to mistake it. Neither was this all, for hee banished out of the Realme all the kindred of the Archbishop, man, woman, child, and sucking babe; and forbad that hee should be any longer publickly mentioned and praised for in the Church as Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

(27) The Archbishop on the contrary part (the contention being now whether the power Ecclesiasticall or Secular, should worke most) did solemnly in France where he abode, excommunicate all such as obeyed, defended, or had occasioned the said lawes and Antial Customes, and some of the parties by name, as *Richard de Luci*, *Richard de Poitou*, *Isabel de Aial*, *Alan de Reuile*, and other, who presently appealed; but the King hauing further notice, that Becket *After his publick sermons, on a great Festiual day, had solemnly threatened the like thunder clap against his Rascall Person*; either to terrifie his adherers, or to reuenge himselfe, if any such sentence should bee against him, gathered a mighty Army vnder pretence of subduing Wales, where yet hee did little. The meane while *John of Oxford* (who not onely followed the Kings cause stoutly, but also wrote a learned Booke in iustifying of it against *Becket*) prevailed so farre as *Rome*, that two Legates latter, should be sent into England, to reconcile the King and Thomas, but when they were gone, the Pope hearing that they were reuolued vnto it to re-found the Archbishop, sent letters after them to rebate their absolute power, they being men (saith *Gervase*) who too much thirsted after gold and glory.

(28) When these two Cardinals came to Thomas, he refused to put his cause to them, vntill hee there were first a plenary restitution made to him and his of all that had been taken away: but being then conuincled by them to submit himselfe to the king, his answer was, he would, *saith Gervase* be more, and the Churches Liberty, saving his owne honour, and his Churches possessions; and saving his owne and his friends right: being further demanded, whether (to relettle peace in Gods Church, which hee seemed onely to desire) he would renounce his Bishopricke, if the king would renounce his customes: he answered, *The proportion was not alike: for that with the honour of his Church and his Person, he could not renounce his Bishopricke; whereas on the other side, the King was bound, as well for his Soules health, as for his honour, to renounce these ordinances*. (Will you know the reason?) because the Pope and hee had condemned them. And so that desire for peace was frustrate.

(29) The King of England tempestuously storming at these affronts, and daily increase of new *salaries*, wherewith like a guilefull Chirurgeon, hee still made the wound more to fester; menaced the Monkes (which in their Abbey at *Postemel*, had now for two whole yeeres entertained him) to thrust all of their order out of England, if they durst releaue his enemy any longer: Whereupon they dissuading him, *Leiris* the French King tooke him to Seas with himselfe, where for foure yeeres hee remained and was (if wee may credit *King Henry*) a great instigator of the French King, and also of the Earle of *Islanders*, against the King of England: as was also by diuers Emulenes most certaine, if the two said Cardinals told not a lie to the Pope: But, that the Peace was broken, and warres remaid betwixt the two Kings, chiefly for Thomas his sake, *Gervase* the Monke himselfe doth record it as most credible.

* The Original Bull in the collie of the Bishop of London, Anno. 1164. Reg. Henr. Paris. Gervase. An.D. 1164. Reg. Henr. Ep. Thom.

* Gervase saith in his Chronicle, page 244.

* Gervase saith in his Chronicle, page 244.

* See King, 3.

* Gervase, in An.D. 1164. Gervase.

Mat. Paris.

At the Monks house, page 244. Col. 4. 244.

Mat. Paris. Reg. Henr. 1. See Henry's Person in the said Epistle, etc.

* Gervase, An.D. 1164. Cardinal. Reg. Henr. 1. 244.

Gervase, in An.D. 1164. Gervase.

Gravelin, A. 1199
* And in some
manuscripts.

* Tunc enim
sande uice,
Gravelin.

idem.

idem.

An. D. 1168.

Math. Park.

The King goes a-
bout to furnish
the Pope, and
increases the
Annoy.

The Bishop of
London com-
menced to re-
monstrate the
King.

Reg. Henr.

The Bishop of
London defends
of the King to
Pope Alexander.

The Bishops of
London excom-
municated.

An. D. 1169

Gen. Dutch.

Conferred by
the King.

Gen. Den.

Cardinals at-
tempt to make
reconciliation.

Dordrecht.

Math. Park.

(30) Howbeit, by mediation at length, the two Kings were again reconciled, and at their friendly encounter, *Becket* well-willers advised him to submit himself in the presence of both kings, with *without any more reservations* which he seeming to yield to, presented himself verie humbly, and referred the cause to the king, not now, *Salvo ordine suo*, but yet on a new point, *Salvo honore Dei*, wherewith the king exasperated, told the French king, such was the humor of the man, that *whosoever defied him, he would say it was against Gods honour*, and so would be better the secret to conformity; with which, and other speeches, *King Lewis* offended with *Becket*, asked him whether he thought to be greater or better than *Saint Peter*? and the *Pope* of both Nations accused him of much arrogancy, as being himselfe the misfull minister of his own, and the Churches tranquillity.

(31) Notwithstanding, the Pope forgot not his faithfull *Thomas*, and therefore after hee had graced him with a confirmation of all the Priviledges, and powers, which any of his Predecessors in that Soe did enjoy (to the daring and defiance as it were, of the kings vtmost indignation) the king sent a letter into Germany, declaring that hee would for-like Pope *Alexander*, and iointe with the Emperour, and *Antipope*. Whereupon, when the Bishop of Rome had commanded *Gilbert* Bishop of London to admonish the king to giue other his courtesies, and customs preiudicious to the Church, the said Bishop obeyed, and in his answer sought to perfwade the Pope to a commensie, and forgets not to insulte his Sovereigne, as *T* that the King was ready to obey the sacred hefts of the Church, saving in himselfe his own, or his Kingdoms dignity: That, as for *Appeales*, he claimed that honour, by the ancient institution of his Kingdome, that *is* to say, *T* but no Clerke should for a civil action depart the same, until right could not be had in his Courts at home, and then he would tender no man. *T* that hee did not bawle the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who might returne at his pleasure, for as he would obferue all those his Grandfathers customs, which once hee had giuen his faith to doe: That the King thought himselfe greatly misused, in that hee is willing to stand to the iudgement of the whole Church of his owne Kingdome, &c.

(32) But when mediations, letters, messages, or other waies, would not preuaile; the Pope admonished the King, that he meant no longer to refrain the Arch-bishop from reuenging his owne, and his Churches injuries with the sword of censure, and thereupon (for a beginning) the Arch-bishop excommunicates *Gilbert* Bishop of London, and proceeded to farre with others, that there was scarce found in the Kings owne Chappell and presence such as might performe the wanted ceremonies.

(33) The King both touched with his owne wrongs, and tender of their sale, who for his sake underwent that severity, animates *Bishoppe Gilbert* with most losing offers to beare the charges of prosecuting his appeal against *Becket*, and desires the Pope to send him Legates which might absolve his excommunicated Subjects, and settle a peace, or else he should bee compelled to provide otherwise for his owne security and honour.

(34) Two Cardinals therefore, *Gratian* and *Finnian*, comming into France to end the contention, returne notwithstanding without possibility of doing goods for that *Becket* would not yield in any point to those Customers, at which he had once excepted, but with his ordinary limitations. At last yet by the popes mediation, the two kings of England and of France met at Paris, whether the Arch-bishop repaired, and yet no peace ensued: for that the king refused the kisse of peace with him, and *Becket* would either haue a found and full peace, or none at all; where, though the king of England refused to finish any thing vnder the name of restitution, as being against his honour (because all restitution implied a wrong) yet in the other maine

matter of his *Auitall Customers*, offering to stand to the iudgement, not of his owne only, but euen of the Parisian *Demesnes* and Church of France, hee came off from that conference with some advantage & sauiour, in the opinion of the hearers.

(35) *King Henry* (for all this) seeing no issue of his long disputes, and vnreall viages, vnderstanding also that the Arch-bishop of Seins in person had solicited the Pope, to put the Kingdome of England vnder Interdict, (which is the prohibiting of the publick vie of Christs Religion, & Christian Buriall throughout the whole land) hee becme then in Normandy, sends forth his Edict: That if any man bring from the Pope or *Becket*, any letters of interdiction, he should presently suffer as a Traitor to the King and the State: That no Clerke whatsoever goe forth of the land without a Paffe from his Influences, and none returne againe without letters of license from the King himselfe. *T* that none receive any message from the Pope or *Becket*, nor make any appeale unto them, nor hold any Plea by their mandates: That if any Prelate or Clerke, or Laymen shall obey any sentence of Interdict, he and all his Kindred shall be forthwith expelled the land, and all his goods sequestrated to the Crowne. That all Clerkes who haue rents in England, returne home within three Months, or else all their rents to fall to the King. That certaine Prelates specified, be cited to asseesse in the Kings Courts for interdicting Earls *Engles* lands. That *Peter-pence* be not paid to Rome, but reserved. Thus, (as *Gravelin* the Monke lamentably complained) all from the edict to the yongest throughout England were made to adure obedience to Pope Alexander and *Becket*.

(36) After all this, it came into King *Henries* mind, to sweeten these his many cares with some solace, and to crowne his eldest sonne, yongue *Henry*, King of England, now in his owne lifetime: A counsel not more temerarious, then unfortunate: but of which yet he did hope to reapeth his consolation, that it was done in contempt of *Becket* (whose office it was to haue crowned the King,) with some advantage also toward the perpetuation of the *Auitall Customers*, and that also without scruple of conscience, his sonne receiving the Crowne without caution, to performe the Churches libertie, either by him put in, or by others recalled. Yearther, an Oath ministred, and by the yongue King taken, to maintaine those *Auitall Customers* to the vttermost.

(37) This solemnitie was performed, as *Henric* the fathers commandement, by *Roger* Arch-bishop of *York*, (the anciently siall See of Canterbury) contrary to the Popes expresse Inhibition, the father himselfe King *Henric*, being present therat, though without any fortunate preiudge comming, or cause of consolation in the action. For he, in his insuspicious passage out of Normandy, arriving not without very great perill, at *Paris* found the best and newest ship he had was suncke in the flames, and therein, besides *Henric* de *Aguelin* and his two sonnes, *Gilbert* de *Sallbronn*, Mr. *Ralf* de *Borlmann*, the Kings physician and fauourit, with about foure hundred men and women more, were deuoured of the working waues. And at the feast, the ioufull father himselfe, carrying the first dish, and the Arch-bishop of *York* saying in pleasure to the yongue King: *Reinice my faire sonne for their a no Prince in the world, hath such a seruice attending at his table at you. The constant yongue man answered; why? wonder you at that? my father knowes too well nothing that misbecomes him, for so much as hee is reall borne but of one side, but our selfe are reall borne both by father and mother.*

(38) Adde heereunto, that this vnluckie Coronations triumphes, were celebrated with bon-fires kindled by the furies in Normandy, which *Lewis* the French King invaded with fire and sword, because his daughter *Margaret* was not crowned aswell as the yongue King her husband: but the father speeding into those parts, queneth this flame with a promise to recrowne his sonne, and then his daughter r

The King offers his cause to be judged by the Doctors and Church of France.

Dordrecht. A strange decree of Christs Vices to forbid a whole Kingdome to last like Christs.

Remond.

The Kings Edict to match the Pope Interdict.

Gen. Den.

The King counsell his sonne to be crowned King.

St. Alex. Pre. apud Reg. Henr.

* Roger Henric.

Publ. Virg. R.

Margaret should be honoured with like ceremonies. Thus the fathers patience was executed on euer hand, and worlthings were feared.

(39) So now yet at last, in the twentieth yeere of Becket's banishment, another meeting was had at *Seint*, whither, the two great Kings, and the Arch-bishop of *Seint*, and Bishop of *Neuers*, being together, the Arch-bishop of *Canterburie* repaired, and the treatie of Peace was entered into, which at *Ambois*, in another meeting (as procurement of *Edward* Arch-bishop of *Rouen*) was finished, and the Arch-bishop (knowing the King was terrified with the expectation of the forefaid imminent *Interdictum*) was restored to the Kings fauour, and permitted to haue full vse of his Metropolitane See, and all the priuies thereof with the arrears. Which conclusion, the King signifies to his sonne in *England*, whither the Arch-bishop returns, and lands at *Sandwich*: And thus the controversie betweene the King and his Arch-bishop seemed to be ended.

(40) But the Arch-bishop had not beene long in *England*, before hee published the Popes letters, by which, *Roger* Arch-bishop of *York* and *Hugh* bishop of *Durres*, were suspended from the vic of their Episcopall function, for crowning the yongue King in peruidue of the See of *Canterburie*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Exeter*, and *Salisbury*, cut off from the Church by censure, for affilting the said Arch-bishop at that Coronation; whom *Becket* would not, but vnder conditions, at the yongue Kings request, absolve. Whereupon a great complaint was carried into *Normandy*, to the father King, * by some of the Bishops: and in the meane time, the Arch-bishoppe *Thomas*, putting himselfe vpon the way to visite the yongue King, at *Woolleche*, in *Oxfordshire*, was commanded not to approach.

(41) At the newes of these late censures, the father King was so fore displeased, that some words slipping from him, and arguing his great discontent, mooued *Hugh* Marsh, *William* Fisel, *Hugh* Britte, and *Richard* de *Kilsore*, knights and courtiers, toposit into *England*, and there in a fure, (without either warrant, or priuatie of their Soueraigne) to murder the Arch-bishop (being then about a forty and eight yeers old) in his owne Church of *Canterburie*, which sacred Place, and Time, besides his high Calling, might haue pleaded for pittie, had not the men been wholly transported with barbarous rage. For howeuer we are farre from their tancies, who for his zeale to the Popes Soueraignty, haue so moued him to the top of Martyrs glory, that not onely the basist part of his *Stature* was pure gold, and his a old *Shoe* was decauntly killyd by all passengers, but also shamelesse and numberlesse Miracles are handly ascribed vnto him, and his * *Bloud* almost marched in vertue with our euer-blessed Saviours: yet wee no lesse condemne their butcherly execution, who (how great so euer his offence was against the King and State) had no lawfull authoritie to beat them out, or acquit them, from the guilt of *Blood*.

(42) To shut vp this long contention (which, as you see, would not be extinct but by blood, nor take end but by his death,) because any censure of one owne will be said to issuout of *Time-serving*, or *State-pleasing*, we will onely annex the bare iudgement of the forefaced learned Monke of that time, who thus speaks. *Indeed though my selfe enioy in this, whom they loue and praise, to extoll what former they haue done, (an argument of their great affection but slender wisdom) yet in plain truth, these things, which the venerable Arch-bishop is acted, that no profit at all thence proceeded, but the Kings worth only was kindled (whereby so many mischances afterwards arose) I doe not thinke to bee praiseworthy, though they sprang from a laudable zeale, as it was in the blessed Prince of the Apostles, who attaining the top of Apostolical perfection, taught the Gentiles by his example to Iudaize; for which the Defer of the Gracities declares that he deserved to be repurchased, though hee did it with a prouer-worship and pious intent. And*

in another place. *The Arch-bishop was hot in zeale of Iustice, but whether fully according to knowledge, God knoweth, (for it is not for a man of my meane quality, rashly to iudge of so great a mans actions,) but I thinke, the blessed Pope Gregorie would haue dealt more mildly, and smit at these things which might haue borne borne, without any basard of the Christian faith, &c. and then concludes: I therefore, that which the venerable Arch-bishop then did, I neither iudge that it to be commended, neither professe I to condemn it. For good men are so to be loued, or lauded by vs, that wee neither loue nor laud the acts wherein they flow themselves to be fraile men, but onely those things wherein we cannot scruple we ought to imitate them: and therefore they are worthy and worthe to be praised, that Gods prerogative may be referred intire to himselfe.*

(43) Some other learned men there were, who liued neere to that time, whose censure was farre sharper then that Monks: Such were some of those Diuines of *Paris*, mentioned by *Calixtus* the Monk, who saith, *The Question was debated to & fro amongst the Doctors, in the vniuersitie of Paris, whether Thomas were damned or saved: amongst whom, Rogerius the Norman answered, that hee deserved death and damnation, for his contumacie against his King, the Minister of God: but Petrus Canon alledged, that his Miracles were signes of his saluation, &c. An indeede if all be true, which a one man hath written in fine bookes, containing his 270. Miracles, we cannot but acknowledge him, both the greatest Saint, and the merriest too, that euer gotte into heauen: so ridiculous are many things recorded of him. As that of *Adwardus*, who for stealing of a great whetstone (which the Author that writes it, beil deferred) being deprived of his *Eares* and *Visitation* by sentence of Law; vpon priar to *S. Thomas* he had all restored againe: Yea euen a Bird, hauing become taught to speake, flying out of her cage, and ready to be seized on by *Spar-Hawks*, said onely, *S. Thomas helpe mee*, and a later *Exemite* self professed dead, and *resurrected*, and (belike) reported it. Of which great power in this Saint, how came wee doubt? I thinke wee read, that euen in his life time the *Virgin* *Mariane* her life was contented to bee his *Semiter*, and *sewed his shirt with red silk*? Many of which kind of follies, (if that word be sharp enough) might bee here inficted, were not our present argument more serious, and thesse foregies fit onely for Monks to endite, children to read, and fooles to beleue.*

(44) The report of the tragical outrage on the Arch-bishop, comming to the old King, at *Argentan* in *Normandy*; there was no kind of sorrow, into which, (without respect to Maistie, or State) hee fell not; and not without cause, as knowing how plentifull an *Hydra* of mischiefs (vpon the opinion of his priuatie with the fact) would rise, if not prevented. But the murderers, fearing least this their fact would displease the king, in whole reuenge they did it, fled into the North, and abode one whole yeere in the kings Castle of *Kearthburgh* in *Yorkshire*; perhaps by fauour of the yongue king: none of them dying for the fact, by way of iustice, because, the Clergie extingping themselves from the bunds of ciuill Laws, the punishment of a Priest-Killer (as by some it appeareth) was not then the death of the Body by execution of capitall sentence, but of Soule by Excommunication, all about the twentieth third yeer of this king, it was (at the instant suite of *Richard* Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, and of the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Elie*, and *Norwich*) yielded, that such persons should also suffer losse of life.

45 The king therefore, vpon profection to submit himself, to the iudgement of such Cardinals, Legats, as the Pope should find to inquire of the fact, kept his Reale from *Interdictum*, though the king of *France*, the Arch-bishop of *Seint*, and *Theobald* Earle of *Blou*, had outgoe his Embassadors with their inflaming letters, containing the description of that Parricide.

Henrie II.

Argentan,
* Calixtus Bishop,
L.S. cap. 99.
Beale Sept. 20,
1170.
Fug. M.p.

* Monks. Cont.
diuinitate 8,
Thomas.

* M. Frederike
praprio hoc
pud. ad.
Richard. ad. 1170.
L.S.
* The prison
golden Legend. in
no. Thom.

Visum.

The kings fac-
tion for the mur-
der, and his dis-
fession there-
upon
Arch. Paris.
Tudor. Henr.

Gu. Malig. L.S.
1170.
Arch. Paris.

Nich. Tricar.
Lover, and
Wolfe. p. 99.
Arch. Paris.
saith it was granted
to Cardinal
Ferre Lem. by
King Hen.
Arch. Paris.
ed. A.D. 1176.

Arch. Paris.

The left meeting
for a peace be-
tweene the King
and Arch-bishop.

The Arch-bishop
published new
censures.

Arch. Paris.
Roger Marsh.

* Polder. Prg.
123.

Arch. Paris.
Arch. Paris.

The kings reach
fired to the
Arch-bishop.

Gu. Camb. L.S.
L.S. calls them
Saints Camb.

* The printed
Legend 1170, be
was 13. years of
age.

* In the fifth
of Richs. History
Trid. Mar-
to (Commis).
Malig. Hen.
Arch. Paris.
Guil. Camb.
Hen. in it.
* En. in. 1170.
de. P. 1170.
Richard. p. 99.
Richard. Hen.
Richard. Hen.
* To per. Thome
Sanguin. Hen.
Hen. in. 1170.
Hen. in. 1170.
Hen. in. 1170.
Hen. in. 1170.

Guil. Malig. L.S.
1170.

* Gales.

King Henry comes to the church of Ireland.

Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

* Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

* Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

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Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

(46) Henry therefore among so many perplexities rising out of the Archbishops murmur, saw no way so ready for the calming his own perturbations, or for the averting mens thoughts from the consideration of that scandalous tragédie, as to undertake some great and noble enterprise, which now offered it self very seasonably. For Ireland, a verie spacious and plentiful Island, and lying commodiously for the view of the English, harned in it self with civil divisions, kindled among the petty Kings and Princes thereof: while *Rathbrick the Great*, called *O Connor Dan*, Prince of *Connaght*, abusing his power and the advantage of the times, to the oppression of his Neighbour, sought to make himselfe the vniuersall King thereof, having already invaded the Title & Seile of KING and MONARCH OF IRELAND. And this his purpose was much advanced by the fatal and familiar error of proceedings in like cases: for the Irish Princes, either through distrust or pride, forbearing to vaine their forces against the common enemy, while each provides for oue, they are all as it were, overcome.

(47) Moreover *Dermot Mac Murrough* (in that time of the Irish *Postarch*, or five-fold Kingdom) having secretly stolne away the wife of *Rathbrick* (a light woman, and consenting or plotting rather, & vrging the rape it self) added to *Rathbricks* ambition, a just desire of reuenge, for so notable, impudēt, and publicke iniurie, so much the more odious in *Dermots* person, for that hee was old: neyther was this all, for the causes of this change were higher.

(48) The onely disposer and translator of Kingdomes is God; & in Ireland to moue him to offence (without which no Kingdom is transferred) against the people thereof, all such finnes abounded, as commonly forgoe the greatest changes: for not onely the manners of the Nation were extremely corrupted, but the Christian faith it self decayed; barbarisme ouerturning the one, and a more then superstitious the other. But it may seeme by some Authors, that King *Henrie* particular inducements to that Action, were both an ancient title vnto that Kingdom, derived from his ancestors (the kings of England) for many ages before him; and a many vnsufferable wrongs (by their Princes) vnto the English Nation, buying and selling their Captiues, and vsing Turkish tyranny on their bodies: which made the Irish Clergy themselves coufesse, that they had deforced no other, then that their land should be transferred to that Nation whom they had so cruelly handled. Notwithstanding, King *Henry*, who knew how great and dangerous tumults the Popes had raised on small occasions, thought his way would be much easier, if he went onward with the Popes good fauour, which hee easily obtained (so liberal is his holiness of that which is none of his) for a fee, y^e v^ez. a penny yearly to be paid to Saint Peter of every house in Ireland. Touching which point, *Rufus of Warrick* (no Protestant, I assure you) saith, That his English King is not bound to reioy on the Popes graunt for Ireland, nor yet to pay that tax, because hee had claime to that Kingdom by an hereditary right: and that the Pope had no temporal interest therein (as his fauorites pretend) the often-mentioned Monke of *Newburgh* can tell vs, who saith, that *Nannam externa subactis diuini*, Ireland was neuer subiect to any foraine command.

(49) God Almighty therefore did now part it into the heart of *Henry*, for the reforming of that kingdom, to make a Conquest thereof, hating in his infinite wisdom before hand fitted all circumstances needfull to concurre, for inducing *to warre* and frugal a Prince to such an enterprise, which thus tooke beginning.

(50) *Dermot Mac Murrough*, heere in possession of his fatal *Melen* (the adulterous wife of *Rathbrick*) was persued so eagerly with the reuenging sword of

his enemy (who, howeuer wounded in heart with the abuse of his Bed, reioiced in the colour and occasion mislittered thereby, for him to rise vpon the flourishing Provinces of *Leinster*) as hee was driven to flee from place to place, and at the length to quitte his kingdom also, the subjects whereof his tyrannie and vices had vnited, in their affections toward him. Thus desperate of help at home, his last deliberations were to draw in forreine aides, the necessity of his case requiring it; and for that purpose, finally resolues to repaire to the court of the wife and potent *Henrie*, King of England, being then in *Aquitain*: neither could *Dermot* but knowe, that he had heretofore bene in *Henries* designs, at such time as hee ment to subdue it for *William of Armes*, his youngest brother, and also, because his present Dominions did halfe (as it were) enuiron it. In which hopes he was not deceiued; for *Henrie* listened therunto verie willinglie, as to a thing which hee had indeede a some yeres before projected.

(51) King *Dermot* therefore was heard in his suite. But, because the thing, as at that time, neither seemed great enough, for such a Prince as *Henrie* to vndertake directly, nor as yet was heid sufficiently discovered to his hand; that therefore the Ice might be broken by inferior means, and aswell the conueniences, as inconueniences, sounded to the depth, (without engaging the roiall person, name, or power,) it was by the Kings letters permitted to *Dermot* (the exiled Prince) to draw what adventures, or voluntaries, either the commiseration of his estate, or other respects, of pietie, profit, or delight in armes, could allure to the action. Now whether it were, for that he, whose Countreys lay toward the coasts of *Wales*, (and within ken vpon a cleere day) by commodity thereof might entertaine intelligence, aswell as trafficke, with the inhabitants of those parts; or, for that the flame of their Chieftaine did inuade; or, for that his acquaintance at his arrival grew there firmer; or, for that these and many other circumstances met in this accident: sure it is, that *Dermot* raised his first, and principall succours from among the English Colonies there.

(52) The Welsh had then in their hands valiant Gentlemen of Norman race, one *Robert Fitz Stephen*, who by *Gilbert de Clare* was entrusted with the defence of the towne of *Cardigan*, but through treachery the Towne being surprised, *Robert* was also deliuered vnto *Rhys ap Iffan*, Prince of *South Wales*, who would hearken to no other endgements of his liberty, but onely, that he should for euer abandon his possessions in *Wales*. Whereupon (the opportunity of *Dermots* quarrel giuing hopes of new fortunes) immediately hee entered into contract with the Irish king, promising by a certaine day to come to his succour, with as many Voluntaries, as his remaining fortunes, or the hope of the voyage could furre: which hee did accordingly performe, leaving it very disputable, whether with more incensell or courage. But *Dermot* well knowing that the fortunes of this Gentleman (to whose valour nothing seemed impossible) were vnable to vndergo the whole weight of the vnkowne worke, had formerly deale with that renowned Lord, *Richard* of the house of *Clare*, Earle of *Pembroke*, furnished *Strong-bow* the man whom the Fate of Ireland did expect.

(53) *Dermots* persuasions to the Earle were of this kind: That the enterprise, besides the facultie thereof, was full of pietie, honour, iustice, and commoditie: That it appeared so to King *Henry* himselfe, by whose lease hee was free to gather what forces hee could: That hee was driven out by the cruell ambition of Neighbours, & treachery of wicked Subjects. That *Leinster* was a Kingdom, and though but a part, yet cleerely the best and richest part of Ireland. That multitudes offered themselves to his aid, but his cares were not onely for a General to lead them, but for one to whom hee might lease his kingdom also.

Com. p. 170.

Gravel, Camb.

Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

* Met. Paris. Ann. Dom. 1195.

Dermot, Camb. de exp. 160.

* Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

Dermot, Camb. de exp. 160.

Robert Fitz Stephen.

* Authors call him Stephen.

* Camb. p. 170.

* Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

Gravel, Camb. de exp. 160.

Richard Earle of Pembroke.

* He is commonly called the first of his name.

* Earle of Clare and Strong-bow.

The house of Dermot's posterity.

"also: That the Earle was he, as the onely man, in
"whose person all the respects of birth, honour,
"bounty, valour, youth and fortunes did happily
"meet. That the Earle (in his conceits) did dwell
"but narrowly considering what hee was worthe
"of) pent-up in the straits of an Earledomes ti-
"tle, for whom a great Kingdome was not great.
"That they who would not allow *Leinster* for a
"kingdome, did forget, that *England* once was bro-
"ken into lesser states; and if *Dermot* were not a
"King, neither then were *Elle, Caffe, Ffisa, Seglers*,
"*Crisda*, and the rest in the Saxon tenen-headed go-
"vernment: that the quantity of Dominion made
"more or lesse strong, but not more or lesse a
"King. That he was rightfull King of *Leinster*, as
"Sonne and Heire to *Maugh* King of *Leinster*: that
"if hee must forgoe his inheritance, it should be to
"such as had done him no wrong, and were wor-
"thy of it; to *Richard Strong-arm* and his follow-
"ers, and not to *Rathernke* and Rebels. That hee
"was not vnkings, though vnkingsdom: that *E-*
"as his daughter (*Eas* the pearle and floure of *Ir-*
"land) should indeed be *Eas* to his enemies to bring
"vpon them death, and full confusion: that yet in
"defeating the Tyrant *Rathernke* of his hopes by pla-
"cing Earle *Richard* and his Forces, hee should pro-
"vide for his Country, not destroy it. That if it did
"fall out otherwise, yet his disloyal people had
"their ill deserts, who obiecting vices to their So-
"ueraigne, did themselves commit vile treasons.
"Indeed quoth he I was neuer such a King, as that
"I was not also a Man. But for those matters be-
"tweene God and me, here is now no place to ac-
"count, for though his iustice hath found me out,
"yet his mercy hath left me more friends at home,
"then the number & measure of my finnes deserue:
"My quarrell is most ill, as against most wicked re-
"bels and vipers: Releue me then (my Lord) by
"your puissance to my native soile, and my lawfull
"rights therein: restore with me Religion and Dis-
"cipline to the ancient splendor thereof, which was
"not greater in any Realme about vs then in *Ireland*,
"reduce the fury, enlighten our ignorance, punish
"our rudeness, and let not such abundant matter of
"merite and immortal glory escape you. God him-
"self will prosper the enterprysfull Church hath
"long since approved it: and vpon such Authories
"what can miscarry? Add though in thy noble and
"Christian charge nothing can weigh so much,
"(and these I see work mightily) yet to satisfie all
"respects, Thou shalt haue far larger territories then
"here Thou canst possesse, and goodly lands to di-
"tribute for reward among thy friends and follow-
"ers. My last offers now shall not shew a more de-
"sire to vnicity forces, then alone to thy person &
"vertues. They are not richer I propose, but that
"of which God himselfe doth seeme to me to haue
"laid the ground, seeing it is his holy will that thou
"at this time shouldst bee without a wife. Know
"thou then, that I haue that one daughter *Eas*, the
"heire of my Crowne, and comfort of my age: let
"thy oneweys tell thee how faire and worthy:
"thou shalt dare aough, that thou wilt thinke far broad-
"der then well cross, for view of so honest beauty. In
"the first blossom of her youth, a vertuous vir-
"gine, and by both Parents borne of Princes, shall
"at thine arrival, with this right hand, bee made
"thine, and with her after my death, my whole
"realme, and other my rights whatsoever: which
"were they infinitely more, (despise not such loue,
"nor the alliance of one distressed, but neuertheless
"a King.) I would repute them sure too little for
"such a sonne in law: who though thy selfe as yet
"no King, art come of Kings, and it is my whole
"and last ambition, that I may liue to make thee
"one. The Earle accepted the conditions, resolu-
"te to set vp *Dermot* againe, and for that purpose
"bound himselfe by solemn contract, to the full per-
"formance of his part within a certaine time.

(53) *Dermot* having thus negotiated his affaires
and let it in so good forwardness, while his friends in
England prepared themselves and their Forces, lest
hee should seeme to reline vpon fortune aides, and so
to diminish with them the reputation of his owne
valour and alliances at home; hee sailles backe into
his Country; carrying with him the promises of
confederates, and there: both by his presence and
persuasions did the best hee could to facilitate the
entrance of the *English*, whose honourable enter-
tainments, deuotions, chiality, riches, valours,
wisdom, and victorious greatnesse heaped not
to celebrate, as instruments aduancing his owne de-
signes: which raised no little expectation, mixt
with contrary affections of desire and feare.

(54) The next yeare, when the season grew fit
for an Army to take the field, *Robert Fitz-Stephen*
accompanied with *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his halfe
brother by the firer side, &c a competent number
of Souldiers, reposing (vnder God) their chief hope
in their Swords and courages, set saile for *Ireland*, &
is the beginning of *May* came on shore, at a place
called by the *Irish*, *Buno* (by the *English* at this day
commonly, *Bagg* and *Buno*) which in our language
signifies *Sacred*: a word which (so much as names
may be prefiges of things) did as it were hallow the
attempt of the *English* with a lucky and gracious omi-
nation, whereof the Inhabitants at this present
retrace this time.

At the head of *Bagg* and *Buno*,
Ireland was left and won.

(55) The next day after, *Maurice de Prender-*
goff alio, with* other men of Armes, and many Ar-
chers in two shippes arrived there, being parcell
of *Fitz-Stephans* Forces and Companions of his For-
tunes, who joining themselves together, immedi-
ately marcht to the City of *Wexford* vnder their Ban-
ners, and that in the greatest brauery they could,
(the Knights and Men at Armes, in their Coates of
Arms & Colours) to draw thereby now at the first
the greater reputation to themselves, and with opi-
nion so gotten, to fill vp the finalnes of their num-
bere: in which manner assailing the City, the *Irish*
therein rendered themselves, and in-reward of the
seruice, being also according to capitulation, and en-
couragement of others, who were to proceed in
this warre, *Dermot*, to whose vic the *English* Gen-
erall had taken it,* bestowed the City it selfe, and
the Country about vpon *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, at his
pleasure to be disposed off: and there the first Co-
lony of our Nation was planted, which hath ever
since inamouably maintained their abode among
innumerable changes in the world, retaining at this
day the ancient name of the *English*, and the language
also it selfe, though brackish with the mixture of
vulgar *Irish*, which therefore by a distinct name is
called *Wexford* speech, current onely in that City, &
the Country about.

(56) But *Robert Fitz-Stephen* thus aduanced, for
his more affurance, beganne to raise* a Town at
Carrick, making the place which nature had already
fortified, much more by Art defensible. This
entrie into *Ireland* being by him now made (vnder
the name of *Henry* King of *England*) and the successe
exceeding hope, *Richard Strong-arm* receiving ad-
uertisement from *Dermot*, and the new Lord of
Wexford, of all occurrences; thought fitt, first to
dispatch* some supplies to *Fitz-Stephen*, which a-
bout the beginning of *May*, vnder the conduct of
Ramondle graffe (a Gentleman of the Earles fa-
mily) were accordingly sent: and after *Ram-*
mond the Earle himselfe in the same yeere set
forth: his Forces were about a two hundred
men of Armes, and a thousand other Souldiers,
with whom he came fife to Anchor in the Bay of
Waterford, vpon the Vigils of Saint Bartholomew, &
August 24. Ann. 1171. Earle *Richard* the Generall,
knowing that expedition did carry with it terrour
and aduantage, presently marcht to *Portlargo*,
E e e e (the

Robert Fitz-Stephen
placed into
Ireland.
* *Trigod* *Irish*
tribes.

Monks *Connel*,
in *Colled*, *Parish*,
in *Irish*.
An. D. 1170
They were Sould-
iers of all sorts
1170.
Robert *Archer*,
and *de* *Dermot* *Irish*.

* *Archer* *Irish*
and *Irish*.

* The name of
Pendergoff you
remains in *Irish*
and *Irish* (as
is to be seen) in
a Towne of that
name in *Pen-*
dergoff.

* *Pendergoff* *Irish*
Archer, and
Irish, a *Irish*
Patric, as
is to be seen
in *Irish* M. *Irish*

(whole notes
last page) very
much light in
this *Irish* side,
and does
then *Irish* *Irish*
obscure
in the *Irish*
Church at *Clon-*
more.

* *Irish* *Connel*,
in *Irish* *Irish*.
* *Irish* *Irish*
The *Irish* *Irish*
Colours.

* *Irish* *Irish* *Irish*.

* *Connel* *Irish*.

Earle *Richard*
prepared to
Irish.

* *Irish* *Irish*,
and *Connel* 2. 1171.
Irish *Irish* *Irish*
before with
Irish.

* *Irish* *Irish*,
and *Connel* 3. *Irish*
An. 1171.
Irish *Irish* *Irish*
Irish *Irish* *Irish*

Monks *Connel*,
An. 1170. *Irish*
Irish *Irish* *Irish*
An. 1170. *Irish*
An. 1170. *Irish*
An. 1170. *Irish*

* The *Irish* *Irish*
no *Irish* *Irish*
there.

* This *Irish* *Irish*
is *Irish*, *Irish*
his mother *Irish*
his mother) *Irish*
King of
Irish *Irish*.
An. 1170.
Irish *Irish*
An. 1170.
Irish *Irish*
An. 1170.

Earle Richard
left a treaty.
Westerford shew

(the *Irish* name of *Waterford* and upon the very next day took the City by force, and sacrificed the armed Inhabitants to the revenge of *Dermot*, for the rather to make room, and security for themselves, to the exceeding terror, and last dismay of all about, as they who found, that, howsoever the presence was to redress *Dermot*, the purpose was to beat the *English* for ever.

He married the
Lady Kate.

(57) *Box Dermot*, Author of this calamity to his Nation, refores in his purpose, in full complement of this Contract, doth openly in solemn manner hallow his promised daughter *Ema*, upon the Conquerour in marriage, with his own right hand giving her in the Church: at which time, the famous *Strong-bow* did not celebrate his particular Wedding-day, but the indissoluble knot of the *Irish* alliance to the *English* Sovereignetic, with the same Ring which circled his Wives finger, affiancing that lland to this our Country.

Earle Richard
marched to
Dublin.

(58) The Marriage performed, it was far from the mind of the Earle to spend much time in revels and feasts, but confult with his men of warre what was next to bee done for the settling his Father in law King *Dermot*, and for finishing the Conquest which was now so happily begonne, in two severall parts of *Ireland* at once. Leaving therefore a sufficient Garrison to make good the places already gained, & to secure the lading of fresh supplies, he set forward with his selected Companies, to whose victorious weapons the whole Realme lay open, so farre forth, that *Ascherick* himself was very well contented (notwithstanding his lately usurped, & swelling title of Monarch of *Ireland*) to hold himself within the bogs and fastnesses of his peculiar Realme, the wild, and mountainous *Cannagh*; meane while, *Strong-bow* keeps on his way over the boome of *Ireland* to the principall City thereof, *Dublin*, taking in (as he marcheth) all the places about, and securing himself by pledges, of their loyalty, or otherwise, as he saw most fite. In which journey, pleased with the delight and fertile situation of *Kildare*, he resolved there to settle his abode, and to erect a citie to his posterity.

* *Chron.* p. 753.

Dublin taken.
Dermot King of
Leinster doth
renew his
friend.

The conquest of *Dublin* being speedily, and most happily achieved, not long after, *Dermot Mac Murrough*, Father in law to the Earle (whom the *Irish* for his affection to the *English*, call *Dermot Nongall*, that is, *Dermot the Strangers friend*) breathed his last at *Ferry*, dying (as *pleaseth* *Deum*).

* *De* *W.* *Chron.*
Vol. 7. p. 40.
* *Chron.* *Cont.*
cap. 13. lib. 6.

(59) The fame of these successes waiving over the *Irish* seas, and coming to the King, made him resolve to passe in person thither, that he might have the honor of the Conquest: and not approving such forwardness in the Earle, who (as some say) went against his expresse commandment, (and indeed ** Giraldus*, who lived at that time, calls his lease no better then an Ironical lease) and for that hee knew not to what insolvency such late fortune might in time allure, as also for that they feared to handle the *Natives* too rigorously; ** thereupon he sent by his Proclamations, any vessel to carry anything out of his Dominions into Ireland, and commands all English to sever before Easter, and leave off their attempts, or their estates in England should be seized for the King.* By which Edict these Affairs were brought into fearefull extremity, which was changed into better condition by the rascall of *Heruicus de Monte Marisco*, on the behalfe of the Earle, and the adventures, who finding the King in *Glostershire* with an Army for *Ireland*, appealed his displeasure upon these termes: That the King should have the head City of the Kingdome, *Dublin*, with the adjacent Countreys, with all the Coast townes and Castles, the rest to remaine to the Conquerours to hold of the King, and of his Heires, and so to be under his protection, as Subjects ought, and as they were before, which subjection it seemed to the King they meant to have renounced.

* *Adam* lib. 4. p. 39.

(60) The Kings goodly Nauy lay in *Attford* haven, to which as hee journeyed, hee thundered against

the Welsh Nobility, comming to entertain him, for suffering *Strong-bow* to depart: At last being imbarke, he had a faire Gale which set him safe in *Ireland* with all his Forces at *Waterford*, where first hee commits to prison *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, whom the Citizens presented bound, having held him in custody, under color of doing good service, because hee had entered *Ireland* without the Kings particular leave; yet soon after the King released him, but deprived him of *Wexford* and the territories. Then takes he the homages of such petty Kings, and principall persons of the *Irish* as repaired, dismissing them in honourable sort, meaning to winne them by gentle, and not exasperating courses; and marching through *Offryne* to *Dublin*, he takes ** Ascherick* the King of *Cannagh*s homage by *Hugh Lacy*, and *William Fitz-Aldein*, last ly, at *Dublin* hee kept his Christmas in Royall state, which he beheld, very many of the *Irish* Princes came thither.

(61) Mindfull now of his duty to God, the *I*-land being calme, and silent through the presence of such a mighty Monarch, the most noble King of *England*, and triumphour of *Ireland* (as mine Author stileth him) cauleth a Synode to be holden at *Caesars* for reformation of the *Irish* Church, where amongst sundry other constitutions, to which the *Irish* Clergy did willingly submit, it was decreed, That all the Church-lands, and their possessions should be altogether free from the exaction of secular men, Or that from thenceforth, all Divine things should be handled in every part of *Ireland* in such sort, as the Church of *England* doth handle them. For (saith the Constitution) it is most iust, and meete, that as *Ireland* hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord, and King out of *England*, so also that from thence they should receive a better forme of life, and manners, then heretofore they vied.

(62) The King continuing his pollicke jealousies, and thinking *Strong-bow* to be as yet too great, draws from his dependency *Raimond, Atile Cogan, William Makrell*, and other of the best Captaines, & makes them his owne by bounty. But before hee could fully establish that Kingdome (the inseparable evil fate thereof, which would neuer suffer it to enjoy the blessed benefite of exact civillity) other affaires which hee esteemed more necessary, call him away, and therefore having left *Hugh Lacy* at *Dublin*, hee sets saile for *England* upon Easter Monday, and landed happily at *St. Dunstons* in *Pevenseyshire*, from whence with all speed hee posseth into *Normandy*.

(63) In *Normandy* there attended for his arrival two Cardinals, sent as Legates at his owne request, for taking his purgation concerning the death of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whereof, upon oath that hee was no way consenting to that cruel, and sacrilegious revenge, and declaring without his infinite sorrow for having in his anger given occasion by rash words for others to do that despite, and giving further oath to performe unimpaired penance, he was by them absolved. The condition of his absolutions were, That hee should at his owne charge maintaine two hundred Soldiers for an whole yeere for defence of the holy land. That hee should suffer Appeals to be made freely. That hee should revoke all customs introduced to the prejudice of the Churches liberty. That hee should restore and make up the possessions of the Church of *Canterbury*. That hee should freely receive all such as were in banishment for *Becketts* cause, &c. Not long after *Thomas* was canonized by Pope *Alexander*, and so not onely the victorie clearly given him against King *Henry*, but a triumph also.

(64) Now begonne the wombe of rebellion, and vnusurall conspiracies to disclose the mischiefes which were ordained to exercise this right redoubted King and Warriour, hatched here at home by the malice (some say) of *Eleanor* his Queene, at such time as hee was absent in *Ireland*, to that as ** one*

And. 1172.

King Henric
designs to Ireland

Girald. Camb. lib.
1. lib. 23. c. 31.
32. 28.

Religion establish
ing a Synode
at Caesars.

* *Idem*, cap. 33
R. 34.

* *Earle* *Ascherick*
wrote Lacy
Stark, Force &
Tyranny, Nanghe.

Girald. Camb. lib.
cap. 13. lib. 6.

Arch. *Paris*.
Scolasticus *Ramus*
p. 10. 1.

Mat. *Westm.*
lib. 7. *Henric*.
Halsbury, p. 81.

* *Wash. Paris*
utiles

writes, *God stirred up the Kings own bowels against himselfe.* Causes of this vnhappie diffention, there were many: First a Queene and *Wife*, violent vindictiue for wrong done vnto her Bed by the King, who was immoderate addicted to varietie of loves: then Ambition in an enill-naturd Child, and lastlie, pernicious Advers and instruments, who, for their owne ends, nourished this cursed mischief: so as if we should out of four stories recapitulate the severall occasions taken by the Ionesse against the father, wee should rather have you the colours, then the causes: For none of those causes which his Son pretended, seemed great enough with men that feare God, to beare out such continuall divisions as followed.

(65) The head of this conspiracy was verie great, and lustily verie terrible: for on the side of King Henry the sonne, there were the Kings of France and Scotland, a Richard and Geoffrey two younger Ioneses of the King of England, whom by their mothers persuasions they forsooke, to follow the yongue King; David the Scotch Kings brother, Philip Earle of Flanders, (a Peere of France, and a potent Prince), Matthew Earle of Arles, Theobald Earle of Blois, Hugh Earle of Chester, Robert Earle of Leicester, Hugh Bigot Earle of Norfolk, Roger Mortimer, and other great ones, in great numbers, so as nothing seemed wanting, but onely a good cause, which (such as it was) Queene Eleanor, like an *Alceste*, kept close, so much as lay in her, with perpetual lamentations. And indeed the scope of these confederates did require no lesse a combination, in being to depole the Father, whom it pleased them (for countenance of their vngodly armes) to repute no King, because hee had crowned his sonne.

(66) Though nothing then could come more greivous, to the bleeding heart of a most loving father, then such a warre; yet not to bee vapourised, hee (like a fouldier) prepares himselfe, when faire meynes faile, and found multitudes ready to lide, and die with him; the indignitie of the vnnatural revolt did so much in flame all honest courages, which acknowledged him their Sovereigne.

(67) The particular accidents of the wars would fill a volume. At one time Normans, Scots, and Britains were invaded by the confederates in France, and at the same time Cumberland by the Scots. But the King of England had friends in all those parts, and himselfe hearing that Fernalme was believed by the French King in person, hee beganne at last to kindle, hauing like a sleeping Lion, sitten still all that while, and (for that the place had, vpon parles, agreed to render if aid came not by a day) hee arrived to their succour within the time, sending King Lewis word that hee should gette him forth of Normander with speed, or he would without faile, come, and see how hee did vpon that verie day. Lewis, meaning nothing lesse then to put his owne Crowne in danger, while he sought one for his owne law, (and therefore in all the warre-time, would neuer set vp his rest vpon a battell, but willing otherwise to doe to King Henry the father, all the harme hee could, by countenancing the faction, and supporting the revolted malecontents with his best meanes, and knowing King Henry was a slower and terrible Prince when he came indecde to fight, in immediate raised his siege, and with as much hast as hee might, abandoned the place, leaving his Camp, tents, and warlike provisions behind, and retired into France.

(68) And though King Henry, beginning now indecde to shake his dreadfull sword, had many faire daies of his enemies, mixt with some losses both of men and other strengths, though not great, nor many, in regard of the overthrowes which on his behalf were giuen: For that in Britaine his forces had in battell vanquished Hugh Earle of Chester, & Ralph de Fulgiere, and slaine about one thousand and five hundred of their army; & in England, Reynald Earle of Cornwall, and Richard de Linc, had in bloodie battell overthrowne the insolent Earle of Leicester, and

entered the towne of Leicester by force; and that he had the persons of the said Hugh Lupus Earle of Chester, Ralph de Fulgiere, and verie many other prisoners of especiall note and Nobility; yet Lewis the French King moueing a parles, the father desirous to vie the good fortune of war, to reclaim his rebels, was so willing to make peace, that hee might seeme to haue outgone expectation in the qualitie of his officers, but through such wicked persuasions, as were vsed, prevailed not.

(69) A violent firebrand in this diffusion, was Robert Earle of Leicester, being matched with a Ladie no lesse proud, and stomachous then himselfe; who at this meeting, was not contented to haue affronted King Henry the father, on the behalfe of his yongue Lord, and Master the sonne, but (after many words of reproach) is said to haue laid his daring hand vpon his sword, with purpose to haue braken the King, had hee not been with-holden: (and where such spirits had to doe, it is easie to guess what kinds of counsell were like to be embraced and pursued,) hauing forsaken the father, nor for that the others cause was more honest, but for that (such Thomas Walsingham the father King, labouring to enlarge the regal power, sought to set his iante vpon the neckes of the proud and haughtie.

(70) But God, who ment to chastise the King, and not to deliuer him vp into his enemies hands, destroyed those hopes, that moued the sonnes to their vnatural attempts; for it was not long after, when newes came into Normandy, that his faithfull friends and seruants, Richard de Linc, and Humphrey de Bohun high Constable of England, together with the powers of Reynald Earle of Cornwall the Kings vncle, Robert Earle of Gloucester, and William Earle of Arundell, not farre from Paris, courageously encountered with the Earle of Leicester, and his Flemings, of whom aboue a fiew thousand were slaine, or taken, and among the prisoners was the Earle himselfe, and his Armesman Countesse, whose persons at his commandement were not long after, brought over into Normandy.

(71) This great victorie and other good success, did so much advantage the King, that Lewis beginning to distrust the enterprize, sought for fixe monethes truce for himselfe, and had it granted: but because there were yet in England, two principall men, the Earle of Norfolk, and Roger Mortimer, which held out; hauing Leicester for their Bandwaggon, and seat of warre, with no small numbers of partakers, notwithstanding that Geoffrey (the Elef of Lincoln, the Kings base sonne) had taken two of Mortimers Castles, and done other good service for his Lord and Father, the truce serued the enimie for no other purpose but to breath, and to repaire himselfe.

(72) The father (of whom Lewis said, that hee seemed not to goe, but to flie, he went with such celerity from one place and Kingdome to another) in the meane while, recouers himselfe from Richard his violent sonne, weakening that partie by so much, and would haue weakened it furre more, but that aduertisements came post, declaring such matter, as made him speede into Normandy.

(73) Thither came vnto him out of England, Richard the Elef of Winchester, went with all hath by the Kings Infinitaries, to lay open vnto him, the dangerous estate wherein the Realme at that time stood. For after that Philip Earle of Flanders had solemnely sworn to invade England, in supportation of yongue Henrys quarrell, sundrie forces arriving and joining with Hugh Bigot Earle of Norfolk, had taken and spoiled the Citie of Norwich, and done otherwise much harme, whereby the yongue King and his faction had taken great encouragement, as if the die of warre were turned, and aswell the yongue King as the Earle of Flanders, were come with forces to the Coasts, there to transport for England: Moreouer, Robert Earle Ferrers of Derby (who was slaine from

* Polybor, King

* Philip, King

* Mortimer

* Math. Paris, The coming on and self destruction of the Earle of Leicester

* Roger Mortimer

* Philip, King

The Kings vncle in it stand by being so one

* Philip, King, Henry the third, the king

* Galles golden exalt

* Mortimer and Philip, King, both were they

* Math. Paris

Lewis King of France concludes a truce

* Philip, King

* Math. Paris

* Philip, King

* Math. Paris, Great new dangers against the King

* Roger Mortimer

* Philip, King

* Roger Mortimer

* Math. Paris, Philip, King

* Th. Wolf, Philip, King

AN.D. 1173.

* Roger Mortimer

* Math. Paris

An.D 1175.
The Arrests of
Peace.

ment, armes being laid apart vpon all hands. The chief points of that wished peace were: 1. That *Henry* the young King with *Richard* and *Geoffrey* his brethren should retaine, freed from all oaths of confederation, to the King their Fathers obedience, as to their Lord and Father. 2. That Prisoners should be set at large without ranfome on all hands. 3. That *William* King of *Scots*, the Earle of *Leicester* and *Cheshire*, *Ralph de Fulgijs*, & other, who had compoun-

ded for their ranfome, before this conclusion, should haue no benefite of this exemption. 4. That King *Henry* the Father should take assurance of loyalty toward him by hostages, or oath of such as were enlarged. 5. That King *Henry* the son should ratifie that Grant which his Father the King had made to his son *John*, of some Castles, & yetely rents in *England*, &c. The Seale it selfe, wherewith the young King made this mentioned Ratification, we haue here annexed.



* *Monarch.*
At the Paris
M. T. T. T.
M. T. T. T.
M. T. T. T.
M. T. T. T.
M. T. T. T.
M. T. T. T.

The points ac-
cording to the
English Ambassadors

(80) Touching King *William* of *Scotland*, his fore-mentioned compounding: our Historians all agree not, * some saying more, * some lesse: but * *Heister Beatus* (a Scottish Historian of some credit with that Nation) writes 11. That King *William* was to pay 10000*l*. Struggling for his ranfome, the one half in present coin, the other 5000*l*. vpon time 2. That for assurance of that summe the Earldomes of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* & *Huntington* should rest in mortgage 3. That K. *William* should moue no warre against *England* for the retention of those lands 4. That, for the more security of the premises, the Castles of *Berwick*, *Edenburgh*, *Reckrough* & *Strimeling* should be deliuered to the *English*.

(81) In the meane while, King *Henry* according to *Gouernants*, discharged out of captivity nine hundred sixty and nine men of Arms, taken in those late warres; and King *Henry* the sonne discharged about one hundred; and hauing accomplished whateuer might content or secure his Father, they prepared for *England*, where the ioyous letters of their comming written by the Father, had begotten great and longing expectations in the subjects; which hee did, (saith *Paris*) that whom the general danger of warre had afflicted, the common gladness might recomfort. In their traualle thitherward the confidence was such vpon this fresh reconciliement, that one Chamber and table serued both, for whom before one Kingdome was not wide enough. They landed at *Perpignan* vpon Friday, 20. of May, 1175.

(82) The face of *England* at this present, was like that of a quiet skie and sea, no blaine, no billow, no appearing signe of discontentment; which the better to continue, King *Henry* the Father accompanied with the King his sonne, omitted no office of a iust and prudent *Gouernour*, visiting a great part of his Realme in person, consulting, ordering and enacting such lawes and courtes, as might most establish the good of Peace. Hence it came, that at *London* both the Kings were present in a Synode, in which *Richard* lately choise Archibishop of *Canterbury*, did publish (* with the Kings assent) certain Canons for the better government of the Church of *England*, beginning thus; At the true fountaine of all happy rate, that is to say at the honour of God, and establishment of Religion & Discipline, &c. &c. amongst the rest, this one Canon in especial words is enacted, both by authority of the King & Synode, (and indeed worthy for euer to be in force) That every Patrone taking reward for any presentation, should for euer loofe

the Patronage thereof. And the same Kings not long after being at *Woodstocke*, in accomplishment of such holy purposes, by aduise of the Clergy provided men to such Bishopricks, Abbacies, and principall castles as were vacant, where King *Henry* the Father forgot not his true friend *John* of *Oxford*, whom he preferred to the See of *Norwich*.

(83) From hence coming to *Turke*, hee serke hole parts to peace, whither *William* King of *Scots* repairing, sundry matters of importance were handled betweene the two Kings: as likewise afterward at *Winchester* (where the King had called a great assembly of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall) *Ratherick* King of *Connacht* in *Ireland* (at the fauor of his Ambassadors, the Archibishop of *Thames* and *Towmead*, & others of that nation, subjects to *Ratherick*) was receiued into protection & fauour, and became Tributarie: K. *Henry* being vnwilling to fish with a hooke of gold, in that warring vpon *Ireland* hee should seeme to do. In another Parliament, not long after at *Northampton*, he caused *England* to be diuided into six circuits, & to each Circuit three Iudicials kintrians deputed, and swelt to giue his lawes more free passage, as also the better to secure himselfe he threw to the earth sundry * Castles which had bin formerly kept against him, as *Leicester*, *Huntington*, *Walsingham*, *Sturtebury*, &c. and had the rest both in his *English* and in his French Dominions committed to his disposition.

(84) The young King * about these times disaffected fresh alienations in his mind against his Father: who yett dissembling all, did arme notwithstanding vpon the defence, and replenished both *England* and *Normandie* with Garrisons, which drew the sonne the sooner to come in.

(85) But the old King not vnwilling perhaps (lest the Brethrens concord might proue no better then a conspiracy against the Father) that his warlike Children should contend, * did nourish debate among them: Certaine it is, that to diuert the warre from himselfe, hee appealed his sonne the King with an encrease of maintenance for himselfe, amounting in the whole to an hundred pounds Annuall by the day, and ten pounds of the same money for his wife the Queene: and whereas *Alice* (daughter of *Lem* then King of *France*, who was married at three yeeres of age to *Richard* (second sonne of King *Henry*) when hee was but seuen, and now demanded of King *Henry* the Father, to the intent that *Richard* her husband might enjoy her, the old King who was

G g g s * suspected

North. Paris.

* *Ray. Hoked.*
An.D. 1175.

Contributions to
London the Kings
being present.
* *Gouernor.*
Ray. Hoked.

Woodstock. 1175.
July 11.
M. T. T. T.
M. T. T. T.
M. T. T. T.

The Engage
Treaty.

* *Perd. P. G.*
Perd. P. G.
M. T. T. T.

An.D. 1176.
The first letters
of the Kings
M. T. T. T.
M. T. T. T.

* *Wals. P. G.*
Wals. P. G.
M. T. T. T.

* *Ray. Hoked.*
Ray. Hoked.

* *The M. T. G. in*
The M. T. G. in

* *Perd. P. G.*
Perd. P. G.
M. T. T. T.

* Reg. Henr.

* suspected to haue deflowred her, for that time shuted of the deliuey of her person, in such sort that peace was not hindered thereby.

An.D. 1183.

* Reg. Henr.
Henr. Henr.
The wife in
T. Henr. Henr.

(86) But while the young King by his Fathers *insatiation sought by force to constrain young Richard to doe homage to him for Aquitaine, and King Henry the Father for the same cause commanded Geoffrey his third son, Duke of Britaine (whom some for his extraordinary perfidiousness in this stroke toward his Father, and manifold sacrilege, call the * Child of Perdition) to aide and assist his said elder brother; while also the treacherous Father (out of the spite of his Iunior) sought his own safety, and in nourishing it, had by the treachery of the said sonnes bin twice endangered, and had at both times been wonderfully persecuted; and while the young King by profound dissimulations, plotted to bring both his Father and Brother Richard into subjection; beheld the hand of God by raking away the young King at Marston not farre from Linsger, where his Father lay at siege, gaue an end to this odious, fowle and iniericate contention.

King Henrie the
Iunior dies in the
bosom of his
Fathers
* Reg. Henr.
Henr. Henr.
The wife in
T. Henr. Henr.

(87) Thus was his life cut off like a Weavers thred; (say * Authors) who had by dying cut of the hope of many: But whatsoever his life was, which God thus shortened at his age of twentie and eight yeeres; certainly his death was not inglorious, but worthy to be set out in Tables at large as a pattern to disobedient Children: for his Father refusing to wite him (fearing his owne life,) and sending him King in signe of forgiveness; the dying Prince most humbly with floods of teares kissing the same, made a most sorrowfull confession of his sinnes, and feeling death approach, would needs be drawne (as an vnworthy sinner) out of his owne bed, and laid vpon another, strewd with asbes, where his soule departed in a most pculent manner from his body; which being related to the Father, hee fell vpon the earth, weeping bitterly, and (like another Dauid for his Absalom) mourned very much, *o quam non fandum off. fuit* "one most grauely: *o how bawous a thing it is for*

* Reg. Henr.

sons to persecute the father! for neither the sword of the *fighter nor the hand of an enemy, did avenge the father* " *venge: but a fever and a flux with excoriation of the* *benches.* His body was buried (by his owne desire) at Reims; (which yet was not done without trouble, as if by the factions, of which hee was the cause in his life, did by a kind of Fate, not forsake him beeing dead; for the Citizens of *Meaux* hauing enuerred it, they of *Reims* without menaces, and the fathers expresse commandement, could not obtaine it, who thereupon was taken vp againe,) but his wife *Queene Margaret* was sent backe into France, and his suruiuing sonnes were once againe reduced to due obedience, no enemy daring to appeare.

An.D. 1183.

(88) Who would not haue thought, that this blurring Prince, should haue had opportunitie to end his daies in peace and glorie? but it was otherwise ordained by God, and ancient writers hold, hee was principallie scourged, for beeing drawne, by seeming reasons of State, to put off an holy enterprise, the occasion whereof, was laid as it were at his foote. For *Heracles* Patriarcke of *Hierusalem*, drawne with the supereminet fame of *King Henries* wisdom, valour, riches, and puissance, traualled from thence into England, where, * at *Clarendon* by *London*, in an assemblée of the States purposefull called, the king made knowne to them: That *Pope Lucius* had by earnest letters, commended the lameable state of the *Hebe-land*, and the Patriarcke *Heracles* vnto him: That *Heracles* (there present) had shewed compassion, and teares, at the rehearsal of the tragickall afflictions of the Easterne world, and had brought with him (for memorable * signes, that the suse was by common consent of the Countrey) the *Keys* of the places of *Christis Nativity, Passon, and Resurrection*; of *Dauids Tower*, and of the holy *Sepulchre*; and the humble offer of the *Kingdom of Hierusalem*, with the *Ensigne* or *Standard* of the *Kingdom*, as * du lie long-

An.D. 1184.

* Henr. Henr.

* Henr. Henr.

* Henr. Henr.

* Henr. Henr.

* Henr. Henr.

* Henr. Henr.

ing to him, who was right heire thereto, to wit, the sonne of *Geffrey Earle of Anjou*, whose brother *Fulk* was king of *Hierusalem*.

(89) Neuertheless, (the King hauing, at least, formally, adured the Loeds to aduise him, that which should be best for his foules health) it was thought fit, to ad the cause with money, but not to emploie his person, nor the person of any child hee had, which was the Patriarcks last request; and thereupon (to the vnspeakable griefe of the said Patriarcke, and of the whole *Christiannitie* of the East) hee refused the said Kingdome, and abandoned as noble an occasion of immortall renowne, as euer any King of England had beene offered; but gaue leave * to all such as would, to take vpon them the Croisse and serue. This *Heracles* is hee who dedicated the Temple Church in *London*, as by this Inscription ouer the Church doore in the Stone-work doth appeare.

ANNO A INCARNATIONE DOMINI. M. CLXXXV. DEDICATA HEC ECCLESIA IN HONORE BEATE MARIE A DNO BRACLO DEI GRATIA SANCTISSIMAE TRINITATIS ECCLESIE PATRIARCA IDVS FEBRUARII. Q' EAM ANNATIM PATENTIBVS DE INVENTA S' PENITENTIALI DISIN-

(90) Thus the sorrowfull Patriarcke being dismissed (not forgetting as * some doe write, to the ruler against the King for abandoning the cause) brought back nothing but discomfote and despaire, the *Western Princes* (by the Diuels malicious Arts) beeing wrapt and knotted in mortall suspicions and quartels indetermined, whereupon shortly after, ensued, with the losse of *Ierusalem*, the captivity of *Guido* King thereof, and of innumerable Christians besides; whom *Sultan Saladin*, Prince of the *Mussulmans* or *Saracens*, to the griefe and disgrace of all the Christian world, did vanquish.

(91) But, *King Henries* mind was more fixed on settling the fate of his already-possest Kingdome, and therefore in a great Parliament, held at *Oxford*, (vnto which came *Elisabeth* and *Dauid*, Kings of *South Wales* and *North Wales*, with other their chiefe Nobles, which alld there swore fealtie to the King) hee beeing desirous to aduance his sonne *Edm.* (whom hee exceedingly loued, and commonly in sport, hee called *Sau-terra*) hauing assured vpon him certaine Lands and Rents in *England* and *Normandie*, did there verie solemnly giue him also the title & Kingdome of *Ireland*; for, (besides the foresaid Bull of *Pope Adrian* the fourth, who for signe of inuestiture had also sent a ring of gold, which was laid vp in the Records at *Winchester*) *Giraldus* (who liued in that age) tells vs (to omitte what hee writes of one *Gargantua*) that *Gallmores* King of *Ireland*, was tributarie to the famous *Arthur*: that *Ross* (whence (saith hee) the *Irish* came) was at that present vnder *King Henrie* the second; and that the *Irish* Princes had voluntarily submitted themselves, as vnto him who by the * Law of a *Sociall* warre, was become their Soueraigne. But that Author had not scene belike, or did not remember (when thus hee went about to proue a legall right in the King) what others write of * *Erfrides* vngodly spoiles in *Ireland*, or of * *Edgars* Charter, in which is laid to bee contained, that hee had vnder his rule the chiefe City of *Ireland Dublin*, and the greater part of the kingdome also. But *King Henrie* strengthening his other rights with Grants of the *Popes*, *Adrian*, and *Alexander*, obtained also of *Frederick* the third (for *Lucius* the third, who was *Alexanders* successor, would not graunt the King therein) that it should bee lawfull for him, to crowne which of his sonnes hee would, King of *Ireland*, to whom beene a crowne of *Feathers* woven with gold, in all their Grants referring to the *Ro-*

King Henrie sets
forth the kingdome
of Ierusalem.

* Henr. Henr.
Edm. Henr.

An Inscription
vpon the Temple
Church.

Heracles departs
* Henr. Henr.
Edm. Henr.

An.D. 1185.

Reg. Henr.
Henr. Henr.
The wife in
T. Henr. Henr.

* Henr. Henr.
Edm. Henr.

Henr. Henr.
Edm. Henr.

* Henr. Henr.
Edm. Henr.

* Henr. Henr.
Edm. Henr.

man Ser, the Peters pence, and rights; whereupon the King gaue the same to his sonne *John*, whose Coronation (flung with the like before) his father onely did delay, at such time as two Cardinales offered to celebrate that solemnitie.

(91) *As Windfor* sherefore his father giuing him the * Order of knight-hood (at such time hee was about * twelve yeeres old) sent him forth withinto *Ireland*, where the Arch-bishop of *Dublin* and the State, entertained him, but (by reason of such parsimonie toward his souldiers as was vied) hee returned the same yeere without doing much, but not without hauing waisted the mozt part of his Arme, in skirmishes with the *Irish*. His Stile in his scale of *Ireland* (though *Houers* faith, his father made him *Regent*, a king) was onely, *Errollus Iohannis filij regis Anglia Domini Hibernia*. Lord of *Ireland*.

(93) King *Henrie*, hearing now of his martial
sonne, Earle *Richard*, had forthwith in *Politon* against
him, and vanquished *Geffrey* Earle of *Briane*, "pre-
pares a puissant armie, vpon terror whereof, *Richard*
came in, rendering *vp* *Politon* to his mother *Eleanor*,
(whose inheritance it was) at his fathers commaund-
ment. The same yere wherein the *W-It* was thus
defiled with vnnatural diuisions, the East was like-
wise polluted with the cursed Apollasie of one *Ri-
chard de S. Albane* (whom wee flume to thinke, was
Eugenes) who renouncing the Christian beleefe (vp-
on the Patriarchs discomforable returne) became a
principall Commander vnder the *Sultan* of *Babylon*
Saladinde, whom the Christians dare, with losse and
slaughter of his armie, from *Hierusalem*. But on the
other side, reuenge of disobedience still purified *Geffrey*,
sonne of King *Henrie*, who was in a *Torneament*
at *Paris* troden to death vnder the horie fete.
A miserable end, and a deathfull.

(94) About which times, betwene the *French* and *English* all things floode vnder, now warre, then pence, and a warre againe, by reason that *Philip* (who had been crowned King some yeres before, during the life of *Lemuy*) challenging the custodie of *Arthur*, the *Pallobus* Ioune, and heire of *Gissey* Earle of *Britaine*, and sometimes onething, and sometime another, could not haue his will: Whiles Earle *Richard* turning to *Philip* against his Father, but obtaining a truce for two yeres, such amity (if there beany amity among mighty Princes) grew betwene King *Philip* and Earle *Richard*, Heare apparant of *England* and *Normandy*, such one be and boored ferued both. The Father perplexed, cald his sonne home, who preceeding many griefes, as the detention of *Alice* his Spouse, the doubt of disinherition, and other things, flood out againe and againe after a while submits to his Father. Then bursts forth *Philip* into Armes; and things so standing, the heauy newes of *Ierusalem* loifflewin into Christendome. When this Citty was formerly recovered by *Gissey* of *Belen*, an *Yrban* was Pope a *Fredricke* was Emperour, an *Heracius* Patriarchus now when it was lost, an *Yrban* was Pope a *Fredricke* was Emperour, and an *Heracius* Patriarch.

(95) Upon theſe news *Henry* and *Philip* meet, and for the honour of God, leaving downe diſpleaſure Jo preference of *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, at which time ſome ſay a Croſſe appeared in the aire, take upon them, as Soldiers of Chriſt, the badge of the Croſſe, and there the better to diſtinguiſh themſelves, it was agreed that the *French* ſhould weare read Croſſes, the *Engliſh* White, and the *Spaniſh* Greene. And this determination was ſeconded with warlike preparations, levies of money, and inſtitution of martiall Diſcipline: all which notwithstanding nothing went forward.

(96) At Richard began the breach of this honourable confederation, who taking revenge vpon certain Rebels of his in *Paiffrum*, who brooked not his hard hand; one mischiefe drew another, and at the last both the Kings of *England* and *France* became parties to the quarrell, greatly against the minde of

K. Henry, whose heart was firmly set (as it seems) to reuenge the cause of Christ vsn *Satan Saladin*, for that in his answer to the Patriarch of Antioch, imploring aide, he concludes, That among the Princes himselfe, and Ionne, reioicing this worlds glory, and despiuing all pleasures whatsoeuer, and getting behind all things which were of this World, would in their owne person with their whole Forces be in the fauour of the Lord speedily visite him. And sure the state of those parts required it, *Saladin* hauing slaine many of the Knights Templars, and Nobles, and about three thousand footmen, with innumerable other in Cities and Townes by him subdued. Among all which grieuous accidents, we cannot to faison lower thereby with sweet omis one noble proclamation made by the chief crooked Lord, *Philip Earle of Flanders*, the Earle of *Blis*, and other, who being required to take parts, made answer, That they would not contrary to their promise to God, put armour on, against any Christian, till they had done their duty vnto *our* *people* *Saladin*.

(97) In the treasures therefore between *Henry* and *Philip*, the demands of *Philip* on the behalf of *Richard* were such, and so vain for the King (as at all his fibbicks should swear fealty to *Richard* during the Fathers life, yet yet referring their allegiance to the Father) that *Richard* apparently fell off, and became Ligeinman for *Normandy*, &c. to *Philip* King of *France*, and at a new Treaty (by mediation of a Cardinal Legate) the demands of *Philip* being moreridid then before, as that King *Henry* should not only settle the Kingdoms upon *Richard*, but take a *John* also with him into *France*, or that other wile *Richard* would not goe (being jealous of his brothers grace with his Father) *Henrie* would content to none of those insolent propositions, but disdaining to freme to be enforced, they betooke them (eies on all sides to their swords.

(78) The effect whereof was, that former good fortunes forsaking King *Henry*, hee sustained many losses by the Armes of King *Henry* and *Richard*, & was driven out of *Mans* in *Main* (the city where hee had his house, & which he loved above all other places) by firing of the Suburbs before the enemy came, being casually consumed, hee was glad to yield to such conditions as it pleased *Philip* to prescribe. It is written¹ that at the meeting of these two Kings, the skie being cleare, a thunderbolt strooke betweene them, and after a little pause comming together againe it thundered more terribly, so that *Henry* had faile of his horse, but that his people sustained him, whereupon hee came proudly to the end, though it were to his vnspeakable griefe, this Kingly heart being vnto this, and not to take conditions.

(v) Fearfull was the speech which King *Henrie*, when hee abandoned *Maria* by reason of the fire, vttered against *Richard*; which was, That if he had taken from him that day the thing that he most loued in this world, he would requite him, "for that that day hee would depriue him of that thing which in him should please a Child, to wit, his *Heart*." But after the peace concluded, (upon mediation) between the sides, another thing struck neerer, for finding the name of his soune *Iohn* first in the Catalogue of the Conspirators against him in that adion, hee bitterly curst the houre of his birth, laying Gods curse and his vpon his sonnes, which hee would neuer recall, for any perimolation of the Bilthoppes and others: but coming to *Chenow* felt there grieuously sicke, and feeling death approach, hee caoed himselfe to be borne into the Church before the Altar, where after humble confession and sorrow for his sinnes, hee departed this life.

(100) It shall not (in contempt of humane glory) be forgotten, that this puissant Monarch being dead his people perfectly left him, and fell to spoile all he had, leaving him naked; of whom * one saith truly: "and

* *Chor. N. B. apud*
Cramb pag. 799.
* *Hemid. fol. 119.*
pag. 1. 472.

* *non doc.*
fol. 112. v. 2.

An.D. 1186.
* See on pag 380.
Molagris confecta
with amomum.

A.D. 1133

* *Enger Blaud.*
fol 345.
Munich, Paris.

* B. piff. *Mamm.*
and *Ferriss*. *Mamm.*
spid *Kep.* *Mamm.*
Dec. 1977.

An.D. 1189.
An.Reg. 15.

Page 20.

King Martin
Luther.

4-6, p. 19.
in 1881.

An.D. 1180.

residence, which was, when he had signed 14 years ago, his first and direct, being 74 years of age. *See Memoir.*

"and gracely, *For me mofte, O. C. Surely, theſe flies
" ſought honey, theſe woules a Carcaſe, theſe Ants grain;
" for they did not follow the Man but the poile and booty.*
Neither muſt it be vntremembred, that the fierce
and violent *Richard* (now heire of all) coming to
meete his Fathers body, roaliy adorned for the
buriall according to the Maieſtie of his ſtate; the
very Corſe (as it were abhorring and accuſing him for
his vnnatural behauiours) guſhed forth blood;
wherat *Richard* pierced with remorſe, melted into
floods of teares in moſt humble and repentant
manner, attending vpon the remains of his vnfortunate
Father to the Graue.

His Wife.

(101) *Eleanor*, the Wife of King *Henry*, was the
eldest of the two Daughters, and the ſole Heire of
William Duke of Aquitaine, the ſiſt of that name, &
the ninth in ſucceſſion, ſonne of Duke *William* the
fourth, her Mother was Daughter to *Raimond Earle*
of *Thimſie*, and her great Dowrie was motiue fiſt
to King *Lewis*, (who had two daughters by her,
Mary and *Alice*) and after to King *Henry*, to marry
her. There are of the *French* Hiſtorians who re-
port that King *Henry* had a former wife, and that
ſhee bare vnto him Prince *Henry*: but Writers of
our owne affaires (and ſome alſo of the *French*), ac-
knowledge but only *Eleanor* for his Wife. Certain
it is, that King *Henries* times were much famouſed
by two Women of moſt differing qualities; the one
was his renowned Mother *Matilda*, whoſe Epi-
taph thus comprised part of her glory:

*Orto magna, viri maior, ſed maxima prole:
Hic laet Henric filia, Spanſa, Parca.*

*Here Henries Mother, Daughter, wife death reſt:
By Birth, match; more by Spouſe; by Child, moſt bleſt.*

The other was this *Eleanor* his Wife; the fiſt cauſe
of theſe bloudie Warres, which long after continu-
ed as hereditary betwixt *England* and *France*, yea and
the bellows of that vnnatural diſcord, betwixt her
husband and his ſonnes. Shee much out-lieu'd her
husband (as a bad thing ſtickes longeſt) being ſo
happie as to ſee three of her ſonnes, aduanced to the
Crowne, and to vſurp as to ſee two of them in
their graues: for ſhe liued till King *Iohn* time.

His Iſſue.

(102) *William*, the eldest ſonne and ſiſt child of
King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was borne
before his father was King, and while hee was but
Duke of *Normandy*, in the eighteenth yeere of the
raigne of King *Stephen*, 1152. and the fourth yeere
after, (his father being then King and in the ſecond
yeere of his raigne) the Nobilitie of *England* ſwore
vnto him their fealtie, as to the heire apparent of the
Kingdome, at the Caſtle of *Wallingford* in *Berkſhire*;
but he deſcended the yeere following, being the third
of his fathers raigne, and the fiſt of his owne age
1156. He was buried in the Monastery of *Reading*
at the ſeete of his great Grandfather, King *Henry*
the fiſt.

(103) *Henrie*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Henry*,
and Queene *Eleanor*, being borne the laſt of *Febru-*
arie 1156, was thirthe heire apparent, after the death
of his brother *William* who was Duke of *Normandie*,
Earle of *Anjou* and *Mayenne*; and was crowned King
of *England*, at *Weſtmiſter*, by *Roger Arch-biſhop* of
York, the fifteenth of Iulie 1170. His wife was
Margaret, daughter of *Lewis the Younger*, King of
France, married to him at *Torburgh* in *Normandie*, the
ſecond of November 1160. crowned Queene at
Wincheſter, by *Ratrick* of *Wincheſter* Arch-biſhop of
Reas, the 21. of November 1163. and ſtrouing him
was remarried to *John*, King of *Hungarie*. He died
with out iſſue, before his father, at *Mareuil* in *Tu-*
raine, the eleuenth of Iulie, the twentie ſixe yeere of

his fathers raigne 1182. and was buried in the
Church of our Lady at *Reas*.

(104) *Richard*, the third ſonne of King *Henry*,
and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Oxford*, (in the Kings
Palace there, called *Beau-Mont*;) in September the
fourth yeere of his fathers raigne 1157. He pro-
ued a Prince of great valor, and was therefore ſurna-
med in French *Coeur-de-Lion*, in Engliſh *Lions-Heart*:
hee was created Earle of *Payton*, and had the whole
Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, for which he did his homage
to King *Lewis the Younger* of *France*, in the eighteenth
yeere of his fathers raigne 1170. yet afterward he
conceiued ſome diſcontentment againſt his father,
and maintained warres vpon him, but was reconcil-
ed againe into his loue, and ſucceeded him in his
Kingdome.

(105) *Griffrey*, the fourth ſonne of King *Henry*,
and of Queene *Eleanor*, was borne the twentie third
of September, in the fiſth yeere of his fathers raigne
1159. Hee married *Conſtance* daughter and heire
of *Conan Duke of Britaine*, and in her right was Duke
of *Britaine*, and did his homage to his brother *Henry*
for the ſame Dutchie, and receiued the homages of
the Barrons of the ſime: hee died at *Paris*, in the
thirte two yeere of his fathers raigne 1186. the
nineteenth of Auguſt, and is buried in the quire of
our Ladies Church there: hee had iſſue *Arthur*
Duke of *Britaine*, borne after his fathers deſceale,
the heire apparent of King *Richard*, and by ſome ſuppo-
ſed to bee made away by King *Iohn* and alſo *Eleanor*
called the *Damſell of Britaine*, who died in priſon in
the raigne of King *Henry* the third.

(106) *Philip*, the fiſth ſonne of King *Henry* and
Queene *Eleanor*, may bee miſtruſted, to be miſtaken
by Annuraries of our time, as miſunderſtanding
the ancient writers, who mentioning the birth of
Philip the Kings ſonne, might by good likelihood, be
thought to meane, *Philip* ſonne of *Lewis the Younger*
King of *France*, who was borne about this time, and
was after King of the ſime Countrey. But *Mr Thomas*
Talbot, an exact traſailer in genealogies, hath
not onely ſet him downe in this place, amongſt the
children of this King, but alſo warranteth the ſime,
to bee done with good authoritie: howſoeuer, it is
apparent, his life was verie ſhort.

(107) *Iohn*, the ſixth and yongelt ſonne of King
Henry, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne in the thir-
teenth yeere of his fathers raigne, in Anno 1166.
hee was iſtingle furnamed by his father *Sans terre*,
in Engliſh without Land, becauſe hee was borne laſt,
as if there had beene nothing left for him: Notwith-
ſtanding ſooner after, hee was created Earle of *Man-*
tagne, and had more-ouer by degrees, the Earle-
domes of *Cornuall*, and *Gloceſter*, the Counties of
Derby and *Lancaster*, the Honors of *Wallingford* and
Nottingham, the Caſtles of *Tutill*, *Atwarren*, and
Lodgarſall, with many other great Scigniories,
(and about them all) was alſo Lord of *Ireland*, and at the
laſt ſucceeded his brother *Richard* in all his Domini-
ons and was King of *England*.

(108) *Maud*, the eldest daughter of King *Henry*,
and Queene *Eleanor*, borne in the third yeere of
her fathers raigne, married to *Henrie*, ſurnamed the
Lion Duke of Saxonie; *Lothar* that died yong, *Ortho*
the fourth German Emperour, and *William* borne at
Wincheſter, progenitor of the Dukes of *Brunſwick*,
who bare for their Armes, the Coate of *England*, with
the two Lions, as King *Henrie* his Grandfather bare,
before the match with Queene *Eleanor*, and *Maud*
married to *Griffrey Earle of Perch*: Shee ſuruiued
him, and died in the fiſt yeere of the reigne of her
brother King *Richard*, and was buried by her hus-
band, in the Church of *S. Blais* at *Brunſwick*.

(109) *Eleanor*, the ſecond daughter of King *Henry*,
and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Reas* in *Norm-*
andie, in the eight yeere of her fathers raigne, 1162.
She was married to *Alphonſe*, the ninth of that name,
ſurnamed the Good, King of *Caſtile* in *Spaine*, and had
iſſue by him *Sancher*, that died in his infancy: *Per-*
dinando

He was buried
at *Wallingford*.

* *Henry* in *Lewis*
the younger.

* *William* deſcend-
ed in *Ludowick*, &
who cal'd him
Lewards.

divanda that died in his youth, *Henry* King of *Castile* after his Father, *Blanche* Queene of *France*, wife to King *Leis* the 8. and mother of Saint *Lewis*. *Beveray* married to *Alonso* king of *Leon*: *Vivace* Queene of *Portugal*, and *Eleanor* wife of *Jamex* King of *Aragon*.

(110) *Jeanne*, the third and yongest daughter of king *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was born at the City of *Angiers* in *France*, in the moneth of *October*, the 13. yeare of her Fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1166. when shee was eleven yeres of age; there was with great honour conveyed to the City of *Palermo*, and there married to *William* the second of that name, king of *Sicily*, Duke of *Apulia*, and Prince of *Copas*, vpon Sunday the 13. day of *February*, 1177. and was crowned Queene the same day at the same place. Shee had a sonne by his name *Raimond*, whom his Father when hee was returned from his Christning, created Duke of *Apulia*: but the child died first, and the Father after, leaving no issue. And the surviving, married againe, and was the third wife of *Raimond* the fourth of that name, Earle of *Tolosa*, by him shee had issue *Raimond* the last Earle of that house, *Bertrand* Lord of *Brampall*, *Montclere*, and *Saluace*, and a daughter married to *Rerald* of *Elbourne*, Prince of *Orange*.

His Naturall Issue.

(111) *William* the Naturall issue of king *Henry*, borne of *Rafamund*, the daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clyfard*, which Lady for her incomparable beauty was reputed (with allusion to her name) *Rafa-mundi*, the Rose of the world: the deare affection the long bare her, caused both burning zealousie in the Queene, and fallall ruine to her selfe, albeit the amorous king, for her secretie and security, (that wher wailes will not a ialousie yeere thought) had built for her a most artificiall Labyrinth at *Woodschoke* in *Oxfordshire*, with such cunning windings and intricate passages, as had not Fate, and *Houens* reuenge on *Adultery*, shewed the way, the enraged Queen had not so soone bene rid of her Rival, nor that wanton Dame of her life. Shee was buried in the *Nauery* of *Godfrey* by *Oxford* with this Epitaph.

*Hæc iacet in Tumbis Ræfa mundi, non Ræfa mundi;
Non redoleat, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.*

(*Rafa*,

*This Tumbie doth here encluse the Worlds most beauteous
Rafa, passing sweete ere while, Now nought but odour vile.*

But *Hugh* (called the Saint) Bishop of *Lincolne*, thought the Hearse of a Harlot no fit spectacle for a Chure of Virgins to contemplate, & therefore himselfe in priuie caused her bones to be cast forth of the Church; which yet those chaste sisters afterward recollected, and placed there againe with much honour, erecting a goodly Crosse, thus inscribed to the honour of her memory:

*Qui meorbat, oret, Signumque salutis adoret,
Vtq; tibi datur requies Rafamunda, precetur.*

*All you which passe this way, This Crosse adore, and pray,
That Rafamunda Soule may True rest possesse for ay.*

The first Sonne which by her King *Henry* had, was the Earl *William*, surnamed in *French*, *Langespee*, in *Englishe*, *Long-sword*. He was Earle of *Salisbury*, in right of his Wife, Daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that Countie, son of Earle *Patrick*, by whom hee had issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Stephen* Earle of *Hyber*, *Ela* Countesse of *Warwicke*, *Ida* Lady *Beucham* of *Bedford*, and *Isabel* Lady *Essex*: his sonne Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry* Earle of *Lincolne*: hee died in the Castle of old *Salisbury*, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of the New City, in the ninth yeare of the raigne of king *Henry* the third.

(112) *Goffrey* an other Naturall sonne of king *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Rafamund* aforesaid: This man in his tender youth, was (by his Fathers procurement) made Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, and after Bishop of that See, which hee held about seven yeres without consecration, and then resigning it, in the yeare, 1181, into the hands of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Father; hee was made Chanceller of *England*, and afterward by his brother king *Richard*, hee was advanced to the Archbishopricke of *Turke*, (being consecrated at *Tours* in *France*, An. 1191,) which See hee governed with good approbation. But in the time of his Brother King *Jehn*, hee underwent many difficulties, by opposing the Kings purposes, who therefore made seizure of his whole estate, and An. 1207. he left the Land and after five yeres banishment, died, viz. An. 1213.

(113) *Morgan*, an other Naturall sonne of King *Henry*, is thought by some (because so small mention is made of him) to haue bene of no long life after his birth, and to haue bene borne of some woman in *Wales*, where this Christian name is most commonly vsed, and whither this King vpon many occasions, sometimes resorted. But some others (whose studious paines, deserue much thanks of posteritie) report, that hee was gotten on the wife of one *Ralph* *Blivet* (or *Blivet*) a knight, and liued both to bee *Freemast* of *Burley*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Durham*, when coming to *Rome* for a dispensation (because his Bastardie made him otherwise vacapable) the Pope willed him to professe himselfe *Alens* lawfull son, and not the Kings Naturall, promising to consecrate him on that condition: but he, vsing the aduise of one *William* *Laue* his Clerke, told the Pope, that for no worldly promotion, he would renounce his father, or deny himselfe to bee of roiall blood: so blind were some Prelats of those times, who effected spirituall functions, to be but worldly promotions.

Gra. Dorch.

An. D. 1181.

* *W. Farne.*

* *Genealogie of the
H. of Durham.
Iohn Strons
the life of King
John.*



Richard I.

RICHARD THE FIRST, DVKE OF
NORMANDY, GUYEN AND AQUI-
TAIN E, &c. THE FORTIE FOVRTH MONARCH
OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSVE

Monarch 44



CHAPTER VI.

An.D. 1199
King Richard un-
der his ally.

* Rex. Pater.
Mat. Pater. Q.



RICHARD succeeding
to his deceased Father
Henric, brought forth
that wonder, which a
Writer of that age thus
celebrated,

*Mira cano; Sol occubuit,
Nox nulla fuit.*

*A Wonder strange I write,
the Sun did set, yet was no Night.*

Meaning, that though *Henry* were dead, yet the glo-
ry and happinesse of the land was not thereby cloud-
ed, for that *Richard* was another *Sunne*, and in
some respects farre the more bright, and farther shi-
ning of the two, as hauing for honour of Christi-
an Chivalrie, wholly consecrated his warlike minde
and actions to the seruice of God, and redouance-
ment of the Crosse of Christ, dishonoured by the
Infidels in *Afie*: in which enterprise hee was so fre-
quently zealous, that from the time of his Fathers

death (in whose vowes it had bene) hee meditated
scarce any thing else, disposing the affaires of his E-
state (but not * carelesly, as some would impose) as
things which did but offely vnder-serve, and con-
duce to the maine and principall end of aduancing
his Sauious glory, whereunto hee iudged that acti-
on did tend.

(2) Hauing therefore ordered his weightier bu-
sinesses in *Normandy* and other his transmarine Do-
minions, & in *England* by his letters, let * the Queen
his Mother at liberty from that captivity, wherein
her late husband the king had long detained her,
(who sensible of others woe by her owne, did af-
terward exercise many works of mercy in that kind)
he came over hither, as well to receive all the rights of
Soveraignty, and to settle the same; as also to take
meanes for proceeding in his intended holy voia-
ge, together with *Philip* king of *France*, and other
Christian Potentates.

(3) And though before his Coronation, most
Writers doe not call him a *King*; yet sure it is, that he

Rex. Regina.
in Rah. 2.

* Rex. Pater.

King power
brings Commu-
tation.

he and others did immediately, and unquestionably, upon the first acquaintance of the interest, (which was at his Fathers last gaile) exercise all the offices of the royal power; for hee restored Robert Earle of Leicester to his whole estate: So plaine it is, that our Government allows not the dangerous consultations, & empty spaces of an *Interregnum*, such as in most of those States are common, if not continual.

(4) But in nothing more could this noble Prince shew his judgement (though hee were otherwise *Sagax ingenij* of a sharpe and searching wit) then in this: That hee banished from his familiarity, & (as my Author saith) hated all those of what profession so ever they were, who had forsaken his Father, and both retained, and enriched the other, who had loyally stood for him against himselfe in all affairs.

(5) At his Coronation, which was most magnificently performed at Westminster, by *Salisbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the pointers of the Oath which hee made to God, and the Kingdom of *England*, at the Altar upon the holy Evangelists, before the Prelates, Nobles, and whole people, * were these: 1. That all the daies of his life he would beare peace, honour, and reverence to God, and holy Church and the Ordinances thereof: a That in the people to him committed, hee would exercise right, iustice, and equitie. 3. That hee would blot forth naughty lawes, and peruerse customes, if any were brought vpon his Kingdom, and would enact good lawes, and the same in good faish keepe, and without *mal-keyns*. Which oath being most solemnly taken, and the sacred vnction performed; the Archbishop standing at the Altar forbad him, on the behalfe of Almighty God, to assume that honour, vntill hee had a full purpose to keepe what hee had (sworne): whereto *Richard* silently, and with his owne hands, humbly taking the ponderous Crowne Imperiall from off the Altar, in signification, as is probable, that hee held it onely from God, hee deliuered it to the Archbishop, who thereupon accomplished all the Ceremonies of Coronation.

(6) Which Act was accidentally handfull, and anticipated with the blood of many *Leues* (though verily against the Kings will) who in a tumult (raised by the * *Ocean*) were furiously marched, which (though it were afterward punished by the Lawes) might seeme a preface, that this *Lim-bearded King* (as his by-name *Cœur-de-Lion* did import) should be a speciall destroyer of the Enemies of our Saviour.

(7) After counsell therefore (first mouer in all worthy enterprises) Money was in his first, and chiefest cares; for raising whereof, to furnish the intended pilgrimage, he sold, mortgaged, estated, and (by a thousand princely skills) as if he should neuer haue come againe, added incredible heapes to those huge sums, which hee had squeezed out of *Stephen de Tara-hem*, his fathers Treasurer (amounting to eleuen hundred thousand pounds sterling, if some say true) all hooded by King *Henry*. What could indeed be said enough for such a voyage? and it was a cogitation worthy so glorious a purpose, to to order his estate, as if hee were not to returne at all; because, looking-backe doth vnbind and soften resolutions.

(8) As for men and soldiers, the Prelates, Friars, and other Preachers, had stirred vp innumerable, by their manifold exhortations (the Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury* having * trauielled through *Wales* in person for that purpose, going afterward with the King to *Palmyra*, where also * he died) in palisps and priuate conferences, founding nothing but the Crosse and Passion of Christ, calling the world to reuenge his cause vpon the *Pagans*, and setting foules on fire with vehement gestures, adions, and persuasions. But the kingdome of *England* he ordered thus.

(9) The onely maine danger of the Scaire in his absence, was in his brother *Iohn* Earle of *Canterbury*, of whose ambition hee was somewhat jealous, as

* knowing that King *Henry*, not long before his death, had intended the Crowne to him: to controue therefore his appetites, with bounty, and munificence, and to take away all murmuration in him, for want of Princelike competencies, King *Richard* did as it were share the Realm with him, giuing him fixe Earldomes, *Cornwall*, *Devon*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Lancaster*, besides Castles, Honours, Manors, Forests, and much other riches, and finally, the Earldome of *Gloucester*, with the Heire of that Countie to be his Wife, though the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* forbad the Nuptialls, alledging there was within degrees of consanguinitie.

(10) But lest, through cault nature or aduise, Earle *Iohn* should conuert those so great gifts to the subuersion of the bestower, Hee entrusted him with no part of the Regall power, as the Key, and iocret of his proper iustice: but laide the maine burthen of Government vpon *William Langbeche* Bishop of *Ely*, * chiefe *Iustitiar*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Papall Legate, (a person out of all suspicion for aspiring to the Crowne) wherby was conferred vpon him, whatsoever either King or Pope could grant, for accomplishment of his authoritie; so that he might well be stiled * *Princed and Prins of England*; as hee was one, the most powerfull subiect for the time, that perhaps this Realme hath had: for, though the King had (as it were) ioined with him in *Communion*, one *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, for the parts of *England* beyond *Humber*; yet, as it * happened in the Consultation of *Casir* and *Bahaine*, that nothing was reported of *Bahaine*, but all of *Casir*, so did *Langbeche* in a short time callie make himselfe sole and absolute, his way harving in silence, the name, and endeauours, of his Colleague.

(11) Thus the summe of command, or the Sovereigne power it selfe, was in the Chancellor as Viceroy, but for defence and preservation of his iustice, hee * did subordinate or associate to those Bishops, *William Earle of Arundell*, *Hugh Bardolf*, *William Marshall*, *Geffrey Fitz-Peter*, *William Bruner*, *Robert de Wharfield*, *Roger Fitz-Steufrey*, wherein hee did shew his lone and care of the *English* Nation, as also of Iustice it selfe: for that many of these, were of the most honourable Peeres of the Land (not men bred-up or formerly enured to make Iustice, or their owne Tongues venall, for a fee:) honour being the rule of their proceedings, and strength of priuate fortunes, with their Princes honour, the pillar to susteine that honor.

(12) There remained to provide for (before hee left *England*) the neighbour-hood of *Scotland* and *Wales*, which might otherwise make vie of his absence to his prejudice: But *Rhesis* of *Glouceter* of whom there is extant a short but elegant *Panegyric* Prince of *South-Wales* (being already in amitie) came as fast as *Oxford* toward him; but because the King (who was there) came not in person to meete him (as his father King *Henry* had done) the Prince (notwithstanding Earle *Iohn* the Kings only brother, had conducted him from the Marches with speciall honor) took it in so high scorn and indignation, (for even the meane, from whom service or lone is expected, will againe expect regard) that hee forthwith returned into his Countrey, without once saluting the King; who by this neglect, lost *Rhesis* loue, as, vpon the like omission, and vnexpectuence, *Aurilime* (the too supercilious Monke) did lesse the affections of the Monkes of *Bangor*, *Rhesis* owne countrie-men, in another part of *Wales*.

(13) As for William King of *Scots* (a vertie worthy Prince) hee iourneied hither to King *Richard* into *England*, and heere concluded a firme friendship, which hee kept verie religiously, even in the greatest troubles of King *Richard*, to the glorie of his life and his Nation, and as some write, sent his Brother *David* with 5000. *Scots*, to serue him in the sacred warres. The chiefe points of their conuention were. 1. That for ten thousand Markes Sterling, (then paid

* Reg. Henr. fol. 374.

King Richard's choice of it reads and variations.

*Ger. Denbar.

Chiefe matters at the Coronation: and Richard.

* *Saxley de Dietis apud Tan. Wal. in Trad. West.* * *Reg. Henr. fol. 374.*

Am. Saline at the Coronation.

* *So Morris* Esch the multitude.

Richard permits for the grey Lion

* *Gr. Land.*

* *Reg. Henr. fol. 374.*

His permission for England.

* *Ger. Denbar.*

Reg. Henr. fol. 374.

* *See de Saxton.*

* *See de Saxton.*

Reg. Henr.

Saline in both where it brings Honour rather than riches.

Reg. Henr. fol. 374.

Walter *Scots* 5000.

He *for* *Scots* *with* *5000* *l.*

paid) the Castles of *Rochestregh*, and *Bernweke* (cautionarie Castles, or gage places, for part of his ransom) should be restored. 2. That he should have all such decedes, instruments, and charters, made by him to the late King *Henrie*, which had by constraint or default been obtained: and himselfe to be freed from all encombrances, claimes, or pretensions whatsoever. 3. That he should have all such dignities, as his brother *Adalmon* held in *England*, (for which King *William* did there make false) and all such Lands as his Ancestors did hold of the *English* Crowne.

(14) The Seate of *England* being thus in the maine, and other meane points established, King *Richard* croft the Seas into *France* to *Philip* king thereof, according to appointment, that from thence, with minds & forces united, they might set forward vnder the Ensigne of the Crofley which after some tyme (occasioned by the death of the French Queen) they did, vpon their Christian and friendly trinites:

1. That each of them preserve the others honour, and beare faith to him for life, and member, and earthly dignity. 2. That neither of them shall faile the other in their affairs; but that the King of *France* shall helpe the King of *England* to defend his land, even as hee would defend the City of *Paris*, if it were besieged; and *Richard* King of *England*, shall helpe the King of *France* to defend his land, even as he would defend his City *Reau* if it were besieged.

This being fairly engrossed, and afterward ratified with oath, and sent by the kings themselves in person, the Earles and Barons were in solemne manner, that they would not trespass against their fealty, nor flatter any warr in either of the kings Luminions, so long as they were in that pilgrimage: on the other side, the Arch-bishops and Bishops did firmly promise (in verbe veritatis, in the word of truth) that they would accure and excommunicate all such as did transgresse this agreement.

(15) Thus (after some necessary staies) these two the greatest Monarks of the West, set forward oner land (toward the publique service of Christianity) with such numbers as themselves thought best; which were so great, that hailing adomned (not without some little losse of people by the fall of the Bridge over the river *Rhen* at *Luans*, which brake by reason of the throng) beyond the said violent fireme, they parted company: *Philip* passing over the *Alpes* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-side at *Messina*, there to meete with his Navy, which being composed of all the chiefe Ships in *England*, *Normandy*, and other his French Dominions, was there appointed to attend.

(16) But the voyage being very long, and King *Richard* comming to the Port before his Fleet, after eight daies expectation there, waxing impatient of delay, imbarke himselfe in twenty three Gallies, and ten great hulkes or Bussies (a kind of shipping as it seems peculiar then to the Mediterranean sea) and let saile toward *Messina* in *Sicilie*, the Residence of both the kings and of their Armies: in which passage, lying at Anchor (on occasion) in the mouth of the river *Tyber* a farre from *Rome*, the Bishoppe of *Haghe* repaired unto him, desiring him in the Popes name, that hee would visite his Holinesse, which the King denied to do; saying the Popes charge many shamefull matters touching the Bishopps *Simony*, and *Conventualities*, with many other reproaches, alleging that they took 7000. Markes for consecration of the Bishoppe of *Mans*, 1500. Markes for the Legatine power of *William* Bishop of *Ely*, but of the Archbishop of *Bardeaux* an infinite somme of money: whereupon he refused to see him. This (albeit sundry accidents and commings on land) hearing that his Navy was safe, hee staid for them by the way, and then came to anchor not long after (to wit, 23. of September) before the City of *Messina*, with so great a shew of power, and found of Warlike Instruments, and other signes of Majesty, in the sight of *Philip* and his

French, and of many other Nations there assembled, that it stroke horror into the Inhabitants, (such *Havens*) and moved no small eny in the hearts of his confederates.

(17) From this time forward, as it may seeme (the Enemy of Concord feeding the malcontent passions of men with perpetual matter of debate) the king of *France* was next truly king *Richards* friend in heart, but vpon the same day (whether frightened in propositions or otherwise) hee left the king of *England*, but by contrary wind was driven backe before night, where (after many troubles and quarrels betweene the *English* and *Sicilians*) the two kings peaced againe, and leaved a new & as firme a league, as they could, during that martiall pilgrimage.

(18) *Tancred* was at that time king of *Sicilie* by usurpation, after the death of *William*, who had married *Isabel* sister of king *Richard*, whom (at that time vpon displeasure and quarrell being prisoner) *Tancred* set at liberty, sending her in honorable manner to her brother, and did yield to sundry Articles, and also present payments of ample summes. Feare wrought on both parts, for *Richard* being among strangers, and not very sure of the *French* fidelity vpon a strength of the *Griffins* (people much redoubted in those parts, till the carruall of the *English*) & in tumult tooke the City of *Messina* it selfe, where hee displaced his Ensignes, till for the French Kings love hee was content to disavowance them, and to entrust the City to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, vntill *Tancred* had fulfilled all such things as *Richard* did challenge to be due, being many.

(19) Vpon great deliberation thereto, the *Sicilian* King made answer, that hee had already paid to his sister, late Queene of that land, a very great quantity of coine in recompence of her Dowry or louncture, and would satisfie all his other demands (concerning the Legacies intended by his Predecessor king *William*, to the Father of king *Richard*) as far as hee ought according to the custome of that kingdom, and thereupon gaue vnto him for the quiett claime of his sisters louncture, twenty thousand ounces of gold: and farther to bee acquired of all other claimes & pretences, as also in consideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Brienne*, nephew & next heire of king *Richard*, (if *Richard* died without issue) should take to wife the daughter of *K. Tancred*, he paid him other twenty thousand ounces of gold, and of his owne accord, and for King *Richards* loure, and for the loure of the *English* Nation (which, such our Author, was then in great reputation through the kingdom of *Sicilie*, as also to be the more allured of performance, he gaue him other twenty thousand ounces of gold, besides afterward four great Ships, called *Vyslers*, and fifteen Gallies.

(20) King *Richard* on the other side, not to be wanting to any matter, which in honor and equite might be expected of him, besides letters Patentes, hee put in vpon their Oaths for his officers, two Arch-bishops, and two Bishops of his owne there present, and twentie great Lords, and principall men his subjects, whose names because many of their posterities doe yet stand) are here inserted out of the faide letters Patentes, as they are vpon record in *Haynes*.

Jos. de Hanes, his Constable, *Willelmus de Curci*, *Richardus de Camilla*, *Gerardus de Tielot*, *Robertus Sabini*, *Guillelmo de Cress*, *Guarimus filius Gerardi*, *Bertus de Cress*, *W. Chamberlains*, *de Tankers*, *Robertus de Nonsbury*, *Hugo Bardolf*, *Johannes de Cherles*, *Colbertus de Wosau*, *Impe de Brin*, *Johannes de Piller*, *Ameaus de Montferd*, *Andreas de Chaucer*, *Willelmus de Fozz*, *Confrincus de Rancune*, *Ameaus Torill*, and other not named.

(21) Moreover for finall assurance, hee offered that Pope *Clement* should vndertake for performance of his part in the said agreement; and that the said *Clement* would accordingly vndertake, hee requited him by most officious letters, giving him leave with-

King Richard
Sicilian ally.

Arg. Hues.
[613].

* Idem did.

Arg. Hues. in
22.

The record be-
tweene King
Richard and King
Tancred.

Arthur King of
Brienne next heire

* Arg. Hues.
[613].

Therefore these
land ounces of
gold were not
King Richard's.

King Richard's
letters on 25th June.

The Pope King
Richards letter.

out any relaxation) to put his dominions (upon any breach) under severall censures.

(22) This peace accord being happily thus concluded, King Edward (having most royally and lovingly sealed the King of England for three daies and three nights in a Castle of his) discovered, upon the way at *Tavernham* in his returne, a foule and vnpurposely conspiracy of *Philip* (whome one of our Writers calls the *un-purposus King*) against the head and safety of King *Richard*; which coming to be known betweene the two Kings, the French charged the English with picking of quarrels, and added, that valiant *Richard* married his sister *Alice*, according as hee ought, having beene contracted long before together, he would be his enemy while he breatheth, whereunto King *Richard* (being pressed) did replye: That his sister during the time of her abode in England, had a child by his Father *Henry* King of England, which he was ready to prove by many witnesses there present: so that King *Richard* had farre more cause then a suspicion of dishonesty (which some write) to refuse the marriage. This falling out so shamefully, *Philip* (upon certaine conditions betweene *Richard* and him) left him at liberty to take a wife where he thought good, but never (as it may seeme) forgave him his cull will while they two lived together.

(23) And because acts of Christian remorse and humility are too rare among the Great ones of this vaine world, it was a crime to pretermitt the exemplar humilation of this famous General *K. Richard*, at this time, who to vie my * Authors words) suffered with *damus* grace, and studying to fite himselfe for the great accept he had in hand, was stung at the foule wch he felt compunction for his sinnes, that calling before him his Archbishops and Bishops into a Chappell at the house where he was lodged without the walles of *Melfiana*, hee blushed not to make a penitent confession of his manifold excesses, humbly praying God of mercy, and them (as his subordinate Ministers) of Abolition; & God (saith *Homerus*) respected him with eyes of Mercy, and gave him a penitent heart, so that from thenceforth hee proved a man fearing God, & shewing out, and doing good. * O felicitas illam, &c. O happy he who so fast, that he may rise more strong: O happy he, who after penitent griefe, is left not into fault and ranc.

(24) Whereupon adding his mind to diuine contemplations, & mediation of the christian Church, whose Champion now he was; he desired conference of one *Isachia* (a Cistercia Abbots) whose great learning and deepe understanding in the Scriptures, with an opinion of a Prophetically inspiration, made him so famous oer the world, that King *Richard* sent for him, being then in Calabria neer *Sicilia*, whom at his coming he heard preaching and expounding the *Apocalypse* of *S. Iohn*, touching the afflictions of the Church, and of *Antichrist*, which (saith hee) was then borne, and in the City of Rome, and shall bee advanced to the See *Apolliticus*, of whom the *Apofle* said, he should extol himselfe aboue all that is called Gods; and that the *Ierem* Cryes were the Kings and Princes of the earth which physed him. Surely, neere about this very time hapned that in Rome, which might seeme to give great probability to that Abbots opinion, especially, if Emperours and Kings bee truly called * Gods, oer whom *Antichrist* also should extol himselfe: for in the same moeth that *Richard* left *Melfiana*, was the Coronation of *Henry* the Emperour, and his Emperesse *Constantina* in *S. Peters* Church; where Pope *Celestine*, the very next day after his own consecration to the *Papacy*, (sat in his Pontifical chaire, holding the Imperiall golden *Crosse* betwixt his feete and the Emperour (as likewise the Emperesse) sleeping low reclined on his head the *Diadem* from the *Popes* feet; and presently againe the Pope drave the Emperour crosse with his foot, and dafte it to the ground; signifying that hee had power to throw him (upon his demerits) out of his Empire: but the Cardinals catching up the crosse,

put it againe on the Emperours head.

(25) The same day in which *Philip* & his French Forces fell out of the Hancen of *Melfiana*, arrived *Alicia* King *Richard*s mother, accompanied with *Berenyria* his new intended Spouse, daughter to * *Sanchus* King of *Nauarre*, whome afterward hee tooke to wife in *Cyprus*; but his Mother after a short stay returned by *Rome* into England, leaving the young Lady with *Isabel* Queene Dowager of *Sicilia*, both which accompanied the King toward the holy Land, his whole Naue being one hundred and fifty great ships, and fifty three Gallies well appointed for the warre, and * many other Sailes and Vessels: and not to omit the same because it is recorded as a singularity he had among all these, * threene Baces or Baces, which had each of them three course of Sailes to saile with: but no Writer (so farre as we yet find) declares what numbers of Souldiers were in the English Armie.

(26) This Naue roiall betweene the Isles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, (for the honor and good of King *Richard*) who scattered by God with a terrible tempest, some one or two of which sufficed to wreck vpon the Isle of *Cyprus*, whom * *Carsac* (or as other call him *Isakus*, Emperour of the *Grifons*) being a tyrant did spoile, and contrary to Christian Religion, (which was his profession, though some mistake) and all honour and humanity, he would not (among other his vnpurposely, or rather barbarous behaviours) suffer the Kings sister, and Lady *Berenyria*, with other of that tender societie, to come into harbor, to their great discontentment and perill, a * Shippe or two sinking there: but neither would God, nor King *Richard* forgive it him.

(27) For the said vnworthy Prince having thrice refused to make restitution of his vnlawfull seizures and prisoners, was eured vpon by the English, drisen from the shores with great dishonour and slaughter, the City *Lemesia* left for a prey to the victors, and himselfe beaten againe out of his Campe, and taken, and after an eacie made by him, his onely daughter and heire yielding her selfe, and her Father lastly coming againe of his owne accord (as despairing to see had) vnder custodie, and thrust into fetters of gold and siluer, the whole Land (with all the people, strength, and riches thereof) became subiect to the King of England, and both Father and Daughter led away into captiuitie.

(28) There arrived at *Limesia*, to salute and honour King *Richard* within three daies after his first victory, *Gudo* King of *Ierusalem*, *Geoffrey* de * *Leuisant* his brother, *Ramond* Prince of *Antioch*, Earle *Barmond* his sonne, &c. offering their seruices, and swearing to bee his against all men; with whose priuiey King *Richard* sealed the flourishing and spacious Ile of *Cyprus*, by antiquity celebrated as the very Ile of *Venus*, which that it might be proue to himselfe in the ioyous moeth, hee solemnly took to wife his beloued Lady *Berenyria*.

(29) The person of the Emperour (for by that Iofy title Writers call him) was sent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, vnder the custody of *Ralph Fitz Goffrey*, Lord * Chamberlaine to King *Richard*: his daughter was committed to the two Queenes *Berenyria* and *Isabel*: the Ile and isle was entrusted to *Richard de Camille*, and *Robert de Tornham* his Viceroyes, with competent force and provisions, and the Islanders suffered to enioy all such lawes and liberties, as they held in the time of *Manuel* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, or (as now they call it) of *Stamboli*.

(30) This fame of *Richard* was much enlarged by his conquering a mighty * Argolice, called a *Dromond*, wherein were aboard one thousand and five hundred *Saracens* (though disguised vnder French Flagges) furnished, besides all other provisions, with live-workes, barrells, or cages of venomous serpents, and the like, for the vse of the *Saracens* at *Aem* (anciently called *Pleminia*, to the siege whereof he was then failing,) threene hundred

persons, but now it was a probable with relation to *Isaacus*. A.D. 1192. The King of France was (saide) for the Holy Land.

* Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

* T. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* M. 2. 2. 2. 2. D. 1. 1. 1. 1. T. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* Re. Hen. 3. p. 39. * T. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* T. 2. 2. 2. 2. M. 2. 2. 2. 2. H. 2. 2. 2. 2. G. 2. 2. 2. 2. A. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

King Richard bestowed the Isle of Cyprus. Re. Hen. 3. p. 39. T. 2. 2. 2. 2. G. 2. 2. 2. 2. A. 2. 2. 2. 2. p. 39. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* L. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* Re. Hen. 3. p. 39. A. 2. 2. 2. 2. p. 39.

* Re. Hen. 3. p. 39. M. 2. 2. 2. 2. T. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* G. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* Re. Hen. 3. p. 39. A. 2. 2. 2. 2. M. 2. 2. 2. 2. p. 39.

* Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

A Christian example of King Richard. * Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

* Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

Re. Hen. 3. p. 39. A. 2. 2. 2. 2. M. 2. 2. 2. 2. p. 39.

Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

No new opinion of the Pope in Antichrist.

Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

Re. Hen. 3. p. 39.

Idem.

Heard no more of King Richard, as if the Pope had thrown down the Ro-

drath of which Miscreants, he sacrificed to *Mars & Neptune*, keeping the rest for ransom.

(11) *Philip King of France* hope perhaps to conquer *Acon* before the *English* could arrive, and to win thereby that glory incite came safe before that City in Easter weekes, but as yet had not forced the fame: at which time (that the Reader may observe the generall disposition of the western Christians in thole dayes) there engirded *Acon* (omitting the many great Prelates, Princes, Earles, and Honourable Chieft) these Nations following, the *Genoises* and *Venetians*, the *English* under *Hubert* Bishop of *Salisbury*, afterward * Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Flemings*, *Almaines*, *Danes*, *Dutch*, *Frislanders*, *Pisans*, *Lombards*, besides the Knights Templars (collected out of all Nations) and beside the aides of the *Astors*: all which lay quartered at the Siege in order, as here they are placed, at that time in which the King of *France* arrived. But *Richard King of England* with his victorious and triumphant Naue (which when it went out of *Cyprus*, being much belike augmented * did containe 254 tall Shippes, and about 60. Gallions) brought terror & dismay to the besieged, and comfort to the Christians, * upon the Sunday after *Pentecost*, being about the middell of June.

(12) The Siege was so vehemently plied, that (notwithstanding sundry dissensions between *Philip* and *Richard*, the two competitors of glorie in this voyage) after severall breaches and assaults, the last whereof was made by the *Pisans* and *English*, upon the twelfth of July following, many offers of composition made by the *Saladine*, being utterly refused, the City of *Acon* was rendered to the Christians upon these conditions. 1. That *Saladine* (Prince of Miscreants) should by a certaine day restore the holy Crosse. 2. That he should let at liberty fifteen hundred Christian Captives. 3. That the City with all the things contained therein should remain and be to the Christians. 4. That the Turks or Sarazens should have their lives once only saved, if these conditions were performed. 5. That they should pay twenty thousand *Bazans* (pieces of gold) toward the charges of the Kings. To take possession for the French, there was sent in *Drogon de Merleu*, and one hundred men of Armes, and for the *English*, *Blond de Gornay* with the like number, who equall parted the City, goods, and people, betwene them.

(13) And euennow *Philip King of France*, as well because the Earle of *Flanders* died at the siege without succour, whose countries hee long had coveted, as for euill will to *Richard*, whose noble Acts so farre outwent his, and because, as some write, hee had taken bribes of *Saladine*, to mediate nothing but return, asking licence of King *Richard* to depart, being then but the tenth day after the Cities surrender, so badly his enuious eyes could, as it seemed, endure the splendor of this companions glory. The chiefe commanders of his Army hearing this, shewing themselves true French-men, and sensible of their obligation to God and honour, with many teares besought him not to forsake that holy affaire, as impudent, so shamefully. In what Prince would not this haue kindled a desire of a better resolution? But impotent passions carrying him, and mis-carrying him, he perswaded to get leave of *Richard*, who but two dayes before, would haue had him sweare to a stay of three yeares longer in that seruice, but hee who had other cogitations farre more vnworthy of a King, would needs depart, giuing his oath upon the holy Gospels, without which oath King *Richard* would not permit his good will. That he would well and faithfully keepe the lands and subiects of the King of *England*, and neither doe damage nor grievance to them by himself, nor suffer it to be done by others till his returne.

(14) The King of *France* thus leauing *Acon*, in the Caille wherof King *Richard*, his Queene and

Sister were lodged, and the Duke of *Burgundie* remaining behind with the French host, (to whom King *Philip* not without sundry secret insinuations, had with it committed a great part of his treasure) King *Richard* in the same day set forward upon a new enterprise; but it is true which one writes, * that by reason of the dissention betweene the Kings, which of them should secure the greater, little or nothing prospered; and ill cause had King *Richard* to complaine in * his letters, that *Philip* to the eternall reproch of himselfe and Kingdome, had fouly forsaken his purpose and vow unto God.

(15) But when the *Saladine* could not by any means obtaine a longer day for performance of the said Articles of composition, hee cut off the heads of all his Christian Captives; in reuenge wherof King *Richard* brought out his Turkish Captives, (being about two thousand and five hundred) and in the light of the *Saladine* host caused their heads to be chopt off; the Duke of *Burgundie* doing the same to the like number, next unto the walls of *Acon*, seven onlie being kept alive by the Christian Generals, wherof *Kerstien Saladine* * foster Father was chiefe. But *Richard* proceeding in his vnderaken action, and in his march to *Ioppa*, being let vpon by *Salut Saladine* (who had put the Duke of *Burgundie* to flight, and slaine the valiant *Jahques de Armur*, who only with a few in the *Regard* made resistance) so courageously encountered him, that the *Saladine* with the losse of three thousand his choicest Souldiers was glad to turn his back and flee: whiles therefore this Champion is thus imploied in the Holy-land, let us looke backe a little how the affaires of his Kingdome are managed at home,

(16) *John* the Kings brother, making vse in *England* of such discontentments, as the incredible insincerity, and insupportable pyramides of the Chancelour (who carried himselfe both like a Pope and a King) had bred among the Nobility and people, to advance thereby by his own edgelings, furred against him (though strengthening himselfe like a General in the field,) to powerful opposition, that in the end, (upon warrant of a new * Commission sent from the King his Brother) hee with the rest of the Peeres suddenly thrust him out of all command, and shortly after most reprochfully (as it happened, for he fled, and was taken in a Curtesians attire, ill becoming a Popes Legate) out of the Kingdome also, upon occasion, as of other foule demerits, yet particularly of a sacrilegious and barbarous outrage, committed by the Chancellours command, upon the person of *Geoffrey* Elect Archbishop of *York* (natural brother to King *Richard*, and the Earle) on pretence that hee entered *England* contrary to his oath giuen to his brother King *Richard*, where as he then came to take possession of his See, to which hee was advanced by the Kings owne procurement, and by *Queene Eleasens* owne traualle to Rome in his behalle. And albeit this punishment & shame deservely followed the Chancellors pride and oppression, yet in one maine point of opposing the Earles Ambition; (who sought to assure to himselfe the remainder of the Crowne, which in right of blood belonged to his Nephew *Arthur*) his seruice to the State had beene very commendable, if it had proceeded from loyalty of affection, and not from a surrelling desire of greatness, which he hoped still to enjoy, if *Arthur* (a child) should succeed in the kingdome, whereas he knew Earle *John* advancement could not be without his apparent ruine.

(17) But *Philip King of France* in all places labouring by a wrongfull and vnprincipally aspersions to deface the renouwe of King *Richard*, though finding small credite to his words (because the man had done nothing himselfe) deuised after his return bow to trouble and endamage his friends dominions, and had effected it, if the Lordes of *France* whom he solicited to that wicked worke, upon pre-
sence

Gen. Darb.

* 727. Har.

Math. 7. 13.

Discretion in
England
Guides of War
16. 4. 16.
Ear. Har.
Met. Peru.
Nabrig. 1. 4. 13.

* Har. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

* 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

* 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Har. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.

Ear. Har.
1. 1. 1. 1.

* 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.

* Gen. Darb.

All and Mar.
p. 118.

Reg. Har.

The City of A-
con rendered.

Met. Peru.
1. 1. 1. 1.

* 727. Har.
1. 1. 1. 1.

King Richard
upon certain
conditions permit
the King of
France to depose
Roger Har.
1. 1. 1. 1.

Har. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.

tenace of the composition made with King Richard at *Mitthe*, had not to their immortal glory) refused to fulfil him therein, till *Richard* returned, as well in regard of their own oaths, as because the sentence of excommunication was denounced against all such as did attempt to endamage him in his absence.

(38) King *Richard* notwithstanding that the relation of these things greatly troubled him, gave not over as yet, but afterundry other matters of importance performed, did march up within the sight of *Jerusalem*, where he skirmished with the enemy, & overthrew the Conoy or Caravan of the *Saladins*, which came laden from *Babylon*, guarded with ten thousand men: whom King *Richard* valiantly encountering with five thousand selected souldiers, put most of them to the sword, and took three thousand Camels, and four thousand Horses and Mules, besides those that were flaine, and so gained the rich spoile of all the Carriages.

(39) Afterwards, many other worthy things done, as the rescue of *Tappa*, and repulse of *Saladin* from thence, &c. the King indefatigable in his brave attempts, desirous to regaine *Jerusalem*, and the City *Barruck*, was abandoned in that enterprise by the Duke of *Burgundie* (who is said to have beene apparently corrupted with gifts from *Saladin*, and the regiments of *French* under his conduct) whereupon he was the rather persuaded by the *Knights Templars*, and chieftes of the Christian host, not to refuse *Saladin* offers for a surrender from hostility, considering that hee had a purpose to returne with reinforced numbers and meanes; that his present powers by dilutions, by sickness, by battales were wasted, and that the dangerous estate of his owne Dominions did require his presence, (the greatest motive, for he had supplies of money for his souldiers wages from Pope *Clement*) by reason of some vndue practices at home, and therencout of King *Philip* his vnreconcilable aduersary abroad. Whereupon a truce was taken for three yeeres, and *Saladin* repaid such charges as *Richard* had been at in fortifying *Akkalon*, which was brought to the same estate, as in which King *Richard* found it.

(40) But the King of *England*, though hee had very far excelled all the Christian Princes in great exploits at that iourney, because he had neither conquered *Saladin*, nor *Jerusalem*, did mourne, and parted penfise. In the holy-land hee left Henry Earle of *Champaigne*, (who upon taking the said *Barruck* was to have beene crowned King of *Jerusalem*, which *Guido* had resigned) and hee left *Guy de Lusignan* (the late King of *Jerusalem* in *Cyprus*, to whom hee had passed it, in exchange for the other, to aduance his kinsman the said Earle of *Champaigne*; which, upon his Title, the familie of *Lusignan* for many de-centes after did possesse and enjoy. Thus *Richard* having ordered his affairs in the East parts, set sail homeward. The *Queene Berengaria* his wife, and *Joan* his sister, with the Captiue Lady, Daughter of the *Cypriot* Emperour, vnder the conduct of *Stephen de Tornhem* (hearing of the Kings most heuie fortune) sojournd at *Rome* about fixe moneths, for feare of *Richard*'s enemies, & afterward came safe by *Marsilius* in *Poitieu*.

(41) God, whose cause was onely pretended in this voyage of the Christians, did not seeme to approue the said truce; for hee scattered the *English* with a terrible tempest, and the opportunity of Conquest was so lost, that hitherto it could neuer bee regained, and the King of *England* letting it slippe when God had almost put the same into his hands, did miserably fall into the enemies hand. Certainelie, the name of *Richard* was at that time growne terrible to *Saladin*, who had recoiled diuers losses, foiles and overthrowes at his handes: Moreover, the *Saladins* whole estate being endangered by such of his own fact as repudied him a meere vipers, hee could not long withstand the double

impression of the Christian Crueltie, and of his owne Allies and Countreymen; as indeed not long after he died, leaving his Empire forly, but iustly, distracted by ciuill confusions: whereas by this Truce the crafty Turke made the world see, that the powers of two so potent Monarkes had in a manner effected nothing; & *Richard* could neuer haue time to return for accomplishment of his designs; for which all Christendome hath at this howre reason to bee sorrowfull, and heroe himselfe was very sensible, so that hee would oftentimes crie out, that hee was not alwayes wise, allying to this occasion lost.

(42) But the noble King, hoping to pierce with speed through *Germany* in disguise, tooke to him the name of *Hage* a Merchant, the haire of his head and beard growne very long, being the fitter to conceale him; but in his iourney ouer land, was neere to *Vienna* happlly discouered by the profoussence of his expens; when hee law he could not escape them, in contempt of his fortunes, he put on roiall garments, and refused to yeeld but onely to the Duke himselfe, who came with ioy as to a prey which heeore longed for: but the rascall multitude cried things worthy of themselves, calling him (O barbarisme) Traitor, and some saying, stone him, some cut off his head, & others hang him: and because the inhumanity of this rage may be suited with times as rude and ragged, you shall in such heere the cause of this Arch-dukes malice growing first at *Acre*, where the Author speaking of King *Richard* saith;

*He gate it done with his great Ordinance,
And on the waller his banners full high set,
The Kings Armes he set up also of France,
And King Guyes Armes of Ierusalem well bet,
The Duke of Oylster Limpold without let,
Set up his Armes after aboue them all,
Which King Richard did cast downe from the wall.*

(43) And though it is certaine that this Author faimes not this fact, for that some such matter (and told by some with more disadvantage to *Richard*'s cause) is by others related; yet the grauell Authors agree (that next to the common enuie at this vertues) the greatest pretence was the murder of the *Murquell Conrad* committed at *Tyre*, by two cruel *Assassins*, as certaine sect in the East, living under a *Senior* or *Ruler*, whom they know as a *Prophet* by whom they are sent forth to murder such Princes as fauer them not, promising themselves the reward of immortality by obeying him in all things, though with the losse of their owne liues. Of which barbarous fact *Henric* the Emperour, and *Leopold* the Arch-duke (whose neer kinsman *Conrad* was) would seeme to beleue that *Richard* was the Author, though therein they touch his princely reputation and integrity, a most iniuriously, for that the chiefe of that sect by their owne publike letters (written with the blood of the first-fall called *Murex*, wherewith Scatlet tied to be dyed) acknowledging the fact, declared the true cause thereof, which was a particular Act of iniustice in *Conrad* himselfe: There wanted not sundry other pretences, as in such cases is usual, as that *Richard* had entered league with *Tancred* King of *Sirida* the Emperours enemy, and that hee had thrust the *Cypriot* (their kinsman) out of the Empire, and kept his onely daughter Captiue. But this booty being too great for a Duke, the Emperour got into his custody, meaning to coine much gold and silver out of his most vniust affliction, by sharpe imprisonment, which could not make him in any act or speech, or gesture of his, shew beneath the Maieutie of a victorious Prince and King of *England*.

(44) The diuinall newes thereof flying through the world, presently disclosed who were found or vnfinie, sorrow and dismay was euery where among his owne: His carefull mother and other his faith friends

Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 4.

Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 14.

An. D. 1191

Mat. I. c. 1.

Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 1.

Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 14.

Mat. I. c. 1.

Ge. I. c. 1.

Harding. Chr. cap. 38.

Premises for the detence of King Richard.

Mat. I. c. 1.

Ge. I. c. 1.
Arch-bishop
by his Standard
in the chiefe place of the City of Acre
to the honour of King Richard.

Ge. I. c. 1.
Two descriptions
South is like left
South is the right

Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 1.

An. D. 1191

The copie of the
Indulgence for
Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 14.

An. D. 1191.

The face of
England in her
Kings captivity.
Ge. I. c. 1.
Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 14.

As. I. lib. 4. c. 1.
Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 14.

Mat. I. c. 1.
they were young
Carrels, and
waske an action
of Mexico
or hosties.

Mat. I. c. 1.
Arch-bishop

Saladin. I. lib. 4. c. 1.
Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 14.

Ge. I. c. 1.

Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 14.

Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 1.

Mat. I. c. 1.

Eng. I. lib. 4. c. 14.

The drawings
of John King
Richard's brother

* Our David,
Reg. Hand.
Arch. Peris.
Tud. Mus.

* Reg. Hand.

Ger. Der.

* Reg. Hand. f. 41v.

* Ger. David.

Marial woman
in Rome.

* Reg. Hand. f. 41v.

Luquet ad. d. D.
1191.

The Articles of
King Richard's
liberty.

King Richard
crowned King of
Prussia, &c.

A new and
beautiful
drawing of
Richard's
liberty.

friends I swear the same to be true to King Richard, watch the coasts and provide for the security of the State with singular vigilance, assuring the Cities & good Townes with Bulwarks, Wallies, and Munition. On the contrary, Earle John being (by the cunning insuigling and suggestions of his brothers professed foes) just onely put out of all hope of his releasement, but also incited against him for intending the Crowne to his Nephew Arthur, entered in to an unthought attempt against his Soueraine Lord the summe whereof, take in the words of Thomas Fitzpatrick, who said, that John with promises allured many to him through the whole Kingdom, did carefully and speedily fortifie his holds in England, and passing the seas, entered into league with the King of the French, that he might venter put his Nephew Arthur, Duke of Brittain from that hope, which the Brittain had conceived of his promotion. The Germans giving any way to his disloyal practices, hee swears fealty to Philip King of France (his brothers most mortal enemy) and also that he would take to wife the Lady Alice King Philip's sister, though polluted by his owne Father, and for that cause rejected by King Richard. Out of Normandy he posts into England, solicits Peeres and people, and was loyally refused: but hee not quieted so labours to stirre the Scot and Welsh to joine in an insurrection with him: the French and Flemings assuring them that his Brother King Richard would never be set at liberty: but William King of Scots would neither give assent, nor countenance to such vndutiful practices, or rather madnesses.

(45) In this most perillous time the valour and loyalty of the City of Rouen (the choicest of Normandy) did most clearly shew themselves to the everlasting commendation thereof: for Philip coming before it with a puissant Army solicited the revolt, promising mountaints. In stead of answer: they set open the gates, telling him that hee might enter if he would, for no man hindered him: but the vaine-glorious King being better advised (for the inhabitants, yea & the damsels of the City, whose heads were polde like as mens powdered molten pitch, and such like matter vpon the heliers) retreated from the wallies, and marche away confounded: and being certainly aduertized that the Emperour and King Richard were agreed, hee sends out to Earle John, bidding him take to himselfe, for the Diuel was now let loose. Hee thereupon crost over the seas to Philip, who excited him to vsurpe the Kingdom of England.

(46) Neuertheless by Queene Eleanor's negotiation (who in person traueled to the Emperour) the King her sonne was come to be assured of his liberty vpon these conditions. 1. That hee should pay to the Emperour one hundred thousand Markes sterling. 2. That hee should pay fifty thousand Markes of like money to the Emperour and Duke. 3. That hee should marry his Niece, (sister to Arthur Duke of Brittain) to Duke Leopold sonne. 4. That the Emperour should secure him, till hee were vnder safe with a fore-wind. 5. That hee should let the Cypriots person at liberty, and deliuer his daughter to the Duke of Austria, who was her vncle, and should deliuer 67 hostages for assurance of all.

(47) But to colour this vnreasonable and vnprincipled extortion, the Emperour by his Imperiall Charter gaves vnto King Richard, France, and sundry other ample territories, containing 5. Archbishopsricks, and thirty three Bishopsricks: (some time parcel of the Empire, but both then and a long time before out of possession) & thereto crowns him King, writing magnificent letters into England, with such like offices.

(48) Now when King Richard (who had wonne to himselfe wonderful honour and respect, even of the courteous Emperour, by the proofe of his innocency and by his most noble and constant carriage)

did expect his liberty at an assembly or diet, where the greatest Princes and States of the Empire were in person, to wit, The three Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne and Salzburg. The three Bishops of Truier, Spire, and Leips. The three Dukes of Saxe (the Emperours brother) Austria, and Lusatia: The Count Palatine of Rheine, &c. which had undertaken for the Emperour, whole officers had already received the greater part of the ransom: behold mee then the Emperour shewes a willingness to breake off, producing the letters of Philip King of France, and of John Earle of Artois, in which they offer an huge summe &c. too impious and dauntles to speak of: but the Princes who had undertaken to King Richard for good dealing, went to the Emperour reproaching him for his avarice, who would so dishonourably trauele and start backe from the agreements: vpon the fourth of February therefore being Friday, the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne restore him, after siterene months imprisonment, to Queene Eleanor his mother, free from the Emperour, all that were patient weeping thereat for ioi.

(49) This Archbishop of Cologne was he, who entertaining the King in the Dominion of his Archbishopsrick, with great ioy for his deliuerance did celebrate diuine seruice in this manner: *Now know I truly that the Lord hath sent his Angell and taken me out of the hand of Herode, and the expectation of the common people of the Iewes, &c.*

(50) And indeed it was Gods Angell did it: for after all this, whilst the King staid for a wind, and other preparations at the Sea-shore, the Emperour repenting him of his release, sent speedily guarders to apprehend him againe, vowing he should neuer be freed from bonds whilst hee liued: but some secreete message (as Princes Courts neuer want Spial) speedily premonished him, and so he vye little time he preuented his pursuers, landing happily at Sandwich, in April the Sunday after Saint Georges day: where in stead of all other triumphes, or particular of ioy for his returne, wee will content our selues with onely one, as signe of the rest. When the King drew nere to Rochester, the venerable new Archbishop of Canterbury Hubert (who had bene with him at Acre in the Holy-land) went ioyfully forth to meet him: whom when the King saw, hee dismounted from his horse, and hauing bowed his knee, fell vpon the earth, in like sort the Archbishop lay right against him: at the last both of them rising from the ground, they ranne into each others arms, comforting themselves with mutuall embraces & weeping with ioy.

(51) The iustice of a true history will not suffer vs here to forget, in what sort the iniustice of this vnobscure captiuitie of Richard King of England, was punished by God, and on Gods behalfe. The Duke of Austria Countrey, and people, being visited with these five plagues, Fire, Water, Barrennes, Wormes, & Pestilence: the Fire, casually burning his Towne, the Riuer of Danubius drowning ten thousand of his Subjects, in an overflow; the earth waxing drie and leaze; the Wormes destroying such fruit and graine as grew; and the stroke of Pestilence killing the principall Nobles and Gentlemen of his Dominions: The Duke for all this continued obstinate like another Pharae, swearing to cut off the heads of King Richard's hostages, unless all his Coenantes (though extorted by cruell Daresse) were exactly and speedily performed. Baldwin de Betun (one of the hostages) is sent to the King with this bloodie message, but before his returne, vpon 5. Stephen day in Christmas, the Duke's surring his horse in sport vpon a Castle of snow among youters, which were counterfeiting a siege, and an assault, with the slip of his horse, brake his foot in such sort, as it came to be cut off, and within a while feeling himselfe perishing vpward, so that his death was certaine, could not bee absolved of his Bishops from the sentence of Ex-

* Ba. Hand. f. 41v.
in January last
Richard the King
1. March, 1213.
overlaid.
* Ba. Hand.
in Peter's lib. 2.
cap. 18.
Folios.

Reg. Hand.

Hubert's Lib.

Mat. Peris.
Tud. Mus.

The loyal
meeting between
the King and Arch-
bishop.
* Ger. Der.

King Richard
wounds
recovered
upon the
Duke of Austria.

Mat. Peris.
Richard's Lib.

Peris. Lib.
Folios 2. & 3.

* Ger. Der.

* Tud. Mus.
John's Lib.
in Richard's
lib. 2. cap. 18.

communication which had by the Pope bin denounced, till hee and his Lords had sworne to release all the land matters betweene the King of England and him; but his sonne after his death refusing the performance, his Fathers body lay stinking about ground eight daies, for that no clergy man durst burie it, being but conditionally abolished, till the son did yeeld to the performance; yea if some may be credited upon his bare word) the sonne did voluntarily condiscend, and not upon this compulsion.

(53) But albeit the Emperour * to declare himselfe wounded with some remorie for his vngodlie violence, or to engage others in the impietie, gave three thousand Markes of King Richards ransom to make silver Censures through all the Christian order, who generally refused the gift, as parcel of an accursed spoile; for as for those security thousand marks, which hee forgave to King Richard, with as bad a purpose (being to hinder peace betweene him, and the French) as he had taken the other violently, they are not to be accounted as restitution, but as the wages of sinne;) revenge forsooke him not, being pursued by his owne wife (the Heire of the Crowne of Sicily) in revenge of some cruelties done to her Countinens and after reconciliation with her, falling dangerously sicke, he died at Messina, excommunicated for King Richards cause. And albeit hee had in his life time lent his Chancellour out of purgation, of purpose to offer King Richard recompence for the injuries he had sustained, and although Constantia the Emperesse had sent the Archbishoppe of Messina (while the Emperours body lay about ground without buriall) to Pope Celestin in humble manner, praying Christian buriall, yet * unless the money which hee had extorted from the King of England were restored, hee could by no entreaties obtaine it: which accordingly was promised.

(54) Neither were the King of Englands afflictions unprofitable unto him, for they gave him occasion to reforme his life, taking home to him his Queene Berengaria, whose society for a long time hee had neglected, though she were a roiall eloquent, & beauteous Lady, and for his love had ventured with him through the world.

(55) King Richard after his ioyous returne Into England, having at the Abbey of Saint Edmunds, in performance of his vow (as may seeme) offered up the rich Imperiall Standard of Cyprus, Emperour of Cyprus, which hee tooke among the spoiles of the Christian Campe: thence hee marched, and tooke in by surrender such Castles as the servants of his brother Iohn (believing that the King was not returne

ned) held against him; but Henry de Pomeray, who had fortified Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwall, hearing for certaine that King Richard was come, fled for very feare. And now, forty daies of summons being expired, which were allowed to Eustace Iohn, & Hugh Bishop of Coventry, for making their appearance, to answer to such heinous matter as was prepared, and they not appearing, Iohn was adjudged by the Peeres and States of England, to have forfeited all that hee might foresee in the Realme, and the Bishop to be punishable by the Ecclesiasticall censure; as hee was a Bishop, and likewise an Officer of the King, by the Laitie. Richard afterwarde bestirres himselfe to draw in money more greedie, then did become to great a Maiesty, wherein yet (saith one) hee was rather to be pardoned then accused, for that hee was precisely to lead a mightie Armie against the French.

(56) But first of all, to wipe away both the sinnes and contumelie of his late restraint, for a better fortunes beginning, he caused himselfe to be crowned againe at the City of Winchester, which ecclesiastie was honoured with the presence of William King of Scotland, who bare sword before King Richard: betweene which two Princes, there followed great amity and tendernesse of love; then being granted to him, and his successors Kings of Scotland, a certaine pension, with sundry other allowances, and princelie attendances, from the first day of their friendlie entrances at any time Into England, till their returne.

(57) The King likewise caused a new broad Seale to bee made, requiring that all Charters granted vnder his former, should be confirmed vnder this, whereby he drew a great masse of money to his Treasurie, substituting such reward Charters thus: *This was the tenor of our Charter vnder our first Seale, which because it was lost, and in the time of our being captiv in Almaine was in the power of another, wee caused it to be changed.* Or Some have observed that as this Richard was the first of the English Kinges who bare Armes on his Seals, as appeareth by the former: was bee the first who carried in his shield, three Lions passant, borne cutt after for the Regal Arms of England. And whereas wee see here the Moone in her fall, which in the other was bot a Crescent, (which is the Turkish Ensigne,) it may seeme to be done Emblematically in that sense, as wee read of another Prince (who going against the Turkes) gave a Crescent with this word, *Plenior realdo*, I will returne more full. The true draught of this second Seale we have here annexed.

Hemel Jul. 418.

March 2. 1191.

* Reg. Henr. 6. 410
Hemel Jul. 418.
cap. 8.

Ed. Henr. 6. 419.

Freder. Chron. in
Ossat. 11. 418.
Cronica Ricard. 1.

* Wherein are
the Lions rampant
embroidered with
letters that crown
the Lion.



A good * Author reports, that after this, the King being at dinner at Westminster, and receiving advertisement of the siege laid to Fernat, by his rebellie enemy Philip of France, swore that hee would never turne his face, till hee had gotten thi-

ther with his Armie to fight with the French; whereupon hee caused the wall to be cut through, (the signe of which breach appeared * about two hundred yeares after) never telling, till with an hundred great Shippes hee had crost the sea from

* In Welfordham
dukes who lived
dukes Henry 1.

Richard I. 480.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Forasmuch into Normandy, where the onely rumor of his approach made the French King raise his siege, and without broke or fight of his magnanimous Eucemie, (but not without losse and shame) to quite the field.

King Richard bar-
gains his brother
John.
M. Paris. 1. 2. 1. 1.

(59) Neither was his clemency lesse then his courage, whereof needs no greater testimony, then when vpon Earle John's dutifull submission, & his mothers intercession, he so freely forgave him, as that he calmly said, *It would that thy fault may so be forgotten of me, as that thy selfe might keep in memorie what thou hast done.* and afterward restored his possessions vnto him; the Earle from that time forward becoming his true Knight, & doing him very noble seruices, (especially against the French who had seduced him) as a loving brother, & faithful Liegeman, whereby he made amends for his former excesses, and fully recovered the hearty affection of his Lord and brother.

King Richard
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

(60) There were after this sundry skirmishes, rakings of Prisoners and Townes, and conferences betwene the French and English, moued betike, by such as religiously tendered the effusion of Christian blood, so as no great matter was yet effected; that which was, being rather by *Seratzings* and *flarts*, then by battle; but within thirty euen daies after the French mens flight from *Vermand*, King Richard (in reuenge of that defolation which the French King had brought vpon the City of *Breux*, where he neither spared age, sexe, nor Church) coming to *Vendome*, with purpose to surpris the King of France; had the spoile of the French Campe, their King (a thing almost incredible) now the second time flying without battle. Many of the French were slaine, and taken, together with much treasure, the Chappell roall, the Indentures of such as had left Richard to serue King Philip, and all ** tents, carriages, and other furnitures for warre:* and from hence marching in *Patience* and *Engulisme*, hee had such successes (howsoeuer the silent partialities of forraign Writers smooother them) that himselfe wrote ouer to his deereft *Hubert* Archbishoppe of *Canterburie*, *That by Gods fauour, who in all things considers the right, hee had taken Taisburg, Marfise, and all the other Castles of Geoffrey de Barone, the City of Engulisme, and all the Castles and Territories of the Earle thereof, and almost three hundred Knights, or men of Armes, and about forty thousand armed Souldiers.*

A.D. 1195.
Richard 481.

(61) We will not here ouerpasse, that which *Houedon* reports, (being an example of Christian repentance in Princes) of a poore Hermit coming to this noble Monarch, and preaching to him the words of eternall life; and bad him bee mindfull of the subseruion of *Salem*, and to abstaine from things vnlawfull, *wherevnto (saith he) the deferred vengeance of God will come vpon thee:* The Hermit being gone, the King neglected his words: but not long after falling sicke, hee more seriously bethought himselfe, and afterward waxing sound in soule, as well as body: his daily exercise was to rise early, & not to depart from the Church till diuine seruice were finished: whereupon (saith *Houedon*) *how glorious it is for a Prince to beginne and end his seruice in him, who is beginning without beginning, and ending the ends of the earth.* Moreover, hee bountifullly releued every day much poore both in his Court and Townes about: and restored gold and siluer vessels to such Churcher, from which to pay his ranfome they had bene taken away.

King Richard
M. Paris. 1. 2. 1. 1.

(62) After this passed sundry interchanges betwixt the French and English, sometimes of warres, with walls and spoiles, sometimes of truces with interuiewes and Parties; in one of which, the Lady *Alice*, (cause of much mischief) K. Philips sister, was restored (according to the contract of *Melford*) to her brother, who forthwith bestowed her in marriage, vpon John Earle of *Penfith*. In the mean while the Kings fought to make friends vpon all sides: but King Richard by his munificence, and other means,

drew from King Philip a mighty party of his neereft neighbours: ** Baldwin Earle of Flanders, Raymond Earle of Toulouse* to whom also King Richard gaue in marriage, his sister *Isabel Queen of Sicily*; the *Chastipans* and others: so that Philip was faine to trust wholly vpon himselfe: for whereas hee had lately married the sister of the King of *Denmarke*, of purpose to vntie the Danish shipping against the English, that affinity proued enmay: for the next day after his wedding, hee put her away, pretending (besides other things) that hee was of too neere a propinquity of blood albeik most vntuall, as her brother, the King of *Denmarke* proved before the Pope, though he could not be heard, the King of France more pretending, rather by feare or fauour.

(63) About this time, John the Kings brother & *Markedy* Capitaine of the *Strabeners*, called the ** Reuertes*, had made an incursion vnto *Beauvais*, where the Bishoppe, being also an Earle of the Roiall Blood, and the eleventh Peere of France, valiantly fighting, was taken in the skirmish, armed at all points, and brauely mourner; on whose behalfe the Pope (vpon the Bishops humble suite, pleading the Clergies immunity) wrote somewhat earnestlie to King Richard, to let his *seruice cease*, for so hee called the Bishop, at liberty: The King in a kind of pleasant earnestnesse, caused the Habergeon and Curaces of the Bishop to be presented to the Pope, with this question (alluding to that of ** Jacobs* children to their father, concerning *Iosephs* garment,) ** Vnde an tunicis suis tui sumus, Scit whether it be thy fathers coat or no.* Whereupon the Pope replied, that ** he was neither his sonne, nor the sonne of the Church, and therefore should be ransomed as the Kings will please: but hee was rather iudged to be a seruitor of Mars, than a Souldier of Christ.* Whom the King of England (in a reuenge of many euill offices, especially in the time of his captiuitie with the Emperour) handled harshly. The Bishop at length waxing impatient, writes a passionate letter to the Pope; whose answer in parts here set downe, for that it notably defends the King of England. If (saith the Pope) thou hast had ill successe, it is no maruaille, for putting off the peaceable Prelate thou didst put on the warlike Souldier, and rashly too, lest a shield in stead of a cope, a sword for a Stole, a Curace for an Albe, an Helmet for a Miter, a Lance for a Bishops staffe, perverting the order, & course of things: neither meant you (as you alledge) to repell violence but vertue, nor did you fight for your Country, but against it: for of your France we can now publicly pronounce; ** vnto to that land whose King is a Child.* For your King was strictly bound by oath orall oath to the King of England, not to damage his territories, &c. at least wile till his returne from the journey of his Pilgrimage: nevertheless, contrary to his faith and oath, hee without all shame seized by force the good townes of the said King, and cruellie wasted his Dominion with hostile hand: but that King returning at last out of captiuitie, manfully encountered your King, not reposing his hope in mankind, but in Almighty God, &c. Humility therefore against pride: right and equity against wrong, measure and modesty against intemperance and arrogancy, haue certainly hitherto fought for the King of England, &c. Wee haue notwithstanding directed our supplicatorie letters to him on thy behalfe, &c. for in such a case we neither can nor ought command, &c. Meane while beare your bands and sorrowes patientlie, &c.

Richard 481.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

Richard 481.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

Richard 481.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

Richard 481.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

Richard 481.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

Richard 481.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

Richard 481.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

(64) While thus sundry warlike matters passed betwene the English and French, the King of England encreaseth his side with new associates, *Arthur Duke of Britaine, the Duke of Louens, the Earles of Gynes, Saline, Perre and Blais* with others: and ** Houedon* recites three severall times within a short space, in which the King of France was driuen with losse

Richard 481.
M. Paris.
T. 2. 1. 1. 1.

loffe and dift honour out of the field by King Richard, beſide the loffe of Saint Omers, of Air, and of other Townes wonne by Baldwin Earle of Flanders, and beſides the waite of the French Dominions by many inſaſions. But the greateſt of the three victories was the ſecond, which King Richard gained at the baſtelle betweene Crecy and Ghyers, where the K. of France himſelfe fell into the river of Biſe, the bridge breaking vnder him, with the throng of people which fled for their lives before the Engliſh Li- ons: neither was hee eaſily ſaved (twenty of his men of Armes being drowned by that ruine) but before he could be drawne out, water had gotten into his belly.

(64) This was a famous victory, for beſides a long Catalogue of great names extant in Authors there were taken by the Kings Armie, 100. Knights and Seruitours on horſe-backe, and footmen without number, beſides thirty men of Armes, and other inſcouriſh Souldiers not countable, which Marſhaldey (Generall of the Rowtes) had for priſoners. There were alſo taken 200. great horſe, whereof ſeuencore had barbs, and caparions armed with yron. King Richard in his owne perſon did moſt nobly for with one ſpeare he threw to the earth. *Mathew de Beaumercancie, Alan de Ruſei, and Fulk de Ciferuall*, &c. took "them. So haue we vanquiſhed the King of France "at Ghyers (ſaith the King) howbeit we haue not "done the ſame, but "God and our right by vs: and "in this fact we did put our owne head and king- "dome in hazard aboue the counſell of all that were "ours. Howſoeuer therefore the French or others may ſhubber ouer ſuch a noble Journey, we haue not doubted vpon ſo good warrant to record the ſame.

(65) The warre continuing ſtill, many vertuous men laboured to make a ſinall accord; and the new Pope *innocentius* the third, biniſſing proclaimed a new vndertaking of the Holy-writer, ſends a Cardinall Deacon to atone the two mighty Kings of France and England. At length Armes of peace were drawne, but Richard (being farre before hand) was nothing haſtie to conclude, and therefore put it off, till his returne from *Faldou*, whether hee went to chaſtiſe his rebellſhough "one ſay, hee did then conclude the peace.

(67) At this enterview or treatie, Philip King of France, (the ſwearer of ſtriſe, though he ſought peace) ſhewed to King Richard a deed, in which Earle John newly yeelds himſelfe Liegeman to King Philip, againſt his brother. A wonderfull thing (ſaith *Houſe- hold*) that Richard ſhould beleene it (being perhaps but a Copie of that deuce or trickie, if it were a deuce which they once had jointly put vpon the ſame John, as in the end of King Henry the ſecond you heard) who therupon forthwith diſſiſſed the Earle his brother euenly where. But the Earle hauing ſearched and learned the cauſe of the Kings ſudden diſpleaſures, (whoſe loue hee had before redeemed with many ſmall ſeruices) He ſends two men of Armes to the French Court, who ſhould on his behalf, in what ſort ſwore defend his honour and innocencie, againſt any his accuſers: but there was no man found in that Court, neither King nor any other, who would undertake the proſe or maintenance thereof in ſerueſon euer afterward Richard held his brother more deare, and gave little credit to King Philip words.

(68) But now enſued the ſinall accident, which drew the blacke cloud of death ouer this triumphall and bright ſhining ſtarre of Cheualrie, the vaworthy occaſion of which miſadventure makes it the more lamentable, which now withſtanding, for a document to the Great ones, againſt the outrage of Auarice and Cruelty, God ſuffered thus to fall on him, *widoware*, Vicount of Limoges hauing found a great "horde of gold and ſiluer, but ſo ſmall portion thereof to King Richard, as chiefe Lord, with which being not contented (as pretending that treaſure was, wholly his by vertue of his prerog-

ative royall, or elſe miſſiſſing that the Vicount ſhould make the partition) came with a power to a Caſtle of the Vicounts called "Chalons, where hee ſuppoſed the Riches were; the Garriſon of which place offered to yeeld the ſame, and all therein, if onlie their lives and limbs might be ſaved: but hee would not accept of any condicions, bidding them defend themſelves as they could, for he would enter by the ſword and hang them all. It grieues me to thinke that ſuch a Prince ſhould ſo forget himſelfe: but be- hold the ſeuerty of Gods iudgement. An Archbuiſher (or Archbiſhop) ſtanding vpon the wall, & ſeeing his time, charged his ſteele bow with a ſquare arrow or quarrell, making fiſt his prayer to God, *That hee would dreſſe that fiſt, and deliuer "the innocency of the beſieged from oppreſſion*. Whereupon diſch- tring it, as the King was "taking a view of the Caſtle within the danger and diſtance of ſuch an Engin, & the King (vpon hearing the howle goe off) ſtooping with his head, was mortally wounded in the left ſhoulder; the anguiſh & perill whereof was extremely augmented by the becherly and vniſkillfull hand of the Surgeon, who hauing drawne out the wood and not the "enormous yron, "mangled the arme with cruell incisions before hee could preſerue the paine whereof halſand his end.

(69) Concerning the name of this tragick Archer, there is ſo much variety, as that we could willingly take the uncertainty for a warrant to ſilence it: being loath to enuoble him with our pen, it being a thing worthily puniſhable with verſe obſaie, to haue ſhed (though deſervently or but caſtally) the blood of ſuch a King. *Mathew Paris* in calling him *Peter Raſſis*, ſeemes to allude to ſome ominous conceit in *Raſſis* (which with the Greeks ſignifies a King): him *Thomas Walsingham* follows therein, as *Mathew Paris* followed: another there want not "ſome who alſo gine him a third name; but *Houſehold* who diſ- uers this accident, as all the reſt of this Kings life, in the moſt probable and fullſt manner, calls him *Bertram de Gorſum*, applying vnto him certaine "verſes of *Lucan*, in commendation of his vnappell'd conſpi- cy, when he came before King Richard: where then ſaith perhaps (for ſatisfaction of thy mind, with be- holding ſome reuerence) deſire to know what became of the Actor. After that the Caſtle by continuall aſſaults was taken, and (by the Kings command) none left alive but he (as being referred perhaps to ſome more ſhamefull death) the king vpon a chriſti- an magnanimity) forgaue him the fact, which the party without thew of diſmay did neither deny nor excuſe, but alledged the neceſſity of his caſe, and the iuſtice of Gods worke in it, for that the king had ſlaine his Father and two Brothers with his owne hand: being herupon ſet at liberty and one hundred ſhillings ſterling ginen him by the king: *Mar- ſhaldey* (Captain of the Mercenary Rowtes) after the king was dead, tooke him, ſlewd him quick, & then by hanging ended his life.

(69) King Richard feeling the approach of certaine death, diſpoſed his worldly eſtate, thus: to his brother John he gave the kingdome of England, and his other dominions, with three parts of his Treſure, commanding ſuch as were preſent to ſwure him fealty: to his Nephew *Ortho* king of *Amaine*, he be- queathed (as it ſeemes) all his goods and chattels, money excepted, and the fourth part of his ſaid treaſure he gaue to his ſervant, and the poore. And hauing thus diſcharged his laſt cares toward the world concerning his tranſitory ſtate, he prepared himſelfe for the preſence of God, ſtrengthening his ſoule "with hartie contrition, confeſſion, and participation of the holy Sacrament: commanding further, that when he was dead, "his bowels ſhould be buried at *Charrou*, among the rebellious *Preſ- byterians*, as thoſe who had only defaced his worſhip: but his Heart to be enterr'd at *Ram*, as the City, which for her conſtant ioyalty had merited the ſame, and his Corps in the Church of the Nunniack at *Fent-*

This Chriſt the Engliſh ſpall call Carle Cellard ſaith Folio.

*Ger. Dorch.

Major Haard, 2d in Per. 1764. 24. 10. 1.

*Ger. Dorch.

Haard, 2d in him Confite. *As a member. *Eng. Mem. 449.

*Mat. 2. 10.

1764. 24. 10. 1. *As a member. *Eng. Mem. 449.

*Confite ſays pro- des Eng. 1764. 24. 10. 1.

*Eng. Mem. 449.

Edm. fol. 449.

King Richard will. Haard, fol. 449.

*Owing Raſſis fol. 10. ſaith Folio.

*Eng. Mem. 449. *As a member.

*As a member.

The famous vi- ſtory of Ghyers. * Haard, 2d in Per. 1764. 24. 10. 1.

Ger. Dorch. M. S. 1764. 24. 10. 1. King Richard was ſo hand- ſome. In his letter to Philip Bishop of Douſme. As Haard fol. 449. *Owing Raſſis fol. 10. ſaith Folio. Kings letters haue to be de- ſcribed.

*As Haard, 449.

Math. 2. 10.

An. D. 1193. *As Haard, fol. 449. *As a member.

Haard, fol. 449.

Haard, fol. 449.

*Font-Elvardin Galesigne, at the feet of his Father King Henry, to whom he had been sometime disobedient: and God affording him gracious leisure till hee had thus disposed of all; the venemous vapour ascended to his heart, and draue the spirite forth, with whom (say * Authors) the glory and honour of Military skill enjoyed.*

(70) There hath been an opinion, or fancy, that this King was called *Cardelus*, because hee encountered a *Lynx* in prison at the Emperours Court: but (saith * one very truly) these are fables imagined by English tale-tellers to aduance their King *Richard*, as the *Britaines*, by the like, aduanced their King *Arthur*. The like druce (though more lofty and Mathematicall) may their seeme, who coniecture, hee was called so of the famous * *Starre* called *Cor Leonis*. But how the conceits of killing of a *Lynx* should come vp, as it is not worth the while to enquire, so certainly, *Hugo de Noule* (one of King *Richards* speciall familiars) is recorded to haue slain a *Lion* in the holy-Land, druing first an arrow into his breast; and then running him through with his sword: whence perhaps that achievement is transferred from the man to the master; and the story applide to the by-name of King *Richard*, whereof the true reason is that which * *Thomas Walsingham* mentioneth, saying; That for the magnanimity of his heart, *proffusum in proflans*, saith an * other, meaning, as it seemes, that his materiall heart is self, was bigge and massive, which another also saith was *inexpugnabile*: this King was both by the English & *Normans* called *Cor de Leon*.

His Wives.

Alien the daughter of *Lewis* the fourth, King of *France*, by *Queene Alice* daughter of Earle *Thibault* of *Champaigne*, is by * some reputed the first wife of King *Richard*, though indeede she were * onely contracted to him (being both children) and committed to his Father, but when he demanded her, his father refused to deliuer her, or she to com to him, or both: Wherefore being King, conceiuing displeasure against King *Philip* her brother, and more then suspecting her concency with his owne father (by whom hee alledged she had a child) he refused to take her: yet * gave a hundred thousand pounds to *Philip* *pro quaerenda Alimonia*, to be quite freed from her. She became the wife of *William* Earle of *Penhryn*, and had issue *Queene Joan* of *Castile*, the mother of *Queene Eleanor*, wife to King *Edward* the first.

Beatrice the second wife of King *Richard*, was

the daughter of *Sanches* the fourth of that name, King of *Nauarre*, issue of King *Garcie* the fourth: her mother was *Beatrice* daughter of *Alphonse*, the fourth King of *Castile*, called the Emperour of *Spain*. She was conceiued by *Alphonse* the kings mother vnto the king in *Sicily*, and married to him in *Cyprus*, whence she accompanied him to the Holy land, The king (vpon what cause we find not) neglected her company for a while, but vpon more sordid thoughts, he resumed her againe to his loue and society, but had no issue by her.

His naturall issue.

Philip, the naturall son of King *Richard*, seemeth to haue been begotten, while he was Earle of *Paynes*, of a Gentlewoman *Paynes*, and to haue had of his fathers gift a towne in *Paynes* named *Samar*, to haue taken also his surname, and title of the same towne; and to haue been the Progenitor of a familie of Gentlemen of the same surname & title, in the same Country.

Isabel (by * some who mention not *Philip* at all) is reputed the Naturall daughter of King *Richard*, (whose mother the Author nameth not) and that she was married to *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*.

Three other Daughters, (Ballards no doubt) he is said to haue of whose names and matches wee will report as we hode recorded. Whiles hee was in *France* imployed in his warres against King *Philip*, *Isabel* a French Prieist, came vnto him, telling him he had three very bad Daughters, which he willed him to bestow away from him in marriage, or else Gods wrath would attend him: when the king denied, he had any daughter, yet quoth the Prieist thou cherisht three daughters, *Pride*, *Auetyousness*, and *Lechery*. The king apprehensiu of his meaning, called his Lords there attending, and saide: My Lords, this Hypocrit hath found that I haue three Daughters: "which I maintaine, viz. *Pride*, *Conuotusnes*, and *Lechery*, which he would haue me bestow forth in marriage: and therefore (if any such I haue) I haue found out most fit husbands for them all. My *Pride* I bequeath to the haughty *Templers* & *Hospitallers*, who are as proud as *Lucifer* himselfe: My *Conuotusnes* I giue to the whate Monks of the *Cisterce* Order, for they conet the Diuall and all: But for my *Lechery* I can bestow it no where better then on the Prieists and Prelates of our times, for therein haue they their most felicity. Doubtlesse these marriages proued so fruitfull, that their issue hath now ouerflowed all kingdomes of the earth.



An. 1299.

Monarch 45

IOHN DUKE OF NORMANDIE
GVYEN AND AQTVAINE, &c. THE FIRST,
STILED LORD OF IRELAND, THE FORTIE-FIFTH
MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSEV



CHAPTER VIII.



Greatest happi-
ness not in great-
est dignities.

The principall
Acts in Iohn's
reign call reigns.

He lustre of Diadems,
and Souerainety, so
dazleth the eyes, and
bewitcheth the hearts of
ambitious beholders,
that whies they fondlie
deeme the greatest con-
tent to bee in highest Ti-
ties, running after a *seem-
ing Happiness*, they often
cast themselves headlong, and whole Kingdoms, in-
to irreparable ruines; as the calamities, which after
the death of the noble *Car-de-Lyon*, lighted on the
Pretenders to his Crowne, and on this miserably dis-
tracted State, will yeeld vs too ruful a President. To
the full acting of which *Tragedy* (for such it was, and
so we must now present it in this our *Theatre*) con-
curred as principall *Actors*, the two (though these
Patients rather, as the issue proved) vnfortunate

Cornials for the Crowne, *Iohn Earle of Marston*
Brother to the late King, and his Nephew *Arthur*,
the *Posthumous* sonne of *Geoffrey Duke of Brittain*, the
Earles eldest Brother: their two Female (and there-
fore more emulous and restlesse) *Solicitors*, Queen
Eleanor and Lady *Constance*, each ambitious of their
owne, in their Sonnes advancements: their two
revengefull *Abettors*, *Otho* the Emperour for *Iohn*,
and *Philip King of France* for *Arthur*: thereupon,
the two vniust *Intruders* on the Crowne; *Lewis* the
French Kings Sonne, and *Innocentius* the Pope, the
one by vaprincely forces, the other by vnprincipall
fraud: and lastly, their two sorts of treacherous *In-
struments*, of the *Laisie* for the one, and *Clergye* for
the other; all which, like so many *Tragicke* fire-
breathing Furies, set this Seate in so horrible com-
bustion, as that the *Smoke* is not as yet, so many
ages after, quite allayed.

(2) Earle *Iohn* (the very Centre in which those
calami-

a Burge after his
Fathers death,
who died in 1272
1280. Cal. Ang.
1280. Cal. Ang.
1280. Cal. Ang.
1280. Cal. Ang.

Philip the 2^d
of France.

Innocentius the 4th.

to be better and
more let him.

But John was
persecuted to the
Kingdom.

From London
all together.
Gov. John
d. Gerald of War-
wick, &c.
d. Sir John M.S.
Gov. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

In 1215, M.S.
Reg. John
Tyn. (M.S.)
and all except
will follow.
Reg. John
d. Reg. John

The titles of
both conspi-
cuous.
History propo-
sitions of the
newer Scribes.
M.S. Tyn. John
d. Reg. John
Tyn. John
d. Reg. John
Tyn. John
d. Reg. John

But John helps
for the ex-
pense.
M.S. John
d. Reg. John

a Reg. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

But John
Ag. John

p. 1215, M.S.
d. Reg. John

Duke Arthur
Admiral.
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

The be-
haviors
of Duke John
and
the French
John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John
d. Reg. John

calamities met,) had from his infancy been fedde with high and royall hopes, as *being his Father's only darling*, from whom hee had the *possession of the Irish*, and *intendment also of the English Kingdom*: and in his brothers time (whose return from the holy warres all men depai'd) had by gracious deputation towards the Subject obtained an oath of Fealty to himselfe, in remembrance *in case his brother should be chas'd off*: having now therefore the way to those his designs made smoother by the last Will of King Richard, and allegiance of his Nobles then attending (for these courtiers may facilitate, but not make a right claimer) wee may not thinke, that either hee was cold now, for the accomplishment of that, which so hotly hee had before purposed, or so nice, as to neglect a Kingdome, vpon scrupulous points of *Titles and Right*. *Propinquity of Blood* pleaded for John, as *Lineall descent* for Arthur, the Kings Brother being nearer then his Brothers sonne; but John, who knew that the weaker vie to argue their Titles, whiles the stronger hold the possession, resolved to trie the strenght of his claime by no other Law then of Armes; and therefore, being at time of King Richard's death in those forraign parts, hee makes it his first care to returne to himselfe, by present *large, and large promises* of forraign fauours, (the usual Rhetoricke of Competitors) all the *secondary Souldiers*, and other *Scutellers of his dearest Brother*. To winne himselfe the like assurance aboue at home, and *to settle* (if it might be) *an unquiescent* quiet, he *forthwith depesched out England* (there to concurre with Queene Eleanor, his experienced mother) three of the choicest men of the State, Hubert Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, William Marshall a potent Peere, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter the great Iusticiar, by whose severall intercesses, the *three States of Clergy, Chivalry, and Commonalty*, might bee thereby assured to him by fauours, or awed by feare; himselfe, the whiles *passing to London*, where King Richard's great Treasure was kept; as knowing that hee should hardly get or keepe a Crowne by Forces or Friends; if hee wanted Coine & Crowns, to winne and hold such needfull Ayders.

(3) The Treasurer, though *humble with his Stone, Castles and Fidelity*, thus assured to the Earle, had yet a powerful *Nephew*, the *Castellan of Angiers*, who *dedicated to Duke Arthur*, to whose vie hee yielded up that City and Castle, with whom also *joined the Nobility of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine*, surrendering those large Territories, as to *their Lord*, jointly avowing it to be the *Law and Custom of those signiories*, that the heritage which was to succeed to the elder Brother, if hee had furnished should descend unto his Sonne. But Constance Arthur's mother, uolente *desirous to be Regent to a King* (for her son was but twelue yeeres young) then Queene Eleanor *disdainfull to goe belowe a Dutchesse*, did not care to build her high hopes on so low grounds, for that such subordinate Princes as fauoured her cause, might easily be corrupted by faime means, or crasht by force: and therefore vpon newes of King John's successes in England (for with general applaude and *homages* hee was now proclaimed King,) distracted with violent and *Woman-like Passions*, Ambition of her sonnes *Right*, Rage for his wrongs, feare of his Safety, and (not the least) Emulation that Queene Eleanor (whose Prudence and Grace with the English, had *swayed exceedingly*) should effect more in a wrong, then her selfe in a iust cause; these lies to *Turne to the French King Philip*, (to seeke a *Wasse* to whom shee might commit her *Lambe*;) to whose *Protection* those who fully surrenders his Person, his Cause, his Countries, Philip *pretending* (as Princes vie) a tender care of his *Neighbour Princes* state, but *meaning indeede out of wilful pride, to raise advantage to his owne*, forthwith *without regard of Truth*, or *True service to King Richard* receiveth Arthur's Cities and Castles with his French Garrison; some of which had scarce put their foot

into *Manz*, but King John was at their heeles, to provide them their last lodging, lacking that *Citie*, and *demolishing it to the ground*, for a terror to all others, which after *feare* *once* *sworne* unto him, (as *they had done*) should dare to revolt.

(4) Queene Eleanor, who having fedd England in Peace, was now come out to forward her sonne in the Warres, and was *pretext* for the surprising of *Manz*, is *construed* to haue too much sharpened her edge against her Nephew Arthur and his friends, out of her implacable dislike, and Enue to towards *Constance her Daughter-in-Law*, and appears no lesse for the King passing thence into *Anjou*, left there his *Captaines and Forces* with his mother, who made *Angiers* participate the Fortunes of *Manz*, the City ruined, the Citizens captivated, whiles himselfe committing to *Reas*, was there by the hands of *Walter the Archbishop*, in the Cathedrall Church with great pomp on *Saint Marks Festival*, girt with the *Ducall Sword of Normandy*, and crowned *with the Coronet of Golden Roses*, (taking his Oath for faithful administration in that Dukedome) which was the pledge or earnest of his unquestionable admittance to the English *Diademe*, which every day now expedit him. Neither yet may wee thinke, albeit King John's mature & experienced age, his homebred, and well knowne education, his rearing of *Irelande Kingdome* to England, made his person more gracious then Arthur's, that yet his Agents all this while in England found no rubbs in their way, before *all the Barres, Barons, Burgeses, or Freeholders* could bee induced to disclaime Arthur's apparent Right, and to swear fealty to King John *as if it were* *law*; yea, many of the *English Peeres* (who through their last Kings alience, and others conueniencs, had habituated in them a conceit of unconquered Greatnes, which they mistakelie *Liberties and Rights*, vnder vayne whereof, they after drew, not only vnder vnderstandings vpon the *Regalitie*, but also infinite calamities and misallures on the people, whose good they pretended in the great Assembly at *Northampton*, yielded only to swaie a *Conditional Fealty*, to keepe *a Faith and Peace* to King John, if hee would *resort to every of them their Rights*: which was the first seed of disloyalties, which after grew to so great a height. Thus howeuer, all domestick difficulties ouerblowne, and Queene Eleanor *left in Aquitaine* to provide against *Forraigne*, King John arrived at *Sherrham*, and the next day comes to *London*, preparing for his Coronation to bee at *Westminster*, the morrow following being Assheton day.

(5) Strange it was to consider, (if ought bee strange in *State-plots*) how men, otherwise very prudent, transported once with Worldly and seeming-politicall respects, can so willfully cloud their Reason, as to attempt those things, which leaue both a present stain on their Soules, and a lasting disreputation both of their *Integrity* and *wisdom*, wherein so much they glory. For what else did Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, the man so a famous for the *Pillar of the Common-wealths* *Babellion*, & *incomparable* for *deep-reaching wisdom*, when in that sacred and celebrated Assembly of *all the States*, addressing for the roall Inauguration, hee added to those *Lay-Peeres Conditionall*, his *Clergy-Synophimes*, and *second Serde-plot of Treason* performing them by a cunning, but disloyall speech (which yet some by transforming, haue more deformed) that the *English Crowne* was merely *Arbitrary* and *Elective* at the peoples deuotion? That *they all in discretion were to know*, how that no man hath right in any other fore-Tile to succeed another in a Kingdom, unless first *with annotation for Grace and Guidance of Gods Holy Spirit* hee be by the *Body of the Kingdome* thereunto chosen, and hee indeed some choice man, so picked out for eminence of his vertues; by the President of *Sancti*, the first Anointed King, whom God made *Ruler over his very people*, though neither the Sonne of a King,

Math. Tyn.
King John
and all men
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d. Reg. John

Queene Eleanor
comes in her
sonne John
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d. Reg. John

M.S. John
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d. Reg. John

In *Gloucester*
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In *West*
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In *London*
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King Philip and the Emperour ha-
ved, & successeth the uncles be-
tween King John
& Otho the fourth
sonne of Henry
Duke of Saxony,
and eldest
daughter of R.
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d. Reg. Henr.
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The Emperour
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vention againe.
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Articles of in-
tervention.

Which Treatie
is made between
King John and
Philip.

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(8) The breach betwixt these two great Kings, was the more irreconcilable, by reason of the hatred betwixt King Philip and the Emperour Otho, King Johns Nephew, whose advancement to the Empire (himselfe perhaps aiming to it) Philip still endeavoured to impeach, * not regarding that the Pope, whose power Kings then regarded only, while it made for their purpose, had thundered his Anathemas against all his opposers: and Otho in gratitude to King Richard, who procured him the Diadem Imperial, and in tender regard of his uncles honour, sent him aid, * not to lessen any fauall assistance with the French King, for that himselfe would bring him his strongest Imperiall assistance. Notwithstanding, by the Cardinals-Legates assiduous interceding, a Truce was concluded till the Feast of Saint Hilary: at which time, the Kings comming to a Treaty betwixt Wallon and Bataune Castles, * it was agreed that Lewis the Heire of France should marry King Johns Niece, Blanche, Daughter of Arthurs King of Castile, that King John should give for Dowry the City and Countie of Exeter, with sundry Forts in Normandy, and thirty thousand Markes in silver; vowing also not to aide his Nephew Otho with men or means to attain the Emire: & further, promising to leave off the dispoition of Guyenne Lewis at the Territories he held in France: all which Articles were formerly engroffed, but finally concluded betwixt Bataune & Galesnes (the one, K. Johns, the other, King Philips Castle) the * Oligates of Saint John Baptists, when, these Counties were actually surrendered to Philip, the Lady Blanche espoused to Lewis his son, Duke Arthur (Philip once vowed, but now vnusd charge, yeilded ouer, and made a Sergeant and Menager to K. John for his own Dukedom, whom yet his vncl was content to leaue with King Philip, who had now so left him, and erst had vpheld him, only as the baite of his owne aduantage. If Princes can bee thus vnprincipally degeenerous, what trust can men repose in safer vassals? King John hereupon proued much more heedfull to Philip, then either Philip was to him, or himselfe to Otho the Emperour, who sending his two Brethren Henry Duke of Saxony, and William, surnamed of Winton, to demand the Counties of Torke and Poitou, with the Treasure and Jewels which King Richard bequeathed him: King John denied to yeild thereunto, * only in regard of his Oath which hee had paid to Philip, to yeild no land of aise to the Emperour. And further to redouble, (yea further then he ought) his faithfull meaning to perseuer inire this amity with Philip, * by his aduise he disordered Margarets his wife, sister * more of blood, by leuence of the Archbishop, and Bishops of Bourdeaux, Poitiers, and Xanten, and by the Archbishops hands espoused Isabell, Heiretice of Arthurs Earle of Angoulême, a faire yong Lady, but * de- destined to another bed.

(9) This Final Concord (so called, but not prouing so) with Philip, who now acknowledged Johns the * righteous Heire of King Richard as Crowne, gave him more leasure, to receiue peaceably all * Submitters, and bring in forcibly all * out-landers of those his transmarine Dominions, and after to look home to the affaires of his Kingdome, from which hee had bene (and we there following him) too long absent. Yet in the heate of those forraign imploiments, hee on occasions had his recourses hither to settle his Seate-affaires, and * Crowne-Renewers, to enact whole some laws for forraigne and domestick Commerce, to collect an Ayde for his Nieces great Dowry, and Maritall vices, which later (being three shillings on every Carrucage,) though his first and only Subsidie since his comming to the Crowne, caused much heart-burnings especially by means of his own brother Griffy Archbishoppe of Torke (touching whom the King was * forewarned, that hee would bring a Sword, & not Peaceable England) who bearing himselfe too bold on his blood and place, * forbade the Collectours

of that Aide in his precincts (though it were granted to the King generally for all England) and also being required by the King to attend him into France, to conelde the Peace, and his Nieces Elpousall, he very vndoily denied his errand. The King iustly moued with those his dilloyalties, cauled all his Temporallities to bee seized on by his Sheriffe, whom therefore Griffy (adding fresh fuel to the fire) did solemnly excommunicate, cauled the Kings Officers to beate blowes, and interdicted the whole Priuities of Torke. So partiall, and vnhistorically, is the report of one, (a Stranger by birth, but more strange for bold venter) who faines the only incentive of such indigination in the King, was that Prelates reprehension of his Rapines on the people. For (to give a further taste of that Authors vehement fond malice, justly foisted) what ancient Iudicious Writers call an * ad needessary for Warres, that hee entitleth R apines and Spoiles, where they make John his Brothers Heire by Will, hee makes Arthur, they say hee was a valiant man, hee saith he was a Coward, where they make him a pursuer, and Philip flying, hee chargeth him to haue made easily plants, when he should haue drawn sword: where they charge the Peeres for * drawing backe from his Warres, hee maketh them the only floungs, and John the Hinderer: briefly, if at first-flounging hee appeare above, it portends Heuens fury on John: if the * many Element overflow, it bodes Iohns fury on his Land. But surely that pare thereof, which fell on Griffy, it was (you see) not vnderfused: notwithstanding, vpon the Kings returne into England, and Griffys to his more loyall carriage & submission, his Peace was made, at the very time, & for the more celebrity, of Queen Isabels Coronation, with whom the King himselfe was * again crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Hubert.

(10) The Pompe of that solemnitie ended, the King resolved of ending a long depending controuerse with King William of Scotland, who formerlie (before Iohn was proclaimed King) had challenged, as * his patrimonial Right, the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, and afterward seeing hee got but words and delays, was ready, (King John being then in France) with an hotter and more forcible argument, to winne, what hee could not craue: but being in dark * deuotion all Night at Saint Margarets Heafe, the fill true * Kingly-hearted Queen perswaded him by a Dreame (for certainly it was no other) took to infill England her native soyle, who thereupon sent backe his Army. But oow hee commeth with a more friendly traine, vpon King Johns sending to him, in Honourable Embassage, the Earles of Huntingdon and Hereford, King Williams Brother and Nephew, his three Souldiers in Law, Lucy, Esey and Rex with others, to desire him to giue him meeting at Lincoln, where accordingly they both meet with kingly curtseys, and the next day, King John to aspicure his Temporal affairs with Spiritual deuotions, (and yet to what what hee thought of some superstitious follies of those times) went * suddenly into the Cathedrale Church, being much dis- tressed by many for Mouth impurities perswaded many it was very ominous for a King to enter thar, and certaine * other places; and there offered a golden Chalice on Saint Johns Aize, which no King be- fore him durst doe. Where his Deuotion performed, the two Kings (in presence of * three Archbishops, thirteene Bishops, the King of South-Wales, with a multitude of English, Scottish, French, and Irish Princes and Peeres, ascending the toppe of that conspicuous & high * hill, on the North side of the Cicle, did there in glorious solemnity, sweare amitie and faithfull loue, * upon the Crozier of Archbi- shop Hubert.

(11) That Spectacle so roial to the beholders, was seconded with another no lesse Honourable to K. John, (for Humility in such great Occasions is more glorious then their glory,) when the King hauing latelie

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The Generals of
Hugh Bishop of
Lewes.
I See Poyler L. 1. 1. 1.
In the Windsor
Park, or Legend
of St. Hugh.
In Piers the Plowman
the Bishop is de-
scribed, as a very
idiot.

The manner of
Belshazzar's Feast
in that story.
See Met. 1. 1. 1.
In the Piers the Plowman
L. 1. 1. 1.
King Iohn great
haughty.

See Met. 1. 1. 1.
The Cistercians
died out of St.
John.
See Met. 1. 1. 1.

King Iohn's cruelty
in his death.

See Met. 1. 1. 1.

The great wealth
of that Order
in the time of
King Iohn.

The first time
place an Abbey
in Manselby by
the King.

A valuable
addition to the
list of the King's
L. 1. 1. 1.

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The first time
place an Abbey
in Manselby by
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The Clergy
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King's business.

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left Hugh Bishop of Lewes (called the Saint, for the opinion of unfained integrity, though¹ blemished with some obliquities, and furcharged with Legends of² fained Miracles) at London very sick (where himselfe with gracious care³ went to visite him and both confirmed his Testament, and promised the like for other Bishops after,) now hearing hee was dead, and his Corps then bringing into the gates of Lewes, hee, with all that princely Train, went forth to meete it the⁴ three Kings (though the Statute was to depart that very day) with their roiall Allies, carrying the Hearse on those shoulders, accustomed to vphold the weight of whole kingdomes: from whom the Great Petres received the same, and here it is the Church Fort, where the three Archbishops and Bishops consulted it to the Quier, and the next day (sit there lying the meane time open face, naked, and in all Pontificall Ornament, with Glories on his hands, and a Ring on his finger) interred it with all solemnities answerable. Yet here the King refused not to give proofe, in so great a height of his lowly mind, and then benigne (how true afterw⁵ asserted) to the Clergy, when twelve Abbots of the Cistercian Habit (whole⁶ whole Order had dispensed him, by refusing to give Aid towarde his great payment of thirte thousand pounds) came now to Lewes, and all prostrate at his feet, craved his gracious favour, for that his Forerethers had driven out (for so the King had given command) of his Pastors and Forerethers all their Cattle, wherewith themselves, and Christs Poore were sustained. The King touched with remorse on so venerable a troope of Suppliants, (though so great offenders) commanded them to rise, who were no sooner up, but the King inspired with divine Grace, fell flat on the ground before them, desiring pardon, adding, that hee not only admitted them to his love, & their⁷ heads to his Pastors, (a speciall favour which Kings had granted that Order,) but would also build an Abbey for men of their sort, (if they would desire some chaste seat) wherein himselfe meant to be entombed. Neither did hee promise them more then hee performed, nor were thole who the Humiliates regarded of choosing a delicate plotte for the purpose, where hee built a goodlie Abbey of their Order, decreedly for the piousness of the place, named Beaulieu, and of⁸ rich Revenue, and excellent Fruitfulness; continuing long of great renowne, as a Castle of refuge inviolable: our Ancestors thinking it most haitious sacrilege, thence to draw any, though willfull Murderers or Traitors: wherein the Founders of such vnchristianized Sanctuaries, & Completes of Mercy (so they called the) through this Kingdom, seemed rather to take Remission for their President, than to graunt favour to casuall Murtherers, yet⁹ commanded willfull Murderers to be drawn from the Altar to the slaughter.

(12) By what degrees, men not only of such reputed religious habit, but also of the Secular Clergy, fell afterward more and more from such fauour of the King, and hee from theirs, a man that will not purposely winkle, may easily behold, both sorts standing to liue on their persons, and their possessions Exemption from Regall command, that whilst the¹⁰ Pope could liue all for any superfluous employment, the King could get nothing, though his Kingdoms were in hazard, as you heard by the disloyall obliquities both of the Archbishop of York, who denied the King his personal attendance, and those Cistercian Monks, whose Coasters were thus locked against him. The like pretended Exemptions of their Clergy-Precursors (as well as of their Persons and Purse) wrought also like offences, both with former Kings, and now with King Iohn, who on the death of Bishop Hugh, refusing to conferre by gift, (as his¹¹ Ancestors did, and¹² himselfe likewise lately had that See, on some whom either merite or affection had endeared to him, the rather, because¹³ men of thole places, in those dayes, were vitally their Soueraignes befoom-

Counsellors)¹⁴ hee was with peremptory affronts withstood by the Cannons there, who very bolde on the Popes vpbearing, rectly very slenderly their Princes displeasing. It is not vnlikely that Archbishop Hubert (left Canterbury might be thought inferior to Turke in daring boldness, his being Papal Legate, in secret bolliuing them had a hand, though closely carried in gloine: for that the man, who lately, gloried the King was wholly his, now finding hee had not the sway hee expected, and thought hee deferred (by obliigation of his first Agency about the Crowne) not only studied to make vpp that by his Legatine Glory which hee wanted by his Princes countenance, but further, (as one who thinks hee extolles his vertue, paints forth his disloyalty) hee repeated now, more then any thing in all his life, that hee had advanced King Iohn to the Crowne. Certes, about this time, hee showed slender respect to his Soueraine, (for as God is in him, so are Kings dishonoured in their Ministers disgraces) when being prohibited by Fitz-Peter, the Kings great Iusticiar and Minister (in the Kings absence) of regall command, & from holding a General Council of his Princes, (neuer vied to be held, but by Soueraine permittance) his pleasure forsooke to take any countermand, but from him especially, who, in calling his inferior, by¹⁵ ioynt defers towards the King, but his Equall, was now, in needfulness and falseness to the King, become farr his Superior. But what speake I of confronting a subordinate power did hee spare to out-beard his Soueraine himselfe! It seemes no, For having notice, the Feast of the Nativity now approaching, that the King intended with his Queene at Guilford, to keepe that festiuitie with great magnificence, hee whole Pallace ordinarily, for splendour, multitude of Attendants, and sumptuous intertainment did strow with the King (as one of his own¹⁶ Successors auows) thought this a fitting time, to shew, both his great state and little regard of his Princes discountenance, by¹⁷ paralleling to the King, his owne sumptuous preparations, with rich attires, and costly gifts for his Attendants at Canterbury. The King (as Kings brooke not to be braued by Subjects, nor is it wisdom for disfauourites to doe it,) moued¹⁸ with great indignation, thought the man had too much riches, & too little Discretion (which seldom lodgeth in the braine, where Pride dwells in the Heart,) and therefore to abate somewhat the one, and learne him more of the other, hauing first bene in the North parts to gather money for his better vyle, hee meant not to lauish it in keeping his Estate, which hee chole rather to doe at the cost of Hubert the Bishop, & not to spare him, who spared not himselfe, hee there incurrall that great expence with a greater, of His, and his Queenes solemn¹⁹ crowning againe on Easter day, in the Cathedral Church; where, in lieu of his expence, Hubert had the formall honour to sit on their Crowns, but yet not the grace to sit neere the Kings Heart.

(13) Such being the first courtesies of hart-burings betwixt the King and his Clergy, after by addicament of daily furling, braut forth into a more fearefull flame; the Lay-Petres were so farr from labouring to quench it, that they made it the fiercer: for their Bellowes of Rebellion, which before their Homages did condition for their Rights & Liberties, were not all this while spiring of their breath, to inflame other Nobles with the like heat of fury. Hell it selfe (whence all Rebellions spring, and thither fall againe) could not with a fitter occasion to broach and aduance such a mischief. For the²⁰ Poymons with King Philip continuance, (taking aduantage of King Iohns absence, and Springs approach) were vp in Armes, dilodged his Garrisons, beleagured his Castles, & tidings whereof recalled King Iohn thoughtres from his Domesticke Pompey, to his Transmarine Affaires; for the present, hee gaue command to his²¹ Seneschall of Normandy,

King Iohn.
Offence taken by the King against Archb. Hubert of Cant.

King Iohn.

Hubert's letters to King Iohn.

Hubert's rebuke to the Kings chiefe officers.

King Iohn.

Archbishop's letter to King Iohn.

King Iohn's letter to Hubert.

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mandy to attempt on them some Counter-ſervices, to withdraw the *Seigers*, (whom alſo King Philip, hearing King Iohn was in perſon coming over with an Army, forthwith recalled, and publiſhed his general ſummons, that his Earles, Barons, and all that held by Knights-ſervice, ſhould be ready at Perſmouth with Horſe and Armes, on Whitſunday then inſtante, to croſſe the ſea with him. The tumultuous Earles knowing, that the King then needed their preſent hopes, and therefore might be forced to any Capitulations, in a conſentive held at *Lewes*, by a ſeigne conſpiring, ſent an audacious meſſage to the King, that they would not attend him, unleſſe hee would firſt reſtore their rights, with which diſloyall reſuſal, the King luſtily incensed, by ſome meaneſt precipitate aduſe, conſidering the hazardous time which needed a ſaſe rather than a coaſive, ſeized into his hands ſome of their Caſtles, to prevent their further attempts, of ſome he tooke their children for pledges, and others, whoſe Purſes were likely to doe him truer ſervice than their owners, hee^a releaſed upon payment. At which prefixed time, he diſpatched before him *William Earle of Pembroke*, and Lord *Roger Lacie* with 7 two regiments to ioyne with *Normandie* ſcencall. Whate^a a grace Author iudged of thoſe bold Barrons here, and otherturbulent Great-ones then abroad, may be gathered by this, that as ſoone as meſſage fell in of theſe refractory Lords, he ſtraight fell off, to ſhew bow in that very year, Pope Innocent then reigning in Rome, ſetting out the ſermon in *Jeruſalem*, a *Alexander* the Patriarch in *Conſtantinople*, for to hee-yeerth thoſe three together, with ſome others following them, the great Doctors preached, that there was the time (as prophesied by *Satan* Iohn) when after a thouſand years reſtance, the Diuell was left loſt, to ſeducethe Nations like a Serpent, and trouble the world like a Dragon: which how true it proved in this our Nation and Iſle: World, (in whole Tragedy the Diuell alſo, amongſt the firſt named Actors, comes now to play his part,) the Diabolical enſuing practices, both of fraud and fury, will hereafter demonſtrate.

(14) The King, though thus diſmiſſed of his principall home-helpers, yet^a entrusting the cuſtodie of the land, eſpecially thoſe Southern parts, with *Hubert de Burgo* Lord Chamberlain, and reſcinding to a full reconciliation, for more ſecurity of the Northerne, *Geoffrey Archbiſhop of York*, whole Churches large Priuiledges then he ratiſied, without delay at *Perſmouth* hee put forth to ſea, with *Iſabel* his Queene, though in ſundry Bottomes, and with differing ſuccelle, a ſudden gull diſparting the Fleet, whereby the King was driven backe on the Iſle of *Wight*, but the Queene^b with much adoe, arrived ſafe in *Normandy*, whom ſoon after the King followed thither. Upon whole arrivall, the French King^c perſuading the power of his aduſary, preſently conſidered to another perſonall (but very priuate) Parley; wherein each gaine and received ſuch reciprocal ſatisfaction in their deſires, that thereupon, not onely the former bonds of Amity ſeemed to continue ſtrong, but were alſo more ſtrengthened with a new knot of^d Aſſociation, wherein ſundry great Lords of either ſide were by indentment of Writing, made ſuſtine to the counter-part, with condition, that whichever of the two Kings did firſt violate the Coueneants all his cautionary Lords ſhould be releaſed of their allegiance to him, and become Leegemen and Aſſiſtants to the Prince offended. And that the world might take more notice of their combined loyes, they both agreed to contribute to the *Holy Warre*, (which now beganne to bee on foot) the fortieth part of the whole Renuewe of their Crownes, ſending their Rectors abroad into their Dominions, to encourage all their Nobles & people, by their examples to doe the like. With which intercourſes, & other complements, three daies being ſpent betwixt them, King Philip the deeper

to ſerue himſelfe into King Iohns good opinion, (the ſureſt way to overreach another in any commerce) by intricacy obtained his company, firſt to *S. Denies Palace*, where hee entred with the pompous Proceſſion of the Clergy, and lodged with royall entertainment by the King, and the next day, to *Paris*, where hee was received with^a very rich Prefents of the City, and great applauſe of all ſorts, to ſee ſo noble arguments of affection betwixt two ſo great princes, lately ſo mortal enemies: where the French King betaking himſelfe to a more priuate manſion, left his owne palace to accomodate and honor *Englands King*. After ſome daies there beſtowed in princely delights, and entertainments, King Iohn conducted forth of the City by King Philip, and parting with mutual atteſtations of ſloue neer to be parted, tooker his journey towards *Normandy*, in full hope to enjoy thence forward the contentment of quiet to himſelfe, and peace to his Dominions: but thoſe windy hopes ſoone changed with his change of the aire.

(15) For whiles at *Chinon* hee was royally entertaining Queene *Berengaria* his ſiſter (whom^b hee there alſo bounteouſly ſatiſfied in performing the Ioynture promiſed her by King Richard, gaining her the City and Signiory of *Bain*, two Calles, and their Demaines in *Anjou*, with a thouſand Markes yeerely for ſcarce of life,) and at^c *Argentan* in *Normandy*, where hee kept his Chriſtmas, was ſolacing himſelfe with his faire Queene *Iſabel*, the Earle of *March*, *Engliſh*, ſurnamed *Le Breue*, a Peere of great power and alliance, to whom *Iſabel* was firſt promiſed (though for her^d vnripe yeares he neuer bedded her) enſlaved with loue of her, who was now thought worthy to bee a Queene, drew on other *Franciſme* Nobles, to thinke that hee was unworthy to bee a King, who wrongfully had taken her from him, and would, if not prevented, doe the like in time with them. So, once againe young *Arthur*, whole former hopes were all cold, is re-kindled by theſe fire-brands, and ſerue by their malice, to ſupplant his vncl, but by Heaues Decree, to overthrow himſelfe how ſoever the Britiſhes, then ſatiniated with his ominous Name, dreamed that the ancient *Great Arthur* was riſen againe in him, and that the Tranſlation of the *Engliſh Kingdom* was now by him to be effected. Neither was the^e French King, for all his late painted pretentions of loue, deale to their ſuggeſtions, who laboured to incenſe his hatred againſt Iohn, whereto hee had theſe further inducements; that King Iohn might quicke waxe too potent a Neighbour in that Continent, if his quiet and power were not timely related; that now the means to worke it, were more then before, the^f *Engliſh Peeres* being alienated in affection from him, for denying their claimed Liberties; but chiefly, that the^g proſpire (ſuch baſe ends can ſome propoſe of ſo Noble a Band) which hee hoped for by his amity (being the^h enſuring of theſe Signiories in the Conſent, if hee durd ſee Iſabel) was now in a manner cut off. Queene *Iſabel* beginning to pine apparant hopes of ſome faire fraite from ſo faire a ſtemme. Thus whiles Earle *Hugh* of his loue, Duke *Arthur* out of Ambition, King Philip out of Auarice, (ah that the nobleſt perſon ſhould haue the baſt end,) but all out of Harred, were contriuing King Iohns ruine; hee was fartheſt from ſuſpicion, when necerſſ his danger, and yet they, who thus were forwardſt to vndermine his Greatnes, were themſelves formeſt to bee cruſt with the weight thereof.

(16) But theſe ſe Serpents ſtrowed in ſecret their enuemed ſeedes, till the warth of the Spring (a time ſuſiting for martiall miſchiefs) called them forth; when King Philip (hauling newly culd his ſkinne, and as moſt able, ſo wasⁱ moſt willing to break the way) deſired another enteruew with King Iohn: who comming thither (the ſplace was twixt *Vernon* and *Liſle* *Dandels*) with expectation

^a Two ſermons, one at *S. Denies* Palace, the other at *Argentan*.

^b King Philip.

^c The French King.

^d A new conſpiracy. ^e K. Richards wife ^f King Richard.

^g The French King.

^h The French King.

ⁱ The French King.

^j The French King.

^k The French King.

^l The French King.

^m The French King.

tion of some fruits of those lovely courtships which their last meeting seemed to have engrained; he there found that this last winter had nipt all those faire blossomes. For Philip, forgetfull of all former Compaſſion, and pretending some imaginary wrongs, in outrageous manner required him without delay to redeliver into Arthur's hands, all his Transmarine Dominions, Normandy, Tourayne, Anjou, Poitou, or otherwise as Lord Paramount of those Countreys, which John held by Homage, he peremptorily cited him personally to appear in *Laſter Terme at Paris*, there to answer what should be laid to his charge, and to abide the Arrest of his Court of Justice. The colour on which he thus did cite him, was (say I some) King John's sharpe repressing of some rebellious attempts of Hugh le Desp' the former year, whereof the Emle complained to King Philip, as to the *clerke Lord*. King John much amaled to see, not only how looſe diſtemperd into gall, but the French King also turned into an Apparator, disdained both his Citation and Command, as very vnnoble for England's King to accept, or the French to offer; neither indeed did Philip thus put the matter to deying, as intending any such legitime proceeding, but only to make his adversary secure of any other assailes, then by Petty-forgers. For whether it be true or no, what King John for his non-appearance, was by sentence of the French Peers adjudged to loose all his Territories in the Continent: certain it is, that so soon as the Conference with indignation broken off, but Philip (hee had before prepared to effect what hee had prockited) with power and fury assailed Bataigne, Calles, whose Turners (high-reared by King Richard) hee beleaguered with the Foundation, and thence sodainly like a flash of lightning beganne to invaule the neighbouring partes with ravaging and rages, till giving an assaile, (which had held him eight dayes) to the Castle of Redepont, King John coming to the rescue, forced him with flames to speed away. To repaire which dishonour, and to empaire the English forces by distraction of imploiment, returning to Paris, hee there appointed for Arthur (to whom hee had now affianced his younger daughter) both certaine selected Nobles to bee protectors to secure and guard his person, & also bands of Soldiers to attend his command, amongst which were 200, the choice Knights of France, all which in a very pompous traine followed him, (with Philip's directions, and also supply of great sommes of money) into Poitou to reduce those partes to his Allegiance, which was no hard matter to effect; the greater part of Commanders there (being fore-wrought) expecting nothing more, and the better part suspecting nothing lesse, then these perfidious assailes.

(17) Queene Eleanor Regent of those provinces, attended with a very slender guard, yet strong inough for daies of quiet, (which both her Age did now desire, and her Homage done to Philip, and Philip's faire shewes to her did promise) having no speedier notice of those incursions, then the unpleasing effects thereof, (for on Arthur's good success, as K. Philip proclaimed him Lord of those Dominions) be tooke her selfe into Malbrace, one of the most re-nable townes in Poitou, sending to King John, (whose forces were then in Normandy and Mayne, repressing or preventing Philip's attempts) for pre-furtaids. Which yet could not so speedily come, but Arthur (who knew that upon failure of such a prize as Eleanor, hee might draw her sonne to any conditions) had prevented them, besieged her, and possessed himselfe of her to wive, though not of her person, as some by mis-understanding have mis-related. For the retiring into the Castle, made it good against her Grandchild's incessant batterrie: about which, whiles he, with his continuall supplies of Poitwine and Ambuscades, was industrially besieged, King John's Army neere at hand (for his expedition both by day and night to his mothers re-

cue, is recorded as a *mirabile*) brought the newes of their owne approach; which caused the great Army of the Leagers so indolent before to im-peach others, so lesse sollicitous now to defend themselves. Both Armies martially ranged, & Arthur's Battalions not only undauntedly, but also very pompously coming on to the shocke, the fight proved most fierce and terrible, each side refusing, by reason of both the Competitors preference in the field, that the End and vphot of all their designs, depended on that dayes successe: which in the end by the fortunate prowess of King John and his English, fell diallaurle on Arthur, his French, and other Assitants, who after a great slaughter made amongst them, turning their backs to him, from whom they had before turned their Faits, tooke their flight towards the Towne, to shelter their lives within those walles, which so late the Seat of their triumphs, became now the cage of their captivation, and the Tumbler of all Arthur's ambitious hopes, though himselfe so vnhappy as to survive them: for together with the tumultuary flyers, the victorious King & his Armie entered, renewed a most bloody fight, repulsed the Towne, freed his mother, enthralled his Enemies, and recovered all the provinces which had revolted.

(18) This victory was so glorious to King John, and so dreadful to his Enemies, (for King Philip too chiefe confederates, Arthur and Hugh Brant, Raymond, Father to Guido the husband of Constance, all the Peeres of Poitou and Anjou, about 200. French Knights and others of command, besides the vulgar multitudes were taken prisoners) that both then King Philip, though very hote in the siege of Argos in Normandy, presently cooled and confounded with newes thereof, brake vpp his footmarches siege, and returned home, and since, the French fawning fauourites, and King John's maligners have sought to exasuate the matter, assering against all truth of record, that it was exploited before the French were come to Arthur's aide, and when all his Souldiers were both unarmed and overpowered. But, as others highly extolling King John's valour herein, interpret those fore-doomes of Merlin to have bene ment of him, that hee should be crowned with the head of a Lion, should cut out the tongues of Babel, and lay iron chains on the backs of roring Beasts; and indeed hee chained them hand and foot, and so vanquished the way in Cart, a kind of riding till then vnusall with them, so King John himselfe, duely acknowledging the greatness of Gods goodness therein, sent his Letters to all his Barons wheresoever (thereby to encourage the loiall, and hold in awe the tumultuous) inciting them to render all praise unto God for so admirable a worke, and to gratias assest: and loone after hee dispersed his nobilit Captives into sundrie Castles in Normandy and England; Arthur's sister Eleanor, called the Damoyselle of Britaine, being committed to Bristol Castle, where hee long lived with a very honourable usage. And though the kings displeasure was justly incensed against her brother Arthur, for so frequent wauering in his faith, yet meaning to trie all means of winning him who had thus lost himselfe, hee sent for him (being then at Falaise in the custody of a Hubert L. Chamberlain) and entreated him very gently, promising him all honourable respects, if (as yet) he would refuse to forsake the French King's army, and frame both his mind for hearty love, and his Actions for peaceable observance towards him, his owne and Legall Lord. Which exceeding clemency, the ill-advised young Gentleman (for what wildomere it is to these pride where we need mercy, and to gie threats beyond possibility of performance) required only with arrogant and disdainfull language, furiously rebroiding the king with violent and fraudulent detention of the English Crowne, which menacingly he there required of him, and all other King Richards Countreys, as his lawfull inheritance.

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2 Mat. Paris.

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† Ford. Engl.
1. 2. 3. 4.*

a Ray. Eng. Acad.

b Windsor. M. 2.

*c New Paris.
M. 2. 3.*

d Paul. Arm.

** Constable of
Chesler.*

*e Ray. Wind. MS.
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† Ford. MS.

** Priddle. Wm.
M. 2. 3.*

† De Wende. MS.

** Sub libere. con.
Joh. Paris.*

† Ford. MS.

† Ford. MS.

shall who no sooner saw King Philip ^a regarding it with his great wrath, and mounting his Engines of battery against it, but effronces before one flame of the walls was shaken, or any one of their men had left the least hairs of their heads, they dishonourably surrendered the Fort (a matter of very great consequence) to King Philip's pleasure: who though abundantly pleased with the deed, yet so ^b contentiously (but most justly, and princely-like) recompensed the Deeds, for Traitors always become odious, though the Treason be commodious, that for to bafe a part he commanded them to be fettered in chains, and basely intreated in close prison, all they had dearly redeemed their liberty, though they could hardly their reputation. Another noble Baron, ^c Capetaine of Castle Gallard (which being built on a very high Rocke over Syon, ^d King Richard had made impregnable) by his vndaunted prowle, and ^e great laughter made upon ^f Philip's host, lying ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^{aa} ^{ab} ^{ac} ^{ad} ^{ae} ^{af} ^{ag} ^{ah} ^{ai} ^{aj} ^{ak} ^{al} ^{am} ^{an} ^{ao} ^{ap} ^{aq} ^{ar} ^{as} ^{at} ^{au} ^{av} ^{aw} ^{ax} ^{ay} ^{az} ^{ba} ^{bb} ^{bc} ^{bd} ^{be} ^{bf} ^{bg} ^{bh} ^{bi} ^{bj} ^{bk} ^{bl} ^{bm} ^{bn} ^{bo} ^{bp} ^{bq} ^{br} ^{bs} ^{bt} ^{bu} ^{bv} ^{bw} ^{bx} ^{by} ^{bz} ^{ca} ^{cb} ^{cc} ^{cd} ^{ce} ^{cf} ^{cg} ^{ch} ^{ci} ^{cj} ^{ck} ^{cl} ^{cm} ^{cn} ^{co} ^{cp} ^{cq} ^{cr} ^{cs} ^{ct} ^{cu} ^{cv} ^{cw} ^{cx} ^{cy} ^{cz} ^{da} ^{db} ^{dc} ^{dd} ^{de} ^{df} ^{dg} ^{dh} ^{di} ^{dj} ^{dk} ^{dl} ^{dm} ^{dn} ^{do} ^{dp} ^{dq} ^{dr} ^{ds} ^{dt} ^{du} ^{dv} ^{dw} ^{dx} ^{dy} ^{dz} ^{ea} ^{eb} ^{ec} ^{ed} ^{ee} ^{ef} ^{eg} ^{eh} ^{ei} ^{ej} ^{ek} ^{el} ^{em} ^{en} ^{eo} ^{ep} ^{eq} ^{er} ^{es} ^{et} ^{eu} ^{ev} ^{ew} ^{ex} ^{ey} ^{ez} ^{fa} ^{fb} ^{fc} ^{fd} ^{fe} ^{ff} ^{fg} ^{fh} ^{fi} ^{fj} ^{fk} ^{fl} ^{fm} ^{fn} ^{fo} ^{fp} ^{fq} ^{fr} ^{fs} ^{ft} ^{fu} ^{fv} ^{fw} ^{fx} ^{fy} ^{fz} ^{ga} ^{gb} ^{gc} ^{gd} ^{ge} ^{gf} ^{gg} ^{gh} ^{gi} ^{gj} ^{gk} ^{gl} ^{gm} ^{gn} ^{go} ^{gp} ^{gq} ^{gr} ^{gs} ^{gt} ^{gu} ^{gv} ^{gw} ^{gx} ^{gy} ^{gz} ^{ha} ^{hb} ^{hc} ^{hd} ^{he} ^{hf} ^{hg} ^{hh} ^{hi} ^{hj} ^{hk} ^{hl} ^{hm} ^{hn} ^{ho} ^{hp} ^{hq} ^{hr} ^{hs} ^{ht} ^{hu} ^{hv} ^{hw} ^{hx} ^{hy} ^{hz} ^{ia} ^{ib} ^{ic} ^{id} ^{ie} ^{if} ^{ig} ^{ih} ⁱⁱ ^{ij} ^{ik} ^{il} ^{im} ⁱⁿ ^{io} ^{ip} ^{iq} ^{ir} ^{is} ^{it} ^{iu} ^{iv} ^{iw} ^{ix} ^{iy} ^{iz} ^{ja} ^{jb} ^{jc} ^{jd} ^{je} ^{jf} ^{jj} ^{jk} ^{jl} ^{jm} ^{jn} ^{jo} ^{jp} ^{jq} ^{jr} ^{js} ^{jt} ^{ju} ^{jv} ^{jw} ^{jx} ^{jy} ^{jz} ^{ka} ^{kb} ^{kc} ^{kd} ^{ke} ^{kf} ^{kg} ^{kh} ^{ki} ^{kj} ^{kl} ^{km} ^{kn} ^{ko} ^{kp} ^{kq} ^{kr} ^{ks} ^{kt} ^{ku} ^{kv} ^{kw} ^{kx} ^{ky} ^{kz} ^{la} ^{lb} ^{lc} ^{ld} ^{le} ^{lf} ^{lg} ^{lh} ^{li} ^{lj} ^{lk} ^{ll} ^{lm} ^{ln} ^{lo} ^{lp} ^{lq} ^{lr} ^{ls} ^{lt} ^{lu} ^{lv} ^{lw} ^{lx} ^{ly} ^{lz} ^{ma} ^{mb} ^{mc} ^{md} ^{me} ^{mf} ^{mg} ^{mh} ^{mi} ^{mj} ^{mk} ^{ml} ^{mm} ^{mn} ^{mo} ^{mp} ^{mq} ^{mr} ^{ms} ^{mt} ^{mu} ^{mv} ^{mw} ^{mx} ^{my} ^{mz} ^{na} ^{nb} ^{nc} nd ^{ne} ^{nf} ^{ng} ^{nh} ⁿⁱ ^{nj} ^{nk} ^{nl} ^{nm} ⁿⁿ ^{no} ^{np} ^{nq} ^{nr} ^{ns} ^{nt} ^{nu} ^{nv} ^{nw} ^{nx} ^{ny} ^{nz} ^{oa} ^{ob} ^{oc} ^{od} ^{oe} ^{of} ^{og} ^{oh} ^{oi} ^{oj} ^{ok} ^{ol} ^{om} ^{on} ^{oo} ^{op} ^{oq} ^{or} ^{os} ^{ot} ^{ou} ^{ov} ^{ow} ^{ox} ^{oy} ^{oz} ^{pa} ^{pb} ^{pc} ^{pd} ^{pe} ^{pf} ^{pg} ^{ph} ^{pi} ^{pj} ^{pk} ^{pl} ^{pm} ^{pn} ^{po} ^{pp} ^{pq} ^{pr} ^{ps} ^{pt} ^{pu} ^{pv} ^{pw} ^{px} ^{py} ^{pz} ^{qa} ^{qb} ^{qc} ^{qd} ^{qe} ^{qf} ^{qg} ^{qh} ^{qi} ^{qj} ^{qk} ^{ql} ^{qm} ^{qn} ^{qo} ^{qp} ^{qq} ^{qr} ^{qs} ^{qt} ^{qu} ^{qv} ^{qw} ^{qx} ^{qy} ^{qz} ^{ra} ^{rb} ^{rc} rd ^{re} ^{rf} ^{rg} ^{rh} ^{ri} ^{rj} ^{rk} ^{rl} ^{rm} ^{rn} ^{ro} ^{rp} ^{rq} ^{rr} ^{rs} ^{rt} ^{ru} ^{rv} ^{rw} ^{rx} ^{ry} ^{rz} ^{sa} ^{sb} ^{sc} ^{sd} ^{se} ^{sf} ^{sg} ^{sh} ^{si} ^{sj} ^{sk} ^{sl} sm ^{sn} ^{so} ^{sp} ^{sq} ^{sr} ^{ss} st ^{su} ^{sv} ^{sw} ^{sx} ^{sy} ^{sz} ^{ta} ^{tb} ^{tc} ^{td} ^{te} ^{tf} ^{tg} th ^{ti} ^{tj} ^{tk} ^{tl} tm ^{tn} ^{to} ^{tp} ^{tq} ^{tr} ^{ts} ^{tt} ^{tu} ^{tv} ^{tw} ^{tx} ^{ty} ^{tz} ^{ua} ^{ub} ^{uc} ^{ud} ^{ue} ^{uf} ^{ug} ^{uh} ^{ui} ^{uj} ^{uk} ^{ul} ^{um} ^{un} ^{uo} ^{up} ^{uq} ^{ur} ^{us} ^{ut} ^{uu} ^{uv} ^{uw} ^{ux} ^{uy} ^{uz} ^{va} ^{vb} ^{vc} ^{vd} ^{ve} ^{vf} ^{vg} ^{vh} ^{vi} ^{vj} ^{vk} ^{vl} ^{vm} ^{vn} ^{vo} ^{vp} ^{vq} ^{vr} ^{vs} ^{vt} ^{vu} ^{vv} ^{vw} ^{vx} ^{vy} ^{vz} ^{wa} ^{wb} ^{wc} ^{wd} ^{we} ^{wf} ^{wg} ^{wh} ^{wi} ^{wj} ^{wk} ^{wl} ^{wm} ^{wn} ^{wo} ^{wp} ^{wq} ^{wr} ^{ws} ^{wt} ^{wu} ^{wv} ^{ww} ^{wx} ^{wy} ^{wz} ^{xa} ^{xb} ^{xc} ^{xd} ^{xe} ^{xf} ^{fg} ^{xg} ^{xh} ^{xi} ^{xj} ^{xk} ^{xl} ^{xm} ^{xn} ^{xo} ^{xp} ^{xq} ^{xr} ^{xs} ^{xt} ^{xu} ^{xv} ^{xw} ^{xx} ^{xy} ^{xz} ^{ya} ^{yb} ^{yc} ^{yd} ^{ye} ^{yf} ^{yg} ^{yh} ^{yi} ^{yj} ^{yk} ^{yl} ^{ym} ^{yn} ^{yo} ^{yp} ^{yq} ^{yr} ^{ys} ^{yt} ^{yu} ^{yv} ^{yw} ^{yx} ^{yy} ^{yz} ^{za} ^{zb} ^{zc} ^{zd} ^{ze} ^{zf} ^{zg} ^{zh} ^{zi} ^{zj} ^{zk} ^{zl} ^{zm} ^{zn} ^{zo} ^{zp} ^{zq} ^{zr} ^{zs} ^{zt} ^{zu} ^{zv} ^{zw} ^{zx} ^{zy} ^{zz}

(23) But as the fact of this Peere was peccetleff, so was this Clemency in that King, but rare and vnaccustomed towards such Chastians as flitly out-stood his assaults: ^a some of whom formerly hee had caused to be diſcreetly dragged at horse-heeles, for the terror of others. Of which indignities, & other irkeſome extremities, (the inseparable companions of warre) indured by his people, when King Iohn had notice by Messengers sent vnto him for relief and aid, so maruaile it is, if ^b his griefe were alone beleefe or measure, finding himselfe vnterly destitute of meanes to releue their want, or his owne

leſſes; albeit for the time hee bare it out with a manly then saying, ^c that they were but the French pſſurings, of which hee meant in due time to ex-act an account with interest. For what else could hee doe? The Normans (to omit thoir others in open Rebellion) ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^{aa} ^{ab} ^{ac} ^{ad} ^{ae} ^{af} ^{ag} ^{ah} ^{ai} ^{aj} ^{ak} ^{al} ^{am} ^{an} ^{ao} ^{ap} ^{aq} ^{ar} ^{as} ^{at} ^{au} ^{av} ^{aw} ^{ax} ^{ay} ^{az} ^{ba} ^{bb} ^{bc} ^{bd} ^{be} ^{bf} ^{bg} ^{bh} ^{bi} ^{bj} ^{bk} ^{bl} ^{bm} ^{bn} ^{bo} ^{bp} ^{bq} ^{br} ^{bs} ^{bt} ^{bu} ^{bv} ^{bw} ^{bx} ^{by} ^{bz} ^{ca} ^{cb} ^{cc} ^{cd} ^{ce} ^{cf} ^{cg} ^{ch} ^{ci} ^{cj} ^{ck} ^{cl} ^{cm} ^{cn} ^{co} ^{cp} ^{cq} ^{cr} ^{cs} ^{ct} ^{cu} ^{cv} ^{cw} ^{cx} ^{cy} ^{cz} ^{da} ^{db} ^{dc} ^{dd} ^{de} ^{df} ^{dg} ^{dh} ^{di} ^{dj} ^{dk} ^{dl} ^{dm} ^{dn} ^{do} ^{dp} ^{dq} ^{dr} ^{ds} ^{dt} ^{du} ^{dv} ^{dw} ^{dx} ^{dy} ^{dz} ^{ea} ^{eb} ^{ec} ^{ed} ^{ee} ^{ef} ^{eg} ^{eh} ^{ei} ^{ej} ^{ek} ^{el} ^{em} ^{en} ^{eo} ^{ep} ^{eq} ^{er} ^{es} ^{et} ^{eu} ^{ev} ^{ew} ^{ex} ^{ey} ^{ez} ^{fa} ^{fb} ^{fc} ^{fd} ^{fe} ^{ff} ^{fg} ^{fh} ^{fi} ^{fj} ^{fk} ^{fl} ^{fm} ^{fn} ^{fo} ^{fp} ^{fq} ^{fr} ^{fs} ^{ft} ^{fu} ^{fv}

1 Par. Hist. an. 1163. 170th

2 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

3 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

4 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

An. 1204.

5 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

6 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

7 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

8 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

9 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

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11 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

12 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

13 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

14 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

15 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

his arrival, (which was at Portsmouth on Saint Nicholas day in December) when by laying to the charge of his Barons and Barons, that in his warres they suffered him to be destitute of requisite aid, and had left him in the middle of his enemies, by which their defeats, he was thus defeated of his Castles and Countries; thereupon, by a suite of Hubert Lord Archbishoppe, and Lord Fitz-Peter Chief Justiciar (who knew there were no forged callations) he put them and other delinquents to their Fines, (for his Warres made him desire their money more than their lives) wherein these two great Counsellors were overseers for the record, the one for the Clergy, the other for the Laity) of both whom they received no lesse summes of carter, then of Come. The like repining among the people, (who judge of the goodness of a King only by sparing their purses) enlured on the grant of a large Subsidie (two Marks and halfe of every Knights Fee) in a Parliament presently after held at Oxford, where the King & Peeres convening about redresse of those remedies mischiefes, the issue (as is termed) was, that Ambassadors should be addressed into France, two Prelates, Canterbury and Norwich, with two Earles, Marshal and Leicester, to treat from the Body of the Kingdome, touching those Prouinces, which being incorporated with Englands Souverainety, could not without apparent iniustice, be abstracted from a Nations common interest, vpon coloured pretences against any particular Philip, having vpon King Iohns departure thence used his whole Forces and wittes, to weary, or to winne diuers other Cities & Forts which had till then stood faithfull (for which purpose he also employed sundry instruments, themselves first corrupted, that they might corrupt others to defection, with great rewards and greater promises.) hee meant now to re-commence Questions of Right, having already neere decided that point by the point of his sword: yet because hee was to deale with a mighty Nation, hee would not abruptly refuse to capitulate, and yet againe by propoall of conditions exceeding either Reason or Possibility, hee damned vp all passages to peaceable agreement: his demands were to haue either Arthur, whom hee knew to be dead, redelivered into his hands alive, or else, his Sister Eleanor in marriage with all those Countries in that Continent: but those Statesmen easily perceived that Philips heart aimed farther then his tongue, and that with Eleanor hee hoped to purchase a higher dowry, euen the English Diadem, whose claim guided down from her brother to her: which pretence was the secret ground of his Oath, that hee would neuer linne to pursue that quarrell, till hee had deputed King Iohn of his Kingdome.

(26) This Ambassage was not onely thus issuelesse, but produced also effects tending to further irritation: for this formeth to be the time when Philip sent a brauing Champion, to insulte by Defie before the States here in England, what his Maister had done in France against their King in open warre, and though it was not deemed expedient to leopards Title of such weight on the Armes and Fortune of one man, yet it was resolved the Challenger should not passe vnanswered, whereto none was held fitter then Iohn Carey Earle of Essex, (for rebellion and denying his homage to the King, condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Towre,) a man of Giantlike limme and strength, and of some dispositions not despicable, if they had not beene furnished with a too carelesse rudenesse: which appeared not onely in his wild speeches, touching the Kings misusage of his Nephew Arthur (which some by error alledge as cause of this indurant durance,) but euen now, when the king demanding him, whether hee would combat in his quarrell? Na, (quoth hee) not in thy quarrell, nor for thy sake, but for the Kingdomes right: I will fight to the death. Against which day, whilst hee repaired with large diet his

impaired limmes and sinewes, the Frenchman hearing of his excessive feeding, and strength answerable thereto, rather fearing hee had beene some Monster of Nature, rather then a man, hee secretly insinuated away into Spaine alarmed to lew his lace in France againe: Carey finding the King gracious, was heretofore released, and is said (if this bee not to digresse) to haue crossed the seas for Ireland fifteen times, and euenmore beaten backe to the shore: acknowledged himselfe herein fully punished of God, neuer againe to see his owne feet, for displacing God out of his, when hee commended the Church of Brendan in Dean consecrated to the blessed Trinitie, into an Abbey of Monks, to the honour & name of Saint Patrick, whose Image was erected in a stately seat, wherein before the Trinitie was deposed, which was thence reelected into a priuie Chappell. The Irish relate, that the two Kinges being afterwarde together (belike when they made the next turre in France) King Philip hearing Carey to be in the English Campe, intrusted to see some experience of his so much feared and reported strength: where a Helmet of excellent proofe full faced with Mayle, being set vpon a great wooden blocke, the Earle lifting his trusty Skene, first loosing round about him with a dreadful aspect, defied so deepe quite through the steely resistance, into the knotty wood, that none there could draw it out but himselfe, who did it with ease, and being asked by the Kings, why hee frowned so irefully before the stroke, hee told them, that hee then intended it hee had failed of his blow, so haue killed them all, both Kings and others the lookers on.

(27) But what Philip could not in England by one Champion, he accomplished in Normandy by many; where hauing a mighty power attending him frō City to City, yet hee thought faire wordes would bee for himselfe both cheaper and safer, and with the Frenchmen more forcible then force it selfe; especially, where such troupees of armed Orators were at hand, and where golden preparations had made way with the chieft. Philip tolde them, their late Lord had quite forsaken them, that therefore himselfe, as their supreme Liege came to prouide that his owne Countries might bee indemnified, desiring, them loosely to admit and embrace him as their Lord, sith now they had no other to protect them from feare; but menacing withall, that if they forced him to violence, they should die no other death then hanging, or to be head aliue with which fawnings and tears, though many well munished places were fished off without any resistance, those Captaines violating their oath to carry fauour with the French; yet soon, the place euen honoured for fidelity to the English Crowne (and therefore worthily selected by King Richard to be the Shrine of his Leuaine Heart,) was better fortified both in affection and munition, then to wane vpon parties. Which neglect incensed Philip to turne his Oratory into Battery, (in being the chiefest City, and therefore of greatest consequence for confirming his victories,) which hee continued in a most fierce & horrid manner of siege, the space of two monethes, but finding it to be with small advantage, hee fell againe to golden Eloquence, attracting some in speciall with present pay, and all in general with promises of future insuing all their wanted Leues, and liberties without impairment of any other commodities whatsoever: aduiling them not to reject those preferred conditions, which ere long they would gladly get, when they should not be granted. The Knights, seeing their dangers, feeling their wants, fearing their ruines, yet desired respect till King Iohn might know their State: who finding himselfe at home as ill bestedde as theirs abroad, his Barons refusing to follow the warre, returned them answer, hee could not presently releue them. Whereupon the Great men who could sway the multitude with cheaper reasons, then Philips open hand had swayd with them, per-

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55 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

56 Par. Hist. 1163. 170th

p. 101. b. 1. 10.

* Proffus cavio-
re in aurore,
p. 101. b. 1. 10.p. 101. b. 1. 10.
p. 101. b. 1. 10.p. 101. b. 1. 10.
p. 101. b. 1. 10.
p. 101. b. 1. 10.

p. 101. b. 1. 10.

p. 101. b. 1. 10.

* David & Jon
Dorset,
p. 101. b. 1. 10.

Kings assent, and leave to elect, and therefore to pre-
vent both his * interposing and displicature, till it
the same night they caused their *Elect* to enter *caution* by
oath, never to carry himself as *Archbishop*, nor to
make it knowne to any man living, till he had fur-
ther speciall warrant from them, upon paine of the
success: it might find at Rome, whether forthwith they
sent him for his dispatch.

(11) *Reginald* taking *Flammaris* in his way, was
both to *prudent*, and *impudent*, (the vertues
of their most choise man) that he could never
conceale the purpose of his iourney, and boast of
his dignity from any mans *Eyes*, nor from their *Eyes*
the Conuenuall letters ratifying the same. Whereof
when the Couent had notice, *vehemently increased a-
gainst him* who had thus divulged their secret, and pro-
vidently calling how to evade the Kings offence,
out of hand they depetised certaine of their *Crowe*,
to craue both pardon of their fault, and licence for
choise of some worthier *Primate*. There was then
in high grace and implorment about the King, *Iohn*
Bishoppe of Norwich, a man of great wisdom,
learning, and integrity, (qualiegruely belittling
that high place) whom the King much desired to ad-
vance, commending him, as one * *most deare unto*
him, and of his secrettest *Council* (of which, some say,
hee was *President*) most beloued for the Commu-
wealth, for *Honesty*, and them * which message from
the King faithfully deliuered, * all of them glad thus
to redeme the favour, which they had hazarded, with
* *voluntarie consent* elected him; and sending for him
from *Turkey* where hee was in the Kings affaires) the
King himselfe graced his entrance into *Canterbury*
with his presence in great pompe; and the next day,
the King with a multitude of People assembling in the
Metropolitane Church, the Prior did there publish his
Election solemnely, and in due forme performed; where
the Monkes carrying him with *Tedern* to the high
Altar, did forthwith enshrine him in the Chaire of his
Promotee; The King then in presence of them all, giving
him full possession of his Temporalties. This
louing correspondence betwixt the King and his
Clergy, gave great hope of more happie fortunes
henceforward vnto them both; but the Infernal
Author of debate, and his chief Agent, tooke a hint
hereby to intrude a Tyranny both vpon Clergy,
King and all.

(12) Lorde thought false *Regner* what was doing
at *Canterbury*, whiles hee was trotting to *Rome*; whi-
ther when hee came, and shewed his letters of *Ratifi-
cation* to his Holinesse and his Cardinals, * hee re-
quested this short answer, that it was a business which
asked mature deliberation and better informations; the
Pope soon finding, that the *Sub-prior* was too slight
an instrument for him to worke with, and for King
Iohn to be wrought with, and therefore be thought
him of some fitter hammer for so hard an Anvill.
But sundry Boppes were in the way, which wily
and by degrees were to be remooued. The first was
(which *Reginald* in likelihood had imparted to hasten
his owne dispatch) that the *Bishopps* of the Province
claimed a joint interest with the Monkes, in choise
of their *Primate*: a point which could no way suite
with the Popes aduantage, because *Bishopps* were
generally much obliged to their Sovereignes, and
so likely still to Elect a *Royalist*, whereas *Cloyster-
men*, professing ignorance of worldly affaires, and o-
bedience to one Superior, might more easily be
swayed to bend as the Pope would bow them, in
preferring his creatures. Which was the Motiue (we
may suppose) of the Popes * letters, soone after
sent to the *Suffragane Bishopps*, exhorting them by
* sacred example, and precept of *filiall obedience*, to
desist from voting like vndisaffected *smoothes*, their *Mother*
Church with such vniuall clamours. The *Bishopps* notwith-
standing, who knew themselves in sacred writ to be
styled *Fathers*, would not thus acknowledge the
Monkes for their *Mothers*, till *Amos* shew to his

light *Regens* added the weight of his *Epistles*, and by
his power swept both that and other rubs out of his
intended way. For the King keeping his Christmas
at *Oxford*, (attended as it seemeth by his *Bishopps*)
meaning not to pretermitt any faire means to worke
the Popes inclination towards the new *Elect*, he sent
for * twelve of the Monkes, whom with some other
of his owne Clerks (which carried his letters to the
Pope) he put in traile for transacting this business
at *Rome*, allotting them very beautifulle expenses out
of his Exchequer for their whole iourney. They to
leauie with the King (who knew well the traines of
Rome, and the ouer-reaching fellicies of Innocentius,)
a pledge of their duty, and assurance of his hopes,
* entered with him * a *conuention by oath*, that no man,
nor meanes should remooue them from him, whom
the King & themselves had already appointed. The
Bishopps sent * the same time their *Procurators* also,
to plead their right of *Co-election*; so as, foure ob-
stacles stood at once in the Popes way, (the two de-
sires of the Monkes, and the two claims of the King
and *Procurators*, hee for his *Royal assent*, they for their
owne consent, in the choise) which all must be done
and voided before the Pope can haue his full forth.

But because these will aske long time for contrai-
ning, (which mooued his Holinesse to adourne the
hearme to the very * end of the year) we will see
the while how the King and State of England is im-
ployed.

(13) The dorte, which deceased *Habert* did put
vpon *K. Iohn* and his late designe, gave both *K. Philip*
aduantage, to take surer footing in his new pos-
sessions, and *King Iohn* greater stomack and edge to
recover his old. The last task (almost) of the one,
and bold of the other, was *Chelton* a place of great
strength, but in nothing more, then in the euer-crui-
tly valour of her Captain, *Peter Lasz*, who (if some
mistake him not in freed of *Habert de Borgo*) being
redeemed from the French, resolved here to gine
Philip another taste of his prowess, and *King Iohn*
of his fidelitie; had not others faithlesse feare de-
feated his braue resolution. For the besieged ha-
ving * no rest night or day, from a long and incessant
batterie, their *Commanders* inuincible con-
fiancy against yielding, which enheartned the bet-
ter sort, dismayed the baser, as more prizing their
ease, then their faith or fame; some of which by
night slipping ouer the walles, so instructed the e-
nemy of all secret aduantages to possesse the towne,
that by a sodaine assault, both it and *Lasz* (more
worth then it,) was againe surprized. Here seem-
ed to haue bene the Garland of *Philip* conquest;
had not newes heere thither brought vnto him of
some new risings in *Brittaine*, where *Guise*, the hus-
band of *Cambrantia*, *Arthurs* Mother, (inseparable
belike of the false-grounded wronges offered to *King*
Iohn, vnder pretence of *Arthur*.) * returned gladly
both into *Amiens* and a strong league with the *English*;
and with him also *Samary Mallon*, and *Almeric La-
feguan*, * two Peeres of heretike valour and great
command, whom *King Iohn* had his * prisoners, had
made by prudent and loose vltage his truely friends.
The French King fuming to see his vnwill intrusions
thus preiudiced, (especially by *Arthurs* owne father
in law) was halting from *Chelton* into *Brittaine*,
to worke reuenge on them, whose exemplar equi-
libre should haue bene his mirror of amendments
Englands King on the other side, was no lesse heart-
ened with this new conspuration, vnto once again
a puissant Army, which he * landed at *Rochel*, being
the only noted place, which in all these tumults
and mutabilities of Fortunes, kept her selfe entire
from enurance either of enemy, or of disloyall
thought.

(14) The King hauing his Army much augmen-
ted * with great concourses of his best affected *Pro-
vincials*, marching confidently forward, subdued a
great portion of that Country, till coming to *Maunt-
Alban*, a Castle of much renowne, (as being repu-
red

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potest¹ impregnable, and now the *Ende* now of his most potent enemies, and all their *flames* of Chivalry, hee gave a terrible assault thereto for 15. dayes together, where at last his *English* valour was so adventurous in scaling the walles, and both giving and taking blows *unprofitable*, that in those few dayes hee entered Conquerour into that very place, *which Charles the great could not get with his seven years siege*. The multitude of Nobles therein taken was so great, that hee sent into England a bedroll of their names, for a memoriall of so great a victory. Which auspicious beginnings hee seconded with no lesse expedition, providence, and prowess, in the siege of *Amersfort*, where on his first approach, hee gaue present iustro to his maine Army, suddenly to environ the whole City, & by assault to keepe entrance at the walles on every side, while himselfe and his selected band, with fire and Engines would assaile the Gates, where with great celerity, and no lesse hazard then hardiely, breaking through, he became Lord of his owne. But whatsoeuer were the Citizens demerits, pious it was, that their offences, and the Conquerours wrath, lay so heavy on thole ittelly walled, as to throw them flate to the ground, which haily doome, (it being the *cradle* of his birth and City of his chiefe delight,) hee so hally (and very deely too) repented, when with excessive expenies hee encircled it againe with a beaustie farre beyond the former. These farre successes, humbling all the Countrey before him, cleared his passage into *Peris*, whether King Philip was now concurring all his power to oppose himselfe against the violence of this Torrent: which now more easily hee might stoppe, hauing in his way by laying secret ambuscades, laid hands upon Duke Guido, *Savoy*, and *Amurice*, King Johns principall hopes, as they were busily advancing his present affaires: by which surprize, though the *English* forces musing their *Princemals* aids, were greatly impaired, yet their great hearts were not much amited, as the Frenchmen found, when both the *Armies* nere approaching over night, the next morning alacrily they addressed to the fight, and with great furie on each side expected the Signall. Notwithstanding the day likely to prove dreadfull with expence of blood, yet earnest interceeding of forraigne Prelates and religious persons, who undertooke equally to compose all things, both Kinges condescended to a two yeeres Truce, King John chiefly out of affection to his Captive friends, whose liberty was formeist in the conditions.

(11) Having thus seduced those Countreies in farre better termes then last hee found them, hee embarked for England, where hee laid not aside a carefull (though difficultfull) providence, for still bettering those his successes: for which ends, whilst from his Subjects both Lay and Clergy hee gathered money, the *Strawes of warre* hee lost their affections, the *seeds of Peace* whereof Geoffrey Archbishoppe of Turke (his *Natural* and vancarell brother) was a principal incense, who solemnly cursing all the Kinges receivers within his Prouince, fled secretly out of the land. Which periclit, a hater enemy of K. John, yet bitterly teaching, the *English* Bishops were faine from that distastfull offence towards their Sovereigne, which the French Bishops performed to theirs, at whose command they maintained Souldiers in his warres against King John, acknowledging they were so bound to doe, as often as the King pursued the warres in person, though now altho they did it, where hee was not in person. And indeed how hollow-hearted to the State thole money-marmarers were, their owne friend hebetatech, shewing, how with curses they wished, and prayed to God, that these exactions might neuer have any good success, though they knew it was purposefull for preterring a maine part of the Kingdome. A disloyalty the more vnprofitable by the King, knowing that but a very little before the Popes Legate, *Jo. Florentinus*, nick-named *Florentinus*, for bearing a

way so much money, had gathered of the Clergy a huge masse of money which hee clost hee conveyed to Rome. Yet all these domesticke grudges abated not the Kings due care, nor yet his good hopes, which were soon after much augmented by the encouragements of *Other Imperial* presence, who in person arriving here in England, to profit for his owne and his vncles warres, was with great voyes met by the King, and conducted through London by night, where all the City was strewn in her glory, & all the streets adorned with richly beangry, beangry all along with the lustre of pendant Crowns, and burning Lampes: who after some dayes of royall entertainements, hence departed not vnfurnished with helpes to defray his warres.

(12) Whiles King John is thus busied about his open hostilities, Pope Innocentius is plotting his secret Stratagemes against him at Rome: where, like unto that *other old Roman*, who, being chosen *Emper* touching some march-lands betwix two neighbour Nations, vnpartiall to either, adjudged it from them both to the *Roman* State: so hee now, being *Arbitrator* betwix the King, Bishops, & Abbes, concerning their choice, hee means to defeat them all, and adjudge the right of disposing thereof to his *Romish* see. Therefore at the fore-limited day of hearing, his first care was, that the Bishops shoulde for ever should be sealed up, (notwithstanding their allegations of Law, Reason, Decree, and Practice,) fro intermeddling in choice of their own *Primate*. Will you heare the maine reason? because himselfe, and some other would haue it so. Which definition sentence being read to the Prelates into England, it was thought a point of prudence alse, to prepare the King and write him plain before hand, to entertaine that which was to follow: which must be done by amiable lines, and gestures, whereas he knew the King was much delighted. His Present being a gold Ring, with foure precious stones, an *Emerald*, *Sapphire*, *Ruby*, & *Topase*, hee so vainly & childishly (though ignorance enlile it eloquent) cele breath in his *Epistle*, for their number, forme, and colour, that no man will question whether it were dictated with an Apostolicall Spirit. The Rings *Romish* must remember the King of *Eternity*, the *Round* as number of *Confessy* and of the foure Cardinal vertues, *Justice*, *Fortitude*, *Prudence*, *Temperance*; the Golds price, of *Wisdom*; the *Emerald* greenesse, of *Faith*; the *Sapphire* brightnesse, of *Hop*; the Rubies readinesse, of *Charity*; the *Topases* clearenesse, of *operative Sanctitie* &c. Which, though toys, were yet accepted as pledges of love for a while, till at last, the King finding by the sequels, they were but baits to beguile him, esteemed the Popes Gold as *asie*, his travels as a *lewd* frander, and his love as *well* returned baite. For shortly after came to his notice, the most indignouse intine, which the Pope meant to obtrude upon him and his Kingdome, bawing not onely bawed both *Reynard* and *Gray* out of their holdes, but also imposed upon him, for the chiefe place and managing of his State, one whom hee reputed a chiefe and dangerous Enemy to himselfe and it: which thus was seitch about.

(13) The Monkes freed from the Bishops Impugning, were thoe now in the strife amongst themselves; the one side against *Reynard* election urged, it wanted *Royal* assent, the greater and sounder part of Electors, due solemnities, due time: the other against *Norman*, that no second election could be valid, unless the former were first annulled. Both their Reasones pleased well the Pope: who (as preposited Iudges often vie) made them of great diligence in pondering the *Flouding*, whereas himselfe long before had resolved on his Sentence, which was, that by *Apostolicall* definition alone, neither of the Elects should ever be capable of their See. So great rubbes hath the Pope with so little breath blowne out of his way. The man whose advancement, at this while hee had aimed at, was now commended to

1. *Chr. viij.*
2. *Mat. xxv. 15.*

3. *Ibid.*

The Emperours countenance,

The Popes be-
liewing of
strong towards
King John.
2. *John* inter-
tains, & *Pro-*
prietor,
3. *Chr. viij. 15.*

4. *He* delivery of
most care, &c.
5. *Chr. viij.*

6. *Chr. viij. 15.*

7. *Dated 15. Cal.*
8. *10. Feb.*

9. *Chr. viij. 15.*

The Popes pre-
sent and letter to
King John.

10. *John* *John* in
11. *Chr. viij. 15.*
12. *Chr. viij. 15.*

13. *Chr. viij. 15.*

14. *Chr. viij. 15.*

15. *Chr. viij. 15.*

16. *Chr. viij. 15.*

them, who must be there presently chosen for their *Primate, Stephen de Langton*, a Cardinal, English by birth, ¹ French by education and affection, one of so transcendent power in the *Roman Court*, that the Pope was thought not for love, but for envy, (as being himself eclipsed by his nearness) to have wished his service in Rome remoter dignity. But the Monks ill at ease with what was done already, and very tremulous to ensue matter of new intrications, all agreed again all further courses, that ² no Canonical Election could be there made, they having consent neither of King nor Council, at which word the Pope snapping them up, had them know, that ³ he had there plenitude of power over the Church of Canterbury; and besides, that no consent of Princes ought to be expected in Election celebrated where the Pope was: hee therefore charged them under paine of his high curse, (a terrible bug-bear in those daies) there presently to choose him for their Primate, whom himself thought good to nominate unto them. Thus trembling under the cracke of his Thunderbolt, they all ⁴ excepting one *Halan de Bransfield* (whose constancy shall perpetuate his memory, *Idol not for feare but for him*, though very cunningly, and with murmurs: whole ⁵ Consecration followed by the Popes owne bandes at *Yorkshire*, and his earnest recommendation by the Popes ⁶ flattering letters, to the Kings favourable acceptance. And this was the valedictory beginning of those new miseries which brought the King to his ending, and his Kingdom to un-reportable calamities, all which, little did his Holiness or his Charitable reckoning of so his desperate *Poles* might take effect. Yet not vnderly fell those judgements on many Princes of those times, who neglecting the domesticke execution of *Supreme justice*, suffered their Subjects, at so high a rate both of expence and travel, to buy such arbitrary and dangerous formes of a foraine, and fallily-named Justice.

(33) Two very presumptuous *Lanes* hath one observed to have bene first hatched by this lawlesse Pope, the one occasioned by King John and Philip for met first, that Princes delinquent must be liable to correction from the Pope; the other, upon the choice of the Emperor, that where in elections votes are equal, or concur wanting, the Pope may gratify whom hee please: unto which we now may add a third no less dangerous & insolent, that the Pope may strike up Elections, both where and of whom, and with, and without what ought himself. Which lewd obtrusion, that it gallicked the King to the quicke, wee need not marvaile, if wee balance in one scale, the Popes meere will and pleasure in the other, the dishonour to the King (thus to be tried out of that, which so vehemently, and with his owne presence hee took care to see effected) the preiudice to his *Crowne*, to be defeated of *Sovereignty* against the hazard to the State, to have his *Empery* (as *Philippe*, and French favourite) the *classe* man over his English-besides wrongs more particular; as both the disgrace to his best-servicing *Crownsmen*, the dishonour of the Monks, first, to choose without his licence, then to mocke him with a second choice, next, to beguile him with *athe*, after to trauaile upon his excessive charge, and lastly to doe, and vnder all, with their *peruase*. With all which so farre the Kings patience suffered, that hee beganne on them to dilige his wrath, who with him beganne their affronts in prohibiting first all those Monks as *Traitors*, and afterward writing ⁷ his letters to the Pope, with relation of those ⁸ great wrongs to himselfe, and exceptions to ⁹ Langton; vowing immutably to stand for his own ¹⁰ Election, and to die in defence of the Liberties of his ¹¹ Crowne; putting the Pope in mind, that Rome reaps more paine from England, then from all the Trans-Alpine Regions; threatening also, if he were now crossed in this, bee would stoppe all from crossing the Seas to Rome, nor would any longer emendate their foraine Justice, such ¹² his owne Kingdom, so abounded with Bishops

and learned men of most accomplished perfection ¹³ in all professions.

(39) If, when this Kings Father vttered some such threats to *Gracian* the Popes vassall, hee then replied ¹⁴ *See doe not threaten us, for wee feare no men, because wee are off a Court as off to be more impious our Emperor and Kings*, (which is a remarkable *Apologues*, ¹⁵ *Baronius* lets forth in greater letters) ¹⁶ we may then gasse, how this great Lord of that Court did himselfe brooke such trait faluations. Nay the effects betwixt it: when in his sublimed ¹⁷ Reply, hee sets the King for comminatory ¹⁸ *abrogating*, and *contumacious* *departer*; and threatens him, that if he do not, by referring himselfe wholly to his good pleasure, to *deserve his Grace*, hee should plunge into those difficulties, ¹⁹ whence hee should hardly euer get forth; intimating, that himselfe (being *conuictly* *viceroy*) to ²⁰ him, unto whom euer kee in *Heaven*, *Earth*, & ²¹ *Hell* must bow; mult in the end hee haue the ²² upper hand; and that to resist him is to oppugne ²³ God himselfe and his Church, for which glorious ²⁴ *Becket* spilt his blood. These were indeed bloody words; to affright the King with expectation of more such blowes, and bloody stripes from Rome, as had lighted on his Father. And hee threatened no more then hee acted; for thereupon, hee sent his doubled *Apollonical* command, the one general to all the Prelates, for submitting and adhering resolutely to *Langton*, the other, to some particular *Bishops*, for ²⁵ consenting the King, and *interdicting* his whole Kingdom, if him they found still *continuously* *rebeling*. Neither was hee more insolent in the command, then they in the execution, whereby (on a day all suing to *vestralize* an Action) this flourishing Church (though the King had sworn their *humblyment*, and *consolation* if they did it) was deprived of the very face of *Christianity* for many ensuing yeeres; if, not *Innocentius* *Christi* *Pater*, but *Isidore* his professed Enemy, had *mured* up the *doores* of the *Christians* *Temples* for despite of their God.

(40) But this High-Priest had forgotten what another taught him, and ²⁶ hee himselfe sometimes thought, about interdicting France for their Kings offence; that better it was *not* should suffer then a whole Nation perish: whereas now for the Kings only crossing the Popes good pleasure, God is censured to loose a worshipping, and all the People to hazard their foules, ²⁷ having almost like *Infidels*, without Gods service and blessed Sacrament, yet and dying ²⁸ like *dogs* *rumbled* into euerie ditch. But what? did such wofull effects fall onely on the Layty? The Clergy bare their part too; whom the flames of the Kings iustly incensed wrath did soorch, that his Dominions were too hot for their abode: for their ²⁹ persons hee procribed and sent packing to the Pope, their reueneues, hee confiscated, their *Bishops*, *Abbeys* and *Priories* hee deputed to *Laymen* custody: their women (for such as had not wives, had *Leimans*) were *dearly* *ransomed*; and euer where they suffered wrongs without ordinary protection of Justice. Whereof, though our vulgar perfunctory Writers produce no other reason, but the only overflowing of the Kings gall, as if first stirred by some few delinquent Bishops, through furious reuenge is oot-welcomed the whole Clergy; yet indeed these were but the due chastisements of their generally disloyall hearts. As (to instance) when the King sent his mandate to S. Albans, that *not* regarding the Popes command in the *Interdict*, they should continue the celebration of Gods service; the Abbot calling his Monks into the Chapter-house, persuaded them to obey God rather then Man (meaning the Pope rather then the King, and to *bare* *rebellion* to the Kings anger, ³⁰ whom God in due time would bring to an end. What marvaile then, if the Clergy carried so generally with this flame of a foraine viceroy power, against Gods service, and their *Sovereigns* god-

1. *Apollon*, *Mat. Par.*
2. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
3. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
4. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

5. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

6. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
7. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
8. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

9. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

10. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
11. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
12. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

13. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
14. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
15. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

16. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
17. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
18. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

19. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
20. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
21. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
22. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

23. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
24. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
25. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

26. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
27. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
28. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

29. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
30. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

31. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

32. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

33. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

34. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
35. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

36. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
37. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

38. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
39. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
40. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

41. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

42. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
43. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
44. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

45. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
46. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
47. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

48. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

49. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
50. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

51. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
52. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
53. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

54. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
55. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*
56. *Idol*, *Mat. Par.*

godly desire and due authority, were likewise generally inrolled in that reward of their fidelity. And yet, even in the Clergy, many of eminence detested their cruel and unreligious courses of the Pope; Philip the Bishop of Durham, and his Successor, with the Bishops of Norwich and Winchester, heartened the King to condemn the Papal curse; the *Christianity Abbot (neglecting the Interdict) continued their divine celebrations, till the Pope suspended them for their contempt; Alexander an Abbot of the Benedictines, a Duke of *exquisite learning published in his Sermons, that their *profane calamities were no reproach to their Sovereigns proceeding, but due rewards of the Subjects' heinous trespasses, because kings ought to govern, and strongly rebuke all disobedient Subjects in themselves; but as for Popes they ought not to intermeddle in the civil affairs, and reprimand any Princes over their faults, seeing Peter himself received no power, but only in matters appertaining to the Church.* And though the *Pope were revenged on him for his plain truth, and some Monkish humors have aspersed other such men with bitter reproaches, yet what may be thought both of these the Popes courtesies, & of such his opposers, a late Jesuite (no partial man to Princes) likewise saying, that many, and godly wise men at that time wrote, that Pope Innocentius had not stood so hard with King John in such a point as this was, for contending him with a person grateful unto him in that See. And no marvel they so wished, seeing that was the ground cause of such infinite confusions, factions, and wrongs, hurrying so indignely the Prince, Peeres, Clergy & Commons; the very contemplation whereof to all godly wise men must needs be galling and full: yet wellware those Anachemizing Bishops, the Instruments of all these evils, who patiently endured under the name of Exile, to live the while abroad in all varieties of delights.

(41) Such perplexities in the People could not but breed as great hatred and hazards to the King; who therefore to prevent the issue of such discontentments, (which though causeless, yet kindling in the multitude prove often unpardonable) hee required of his Nobles new Oaths of allegiance, pledges of such as hee most suspected, and homage of all Freeholders, even of twelve years old, whom he dismissed with a kiss of peace. Not doubting also the Popes further intent to abuse his Subjects from their due allegiance, hee gathered about him (by *example of his Father Henry on the like ground) a mighty Armie for all occasions. The terror whereof hee first displayed in the North, offended (saith one) with *William King of Scotland, for marrying his daughter to the Earle of Balliol; for receiving (saith another) Fugitives and enemies of his State; for throwing down (saith a third) a Castle built by King John against *Barwick: but whatsoever were the breach, the cloze was amiable, each accompanying other to York, where King William's two daughters were promised to King John two sonnes, and delivered as pledges of vnited love, with a gift of nine thousand marks. The dread of this his power so glyded out of the North into the West, that vpon his returne, the Princes of Wales, and others rich & poor came to him at Winchester (the like thing neuer heard of before) to doe him homage. But all these lunkes of allegiance were soone crackt by another thunder-clap (from Rome) of Anathemas on the King by Name, with strict injunction for all men to abandon his presence; which sentence being sent to bee divulged by the Bishops and Prelates in England, all of them for feare or favour of the King, were content to neglect the Popes command, and let the Apostolike practise escape without execution. The same yet thereof was in all mens mouths, but came forth (as seemeth) to the Kings Eares, by a friend of his owne Exchequer. Geoffrey Arch-Deacon of Norwich, who secretly perswading his fellow-officers, that they were bound in conscience to relieving the Kings ser-

vise, gave them example himselfe by leasuing his duty and charge; for which hore-braine trickes, hee was put in a Ciole of lead, the weight whereof (as a punishment of his leuitie) soone halloed his end in prison: but the greater and wiser sort, both of Nobles and others, continued their due attendance on their Sovereigns Courts and person, without regard of the censure.

(42) Those Romish furies thus infesting all at home, gave also courage & opportunity to ill-affected others further offense, of which in Ireland hauing furnished long of the Kings indulgence or absence, he beganne now to play the Kings himselfe. The whole spirit of this Prince in his tender yeeres made choice (on bonded knes to his Father, in presence of Heraclius Patriarche of Ierusalem) rather in devotion to conduct an Army against the Turks, then in ambition to take possession of that goodly Kingdome. But being now possided thereof, and intending (by a kind of compensation for his losses in France) to annex and assure that Kingdome to the English Crowne, hee resolves with a powerfull Army to quell the distublers, and reforme the disorders, of his fitt and long vnusued charge. Whole approach lacke fame and dread did forecurre, that more then twenty Fety Kings of that nation hastened to Dublin, there to honour his *arrivall with their submissive attendance, homage and oath of allegiance; others, eyther vpon confidence of their good holds, or diffidence for their ill desertes, flying his presence, and some of them, the Countrey. The two Lanes (whose only praye was, that they were the sonnes of a nobly-deserving Father) hauing bene through ambition of Sovereignty, the fountain of dangerous garboyles, (as tyrannizing over the Commons, and making away such of the Nobles, as stood eyther in their light, or in the Kings fauour) fled into France, where they liued in *an Abbey as poore Gardiners, vntill the Abbot desiring by their deportment some state above their habite, vpon promise of humility reconciled them to the King. The Lord William de Breuse, (a Baron lately of great command and wealth in the Marches of Wales) shewed not the like penitence, nor found the like grace, who, vpon a refusal to deliver his sonne as a pledge of his fidelity, spedde into Ireland to flie the Kings wrath, and now, to avoid his pursuit, fledde also into France, then the common Scauerie of all trayterous fugitives; but *sharp reuenge ouertook both his sonne and his Lady (taken in a strong Castle of Wales) whose virulent and rayling tongue had more exasperated the fury of the King (whom there immediately reuiled as a Tyrant and Murderrer) then could be pacified by her strange present: (four hundred Kine, and one Bull, all milke-white, except onlie the eares, which were redde,) sent vnto the Queene.

(43) But *Catalus, the vnquiet King of Connaught, trusting to his owne Forces, King John captured by strong pursuit: *and after all carried him captiue in triumph, impsoned the English Fugitives, took pledges both of English and Irish Inhabitants, punished by death malefactors, turbulent persons by ranimes, established all their Lawes, Canons, and Officers to the English forme, and departed (which was worth all) a wife, stout and vpright *Gouernour ouer them, the Bishoppe of Norwich, Langston competitor: thus seding on that barbarous land so noble and ordered a face of gouernement, as was the stay thereof in those tumultuous times, and a patterne euen to more peacefull ages to imitate. By which both glorious and *speedy conquest and reformation, hee better merited that Style of *Ireland Lord*, then when it was confirmed to him by a Crowne of Peacocks feathers from the Pope, at what time (long before) hee inioyned it by his Fathers gift, as his *Brad-Scale* (here not vnfitte to bee annexed) will them.

*Max. Parf.
Gibson's Catalogue
of MSS. in the
lib. in 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*Raleus.

*Literature
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*He was deposed
of his dignity
and thence.

*Persons against
King John.

*Parf. Oms.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*Max. Parf.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*Parf. Oms.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
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*Supra in B. 3.

*Tristram MS.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*Hollis. B. 3. 13.

*Hollis. B. 3. 13.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

The King was
communicated
by name.

*Reg. de Wynd.
MS.

*Parf. Oms.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*And Pimble,
p. 100.

*P. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

The King's
State of
Ireland.

*Oxford in
Proc. ad Reg. Lib.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*Parf. Oms.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*Writ. de Reg.
p. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*T. 100.

*W. 100.

*W. 100.

*W. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*W. 100.

*Old Chron. of
Flanders. 100.

*W. 100.

*W. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*W. 100.

*W. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

*W. 100. 4th.
vol. 35.
p. 468. 27. 46.

This Seal is a
Carter granted
to Dub's Iohn
Iohn was King.



An. 1211.
King Iohn Subdu-
ed Wales.

"490000, when
they returned
their possessions
from Laysmen
catholick Iohn, &
Alphon, M.
d. King of Cam-
bria.

e. 1210.

f. 1211. m.
M.

g. 1211. m.
M.

h. 1211. m.
M.

i. 1211. m.
M.

k. 1211. m.
M.

l. English Chron.
M. compared
with Paris his
manuscript. M.

m. 1211. m.
M.

The Kings office
revised.

n. English Chron.
M.

o. 1211. m.
M.

(44) The *Ranckes* of King Iohns estate, were not unlike to those in *Gravel* ill-neighbourd with an encroaching Sea, where before one breach is well made vp, another no lesse dangerous is laid open; which endles turmoils kept his *body* still in Action, his *Minde* in passions, and his *Prowesse* in vire. The vast expences of his *Irish* expedition were no sooner repayed; by a *great* tax charged on all the *Commonall* houses; but *Leys* Prince of North-Wales, with his great spoils on the *English* Marchers, made new matter of charge and exploit for the Kings *ha*ving, to prevent deuicence, caused his *Wallaces* to conuey all their cattell and better substance to the scarce-accessible refuges of *Swynburne* Hill. These difficulties much more whetted and excited the Kings resolution; neither had the vntual power of the Popes fulmination as yet so blasted his good fortunes, but that hence also hee *re*turned in great *Triumph*, as *Conquerour* of all Wales, where, with wonderful celerity and valour, hee *subdued* all their Princes and Chieffes, whom hee received upon *Oath* homage, and hostages, with an absolute *grauant* of all their *inland* unto the King for ever. Notwithstanding, perceiving that *very* many slipped away for dead (at least for colour) of the Popes curse, from those his martiall and other civil seruices; (though *he* not pishd by fine all such Resolutions) whereby his person could neuer bee free from danger, nor his State from trouble; hee resolued (seeing the Pope inflexible, & vnconuenient of so many Christians calamitie) at length to recusat from his vowed businesse against the Popes Elect, in hope so to settle his owne and his Subiects tranquillity, though with vnusufferable indignity to himselfe. In his *re*turne from Wales, two Nunnes from the Pope, *Ran*dyth a *subdeacon*, and *Duranda* a Knight *Templar*, mette him at *Northampton*; to make the attournment; *wh*ereto he was so propense, that hee accorded to *assure* vnder his Seale, that *Archbishoppe* *Langton* with the *Bisshoppes*, *Monkes*, and others, should be *restored* both to his *honour*, and to their *possessions*; that, *holy* Church should haue all the *Franchises* as in *Edward* the Confe'ssors time; that hee would *never* take any thing of *holy* Church against the *owners* will; but, because hee *would* not also make *full satisfaction* for all confiscations, and other emoluments receiued of the Clergie, (nay, hee could not haue expended all his treasure in his continuall warres,) the *Clergie* and their *Factori* (the Legates) more prizing their priuate gaine, then the weale publike of their Native Country, contemned the sweet proffer of peace, & exposed all to the bane of a reuengeful mentation. For hereupon they did not only *denounce* the curse upon the King by name (which the Prelates before durst not doe) and upon all other who conuersed with him; but, as if hee had most *continuously* con-

demned *quietnesse*, by their relations they incensed the Pope (too proude of himselfe to let forth his owne greatness) to put on him a faire more indignous wrong and contumely then *Interdiction*, by *absolving* all Kings and People, poore and rich, hauing dependance on him, from all Fealty and Subiection to him.

(45) This being the third steppe, whereby both the Pope ascended to the height of his *flurped* power, and mercilesse *revenge*, and the Subiects daylie descended from their loyal obsequence, made king Iohn more circumspect to strengthen himselfe, both with an Army no lesse faithfull then powerfull, & also with the loue of his Neighbour-Princes. King *William* of Scotland, *at* this time infested with a dangerous rebellion, (stirred vp within his Kingdom by one *Guthred*, *laying* elisme, vnder color of some antiquated title, to his *Crown*) bring himselfe infirme with age, lent his sonne *Prince Alexander* into *England*, to craue assistance of King *Iohn*, who (by his owne princely looe and readinesse, to demerite theirs) resoluing with his Army in person to challenge the disturbers of his trusty Confederate, before his setting forth, did on the Table in a *solemn* feast, (which hee kept in the *Hospital* of *Clerkenwell*: adorned *Prince Alexander* with the belt & Order of *Knight-hood*; and *afterward* with his host vanquishing the *Rebels*, aduanced their *Chiefe-leader* farre higher then his owne *Ambition* expected, and left that Kingdome in a letted peace. But whiles hee thus kindly careful in suppression of anothers Rebells, his owne at home are as vnkindly vigilant to vndermine his State; the Popes *Absolution*, like magick spells, hauing let loose many insinuating Spirits, which will not easily be laid again. For the *Chiefe* among the *Wallaces*, whom neither breach of their *Oathes*, nor losse of their noble hostages, (which loone after perished for their parents finnes) could deterre, suddenly fell off from the King, and fell on his Subiects with *much* slaughter of men, burning of *Townes*, and surprisall of *Castles*: whereof, whiles the King meaning to take sharpe reuenge, was on his way at *Nottingham* with an vnresistible Armie, letters of great speed and secrecie were deliuered to him; as hee late at meat; from his faithfull and gratefull friend the *Scottish* King, & instantlly others from his daughter *Iuan*, *Princess* *Leys*bur, Lady, both giuing him intelligence of imminent Treasons *plotted* by sundry of his *Peeres*, who meant either to murder him, or betray him to the *barberie* of his *foes*. Which dreadfull notices from so true-harted Informers, could not yet affright his manlie heart, till comming to *Chesler*, hee there vnderstood by sundry other Intelligencers, that his *Nobles* held themselves quite discharged from his allegiance; and knowing that they wanting fidelity hee

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lores the king
people from al-
legiance.
p. 100. m. 1211.

An. 1211.

* Paris Chron.
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himself could not but want security, hee dismissed his host, took hostages of his Barons, pursued the detected Conspirators, and * the three principal of them flying the land, hee profecuted their persons, demolished their Castles, and confiscated their possessions. But many of as vile and virulent affections they left behind them, as that * traitorous A.D. of those Nobles hereafter, who sent to Philip of France their sealed Charter, promising to settle on his head the Crown of England, if hee would come to recover it. And that the minds of the vulgar should not be vnpossessed with like expectation of *John* va-crowning, the prophesies of * *Heremias* (a *wise*) (foretelling, that on the day of *Asen* King *John* should be no King) were huzzed into their eares. Whether by God inspiring, or the *Dravellers*, these were revealed, a some doe doubt; but hee that considers the quotidian impostures of these times, and the secret machinations of the Pope, the French King, and the English Barons, all for diuer ends, complotting against King *John*, will easily perceive both what vie there was of isboring such a Prophet, to deteare the popular mayne, from sticking to the King, and to beguile their credulity, as if the thing were to be done, by Gods fore-appointment, and ordinance, and also * that his punishment by death as a Traiterous Impostor, was no other then hee deserved.

(46) Neither is the Popes reuenge thus appeased, how higher greeces yet remaine, on which his Greatnesse, and greatness of his holy rage must display it selfe: the vnderprovs whereof (a thing almost incredible) were not onely Englishmen, but English Bishops also. For *Stephen Langton* with the B.B. of *London* and *Ely* (thirsting after reuenge though with the destruction of their Country, & blood-shed of innumerable their Compatriots) going to Rome with complaints on the King, * made humble supplications to the Lord Pope, that hee would condescend in a touch of pious compassion, to support the English Church, being at the point of ruine. At whole earnest supplication, the tender-hearted Pope (griuously lamenting the desolation of the Kingdom of England,) decreed by solemn sentence: That King *John* should be deposed from his Kingdom, and that the Pope should provide some other, who should be deemed worthy to succeed. To effectuate the former clause, Innocentius eagerly pursued the latter, sending speedy letters to (whom but King *John* most mortall enemy) Philip King of France, * requiring him to undertake the labour of the detroning King *John*, with no lesse reward then garden for all his fat, and enjoying of the English Crowne to him, and his heires for ever. A goodly large patent both for a spiritual and temporal Kingdom, which (more like *Mars* his Priest, then *Christ* Vazar) hee means to keele, with a deluge of Christians blood. For use thus yet faciated, hee transmits his Letters general: * To all Prelates, Souldiers, men of warre of all nations, to fight themselves with the Crosse, and to follow their Captaine Philip for the deiection of King *John*, assuring all that their assistance (whether in Person or Contribution) shall be no lesse meritorious, then if they visited our Saviours Sepulchre. That this Pope vnder colour of such Crusades, did formerly cloake his own Avarice, his * owne Monkes avarice; but here hee clothes themselves both his Pride, and a far more savage vice, the thirst, not of mens gold but of their blood. In which seruice with King *Philip*, hee vied the same English Prelates for his Negotiators, where before his Souldiers therewith, with whom also he sent his Factor *Pandolph*, * going him to private, secret instructions how to manage every particular of the whole designe, in the most beleeve of the holy See.

(47) The French King likewise receiving * from the Archbishoppe and his Alldomies (in a * council) the Apostolicke sentence, was very apprehensive of that employment, where to no more than the Papall command as his * owne ancient malignity, and the Eng-

lish Barons traitorous requests, had prepared him; both which hee was unwilling to make with the *specious* pretext of iustice and deuotion. Vnder which colours hee had * speedily marshalled an immense Army at *Rouen*, & drew a mighty Navy richly furnished to the mouth of *Sygn*, * altho Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Countsaides being summoned, to the exploit vnder paues his Treason and desertion, who theretofore both in feare & hope of spoile came flocking without number.

(48) A preparation of so great importance, that all Christendom tooke notice of, could not long be hidden from King *John*; whole care, by reason of his now doubled opposition (forraign & domestick) could be no lesse for his owne and his Kingdoms safety, then was his Enuemies for unpunishing both. Wherefore his Summons being * sent to all his officers both for Sea and land, for speedy furnishing both of a Navy, & an Army, equall to encounter so powerful an Invasion, such a innumerable multitudes swarmed to Dover and other harbours for landing, that the Chiefe-leaders for want of provision, dismissing the rest, * encamped at *Barham Downe*, men with 60000. choice, valiant, and well appointed men, who, if they had carried all one mind, and true eye (from towards their King, and safeguard of their Country, there breathed not any Prince vnder heaven, whose assault England had not beene able to repell. And being no worke appointed for a Sea-fight, his intent was to grapple first with the French Fleet, * making no doubt of sinking them all: so fierce and confident was he in expectation of all invaders. In which braue address, whilst both shores of the Sea are thus belaid with both those Kings puissant Armies, the one waiting for the Enemy, the other for faire windes and more forces, behold *Pandolph* (the Popes Pragmaticke) having first desired leave conduct of King *John*, arrives at Dover, to put in execution those * secret instructions which his Lord (who made his advantage of the *Fauour*, as well as of the *Lunar*) * had expressly prohibited. He there vnfoldes to the King, the innumerable multitude both of King *Philip* Souldiers, and of his Souldiers Horse and Foote, all in readinesse to passe, and yet more expected to follow) to become him of his Kingdom by Apostolicke authority, and to enjoy it himselfe with his Heires for ever. That with him were also coming all the English Exiles, both Clergy and Lay, they, by his forces to repossesse their citates (maigne the king) and hee from them to receive allegiance, as from his sworn Subjects. That hee had the fealty of almost all the English Peeres obliged to him by their owne Charters; which made him distrustlesse of attayning easily his wished success: which calamities (the more valuerable, because imposed) by his insulting enemie, and his owne Subjects) he might yet evade and retaine his Crowne, which by Sentence hee had already lost, if presently hee would submit himselfe to the Churches judgement. Doubtlesse the frames whereinto the King saw himselfe planged, were very deuidious, so many deadly enemies abroad to assault him, so few trustie friends at home to guard him: which drove him into this sad cogitation * that those his perfidious Peeres would now with their followers abandon him in the field, or betray him over to the Sword of his Enuemies. Yet not vnlikely other motives also might forcibly perswade him to relent: the remembrance of the Emperour *Orto* whom this very Pope (not without foale blot of *Isidore* and *Leury*) had both eagerly advanced, and furiously disempyred; the boundlesse injuries of the Crusade promised against him, where with this Pope * vied to outflow, as with a mercuriall Ocean, all such Princes as withhood his will, which once broken in would euer end, but with the end and ruine of all. Thus thinking a better to yield to the time, with assurance both * of his Crowne, and of the *Papal* fauour, then desperacie to hazard Life, Crowne and all, to his immorall foes; hee redeemes his safety on such conditions, as

[Trent. 363.]

* Othob. 363.

* 7. 363.

King John's post-poned his appearance.

* 3. Mary. 363.

* 7. 363.

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Neither say and the Pope (both which have no law) listed to impose; and so presently swore to submit in all things to the judgement of the Church. By virtue of which false-breathing Oath, Pandulph afterwards exacteth his subscription to a *Forme of Peace* prescribed by the Pope, wherein King John, though with an unwilling eye, a bleeding heart, and weeping eyes, yet will he, will he, must acknowledge: that touching all things for which he was excommunicated, hee had absolutely sworn to stand to whatsoever the Pope should command. Secondly, that the Archbishops, Bishops and Monks, with all the rest of that sort, should (with satisfaction also for all damages) be restored both to their possessions and the Kings favour, so that they also would swear not to attempt any thing against the Kings Person and Crowne. Wherein we see that King John in swearing to obey the judgement of the Church, was concluded to have sworn performance of whatsoever the Pope commanded; and how great matters the Pope can command, King John, with much more bleeding and amending of spirit, shall quickly see and fee. For two dayes after (being the period of the Hermits prophetic) the King at the house of the *Hermites Templarii* Dames, by the Popes command in his preordination at Rome, taking off his Crowne from his head, surrendered it into the Popes hands by his Attorney Pandulphus (at whose feet hee also laid his Scepter, Robe, Sword and Ring, the Royall Ensignes;) subscribed also to another *Charter*, whereby hee resigned his Kingdomes to the Pope, professing hee did it neither for feare, nor force, but of his owne free will, and in the common Council of his Barons, as having no other way to make satisfaction to God and the Church for his offence, and that thenceforth hee would hold his Crowne as Feudary to the Pope, paying a pension annuall of 1000. Marks for both the Kingdoms of England & Ireland: whereupon doing homage and swearing fealty to the Pope, hee did withall deliver some money (as the earnest of his subscription) unto Pandulph, who throwing it to the ground, did thereupon trample with his feet, to manifest his Masters greatness. That these things were done in presence of some Peeres, who gave no consent thereto, appears by Henry Archbishop of Dublin (the very principall man in that Assembly) who bothwardly grieved thereof, and openly disclaimed and gainsayed it.

(49) The Pope formerly pretended he fought nothing more than Johns repentance, and he grieved at nothing so much as Englands defolation: but these his circumlocutions bewray he fought somewhat else, which bred both repentance and defolation to King John and his Successors long after. Which fact cannot be believly paralleled, then by another dolefull accident of the former year, * when a dreadfull fire in Southwark, consuming the Church & buildings neere London Bridge, suddenly (whiles numberles people flocke on the Bridge, either to bring succour or seeke safetie) the fire by a wind seized also on the higher end of the Bridge; wherewith multitudes thus encompassed on both sides, miserably perished; where at length some bringing their ladders to faine the rest, their crowde was so great, that the vessels sinking, more perished in the water, then by fire. King John, like those, was in the middle of two inevitable flames, on this side, his faithlesse Nobles, on that, his mercilesse foes; when the Pope thus proffering him *S. Peters seat*, for a safeguard fro both, drencht him into as great misery, certainly greater ignominy then both the other. Wherin yet the Pope doth not want his share and shame; amongst his owne favourites, some accusing that his prescribed Charter, was lamentable and detestable; some, denying it was of the Popes procuring, but that King John had long before made a *vow of donation*, that if God letted him in those Kingdomes he would dedicate them both, and make them tributary to the See Apostolicke. But some other (great pillars of the Papacy) stepping further, * aucto it to be utterly untrue, that King John did make his Realmes thus tribu-

tary to the Pope; or that ever such persons were paid to Rome; or * if hee so did, or any other English King should so do, such an Act to bee of no validity at all; or if it were of any force, it ought only to be on King John, who first offered, and not on any his Successors. Doubtles, if the Popes word had power to cut off King Johns regality for any offence, his Crowne was to have descended to the next Heire (whether Henry his sonne, or Eleanor Arthurs sister, then alive) who, as they were not guilty of the fault, so neither consenting to the reneigement. Some therefore have imagined, that * such Instruments might happily then be misused and abused, and yet not contrived, though the copies stand recorded; but whatsoever were then done, that the Pope himselfe (not onely those his friends) were thereof ashamed will hereafter appeare.

(50) Whiles Pandulph in this chaffering about the Crowne for his Master the Pope, Philip in fitting his head to wear it, and was now setting forth his Navy to winne it, for himselfe; which made the Legate (hausing after five dayes leyne) redoubled the Crowne, but * not yet released the Confuses, till conditions were performed) to haire into France, carrying with him eight thousand pound, as part of restitution to the exiled Bishops; where comming to King Philip, hee desired him to dismise his host, & enterprise against King John, as being now an absolved and reconciled Sinner to the Church. But Philip who was of the Popes mind, not caring for Johns repentance, but for his Kingdom, which now hee lost before hee had gotten it, * fretting exceedingly to see himselfe not onely set vp for a litle, and made to the world as object of feite, by the Sinneres gainefull collations, but also by the * Popes more intemperate plunging into ex-cercise a damage, (hausing yet, beside his great trouble in this preparation, 60000. Crowns, wherewith hee purchased nought but Jeffries released, and professed, that fitt the Pope himselfe, had so farre thrust him on, his Legates sue rescript (two nor his threats of excommunication) should not draw him backe from his intended course. In which resolution calling his Peeres and Nobles into a consultation at Saumur, all the rest approving the course, Ferdinand Earle of Flanders (part of whose Country Philip by force detained) told him tartly, that as the attempt was both vain, and impossible, so it was fier, every mans right should at home be restored, and justice embraced, before they attempted to teach duties of piety to others abroad. And, that hee ought rather to thinke of making restitution to King John of those transmarine Countries, which hee withheld unrightly, then of invading his Realm, where hee had no right at all. With which unexpected reclamation, the chiefe Peeres beganne to waver, & Philip enraged, bidding him defiance, forbade him his Court. The like rough vage (not a long before) hee found * Reginald the most valiant Earle of Balliol (though his daughter was married to Philip younger sonne,) whom the French King perceiving to with well to King John, * drove him unrightly out of his Earldome; but King John, receiving him with honourable compenlation of * sayre recompense in England, held both with him and Earle Ferdinand, a sure (though secret) confederacy: So that now Philip rage, and feare to hazard his owne Crowne, if seeking anothers, hee should leave so neere an Enemy at his backe, diuers the course of his Ambition into the streame of his Revenge, and resolving first to subdue the Earle, (after which success hee might more safely prepare into England, hee commands his mighty prepared Navy to set forth from the mouth of Some towards Flanders, where himselfe with his Forces (meaning to subdue the country in their way) would meet them by land. Whereof King John having speedy intelligence from the Earle (who knowing his meanes too slender to beare off the Kinges so long prepared power, desired his present aide) without delay dispatched his * Fleet, to pursue them who intended to pursue him, under the conduct of

Comptrol. info. Ireland. L. 4. g. 3. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1.

Edmond Comptrol. info. Ireland. L. 4. g. 3.

P. de Melin in Phil. 2. in preface. c. 21.

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* In his Rescript. P. de Melin. in preface. c. 21. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1.

* Prior of Croy. in preface. c. 21. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1. See T. More. in Reg. Hen. 3. c. 1.

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341.

to Arm. Gen.
Maj. Gen.
Trent. MS.

c. Parry, 1881, MS.

King's College, Wash-
ington to assist
the writer upon
Fertile,
d. Trans. 2014,
P. 100, 2015,
a. 100, 2015,
a. 100, 2015,
a. 100, 2015.

Paris, 1871.

2. *Paraf. 10. major.*

Fertile troubles ended, says effect

in Windsor, MS.
Farm:

1791. 7700000, 1791.

100

100

* *Apud* Thompson,

Archibishop
Lange as archbishop

in 1944.

The King abdicated from the throne.

1999

o. Delat. Part 4
De Jure.

A general rule is
imposed on the

three brave generals, his brother William Earle of Salisbury, William Duke of Holland, and Reginald Earle of Bologne; & who with happy gages surprizing the French Navy at the port of Damme, (whiles most of the French Sailors were on land, disposing the Earle's Countrymen on them all) three hundred of which shippers, laden with provision, Armes, and other costly traught (for whatsoever the King and he had not been held captive was there.) they sent for England (whether at first they were bound) and above one hundred other they burnt, or funke for France.

(11) This Naval victory produced effects in the two Kings so opposite as were their affections; the one, with *ampleness of his irreparable loss and ignominy*, hailing back into France, to prevent further danger; and the other (joyful of his own success and his confederates) diminishing his power, as figure of any French attempts in haste. Wherefore now, with full purpose to find him work at home, who so busily sought it abroad, he forthwith sent (with large rewards to his *Flourisher Army*) instructions also to the Earles, how to infest Philip on the side of France, whilst himself entering *Padua*, would the like on the contrary side, and Ordo the Emperor on a third part. A dangerous plot and league, if the issue had been answerable to the designs. For prosecution whereof, King John attending at *Paris* with a noble Army, in hope now that all true English, would gladly embrace so fair an opportunity, to reconquer their hereditary Provinces from the false French, his *Barons* ceasing themselves in procuring his vantage, and reflecting that his foray vexations being thus passed, he should want domestic help, Early oppose themselves both to his command and their Countries good, b denying him (which he were grieved of his excommunication) their attendance in so behouffull a service. Those men in the heat of his former troubles with the Pope, thinking such troubled waters most advantageous for their fishing, recommended their contention with the King for their long desired Liberties, wherein because they found him still as immovable, as themselves were moderate, it seemed, though the cloak of their now selfish were Religion, yet their spirit was *Jealousy*, basing withall an eye to the good of the King of France, whom so well they had before loved, as to wish him King of England. But King John, being no less careful to further the present general cause, than they their particular ends, delayed not their desires; and b depriving his Charters and safe-conducts to the Archbishop and his fellow-Exiles, he as speedily arrived: at which presence the earth is said to have trembled; but (doubtlesse) King John did, who hearing of his coming towards him, then at *Winchester*, went to meete him and those other Bishops, at whose sight he fell downe at their feet with floods of teares, intreating them to commiserate his, and his Kingdomes miseries. Upon which great humility in a King (moving themselves to bewee their eyes,) they lifted him from the ground, and leading him by each arme to the dore of the Cathedral Church (where, at the death of the 5. y^e old man, all his Nobles and others were for joy, safter in the Chapter-house they did absolve him;) but with such goddesall Appendices of Oathes imposed on him, that this absolution was not so much the Epilogue of his old, as the Prologue of his new Tragical vexations.

(2) For the *Proletariat*, whose best abettors the disloyal Barons had formerly been, meaning now to be like them, amongst other *Orders* then taken of the king (to defend *holy Church & Churches*; to make *due restitution* to the *Clergy*; to bear *fealty* to the *See of Rome*;) cannily also inferred this, & to establish the good *Laws* of his *Predecessors* & to abolish all bad, proceeding with all his *Subjects* according to the *last judgements* of his *Courts*: out of which generalities what good flatter the *Proletariat* &

Barons can pick, *lequels* will shew. Now all expectations seeming to be taken away, which might hinder the *Kings* deligne for *France*, hee once againe at a *perishment* haileth to imbarke his boate whereat the point of paffage new impediments are pretended, 1. that the *people* bring *few* their money with long attendance could not be fitted for the service except the *King* would doe it out of his *Treasure*; which moued the *King* in anger, with a small traine of his owne attendantes, to let forth to sea, and his *Barons* (*Philipps* true friends) to depart home, leaving the *king* to be at *Grisey* expectall their coming; the *delict* of their service. With these fo often treacherous delusions, what marvaile, or blame, if a *King* and in so important an Action, thus defeated, were enflamed to take due revenge? On which purpose the *King* thus enforced to returne, refusing to challice those rebellious *Spirits* (the *canons* therof) and to reclaime them to due obedience by force of *Armes*; the *Arch-bishoppe* (to resolve to be asough a *Brillie* to the *king*) *power* as ever *Habert* his predecessor was,) came vnto him, to duert him with Argument, that it was a breach of his Oath, for him to take *Armes* against any man whosoever, without the iudgement of his Court. But the next day, seeing he could not thus preuaile with reasons (the *King* forbidding him to intermeddle in matters of lay-iudgements) and fearing that hee would not forbear for one *Clertes* pleasurie, came by some *ouffalls* hee followed the *King* (who was on his way earnestly following his intendment) determing him with threats, and vowing, 1. if out of hand hee did not desist from his purpose, hee would excommunicate all (except the *King* himselfe) who durst take *Armes* against any whosoever, in the interest were quite released. So quickly did this Prelate on his coming into *England*, shew himselfe not onely a faithfull *Philippus*, (as the *King* foretold,) and a faithlesse *Baronius*; (as these his darings prove) but euen another *Pope*, to threaten and persecute the *King*, *John* himselfe had left to doe it.

(31) But these threats of *forced Confession*, though they dash the whole course of Regale government, may seeme the more excusable, hee having some colour (though but a colour) thereof by reason of his *oratory and place*: the courties which soon after he purified, will not admit the like plea or pardon with the King. This *English Pope*, hauing in a *provisory Synode of Clergy men and Bishops*, granted by Indulgence, that in this time of Interdict, both *Commonwealth and Seculars*, might in their Churches celebrate diuine seruice, *saith it were with a very low voice, Kinged out the Sacraments at a very private conference*, more cordiall perhaps to them then seruing of God,) relating with much oftentation, what an Oath at his affluishing the King, hee *compelled him to take*, for *reffering good Lawes and antiquating bad*: to which end, a *Charter of King Henry the 5th being lately found* (which there hee shewed and caused to be read) by it, they might, if themselves would reduce to the *justitie estate*, those *Liberties which long they had lost*. Both *Charter and Causell* being received with *a great applausse*, and *a Confederacy* was stricken betwixt him that *all swearing to him in force for those liberties to the spending of their lives, and bee promising them his most faithfully and uttermost assistance*. Amongst so many false to the State, probable it is, that some were false among themselves, by whome these *secrets* might come to the Kings eares; who finding himself by both *Clergy and Lay-Peeres* combining against him, vnable to reuenge his foraine, or repress his late domesticke indignities, knew no furer way to ouertop them all, then by that high Hand, by which himselfe was first subiected to them all. How this might be fetcht about, becometh concerning his Holiness, a *learned Monke* shall relate in his owne Language. * The King knew and had learned by manifold experience, that as the Pope, both for Ambition, and Pride, went beyond all other mortal men: So likewise he was in his greedy desire of riches far vn-

The King again
deluded by these
Ghosts,
q. Mar. Parā,
h. 2. me.

The Foreman
the 10th.

The king re-
sists for want of
his Scheidegeld,
a Rhine!

États de l'Inde, 1815.

M.S.

$\mu = 0.7$ $\sigma^2 = 0.9$

The Archbishop
conspiring in

Speed Typewriter
S. F. Smith & Co. Inc.

by Reg. de VVend.

² *Barroa campylo-*
desma sp.

* Oculi sunt quasi

10

is a common factor
both for the

Michael Perle

table, that with money either paid or promised, he might be wraught like wraue and made phable to all wicked actions. Thus hauing the true length of the Popes foot, he futes him accordingly with rich prelates, and golden promises, craving (by such mooring Rhetorick) not his aide only, but his Consecration against the Archbishoppe and Barons, who lo vncharitably distressed him. But Innocentius forward of himselfe without any Motiues, to put in wre the Papall vtterues, and the execution of his late-vntused power, vpon the first gladtime newes of England's Passallage to his See, had preceeding dispatched for England an Agent of greater port then Pandolph, a Sub-deacon, Nicholas Bishoppe of Tusculum, with no meane credence and instructions for perswading what the Pope had guiltfully gotten, then Pandolph had to purchase, what he ambitiously gaped for: by whose¹ arrival the King seemed to be possided of those his desires, before his golden letters arrived at Rome to craue them.

(54) For this Legate was infected with the like itches (* Ambition and Avarice) as his Master, and therefore King Iohn knew how to demerite his faithlesse loue, by supplying him with like ornaments, whereby the Archbishop and Barons (some perceived, that the Legate was a wholly Regall, and the King Papall) which iculousse made both their Actions more distastfull. The Ouent and professed end of his coming, being to release the *Interdict*, hee first tampered a little to accord the King and Prelates vpon countenances of *Requitution* towards which, though the king offered ten thousand marks, yet the Prelates² repining at the Legates³ partiality to the King in approving that office, chose rather to suffer the whole land to groine vnder that vnecharitable, and truly-styled *Curse*, then to defalcate any lot of their countenances. Vnder which colour, the Popes Agents, (a little helpe for such a butcher) brake his mind so the King of a more secret & principall cause of his Legate, which was for the continuing of a more validous and vnexcusable conuenance of his Kingdomes to the yoke of Roman Sovereignty; pretending doubtlesse, (as Pandolph had done) that hee could neuer be safe or quiet, but vnder the powerfull protection of the Popes winges.

What iust exceptions the World might take to the former Graunte, his Holinesse was not ignorant it being an Act in the King, both of manifest *Peccata* against his oath at his Coronation, and also of *Compromissus*, Circumcision, and *Fautes*, hee being driuen thereto by the Pope himselfe, who had set vpon both the French power, and his owne Barons against him; an Act of one⁴ actually *excommunicatus*, as also were the *Witnesses* concurring with him in that action, whereto, as neither the next *Heyes*, nor the *Cherchy*, nor *Body* of the Kingdom, gaue any consent, so an *open dissensus* thereof was made by the very⁵ Principall man there present, in the name (as is likely) of all the rest: and that all was ingroffed with so many *graffes* *curatibus*, as if done *voluntarij*, without any *fear* or *force*; in a general *Assembly* of the Barons only by a *diuine inspiration*, and because the King had nothing *fite* to *pacify* God for his sinnes, but the *young* *excess* of his Kingdomes: Well might the Pope blush at these shamelesse oblations; and therefore if now the King, standing on calmer termes, can be wrought to ratifie his former Graunte, though the dealing bee more fraudulent, yet the Act will seeme more colourable, because labouring of lesse constraint, and more free deuotion. But if we looke with an vnpartial Eye, wee shall see both the plight of King Iohn, and the action of Innocentius, still like it selfe: the *Interdict* still burthening his land; his Barons more molested to him then fortaite foes; his Prelates greedily gratifying him to empowerr his meanes; his Archbishop stopping all proceedings against *forraigne* or *home-bred* enemies; and if hee had thwarted the Popes command herein, hee foresaw faire ground

for storme at hand, then hee had hitherto escaped. Thus in desire to settle his Kingdomes quiet for his owne time, and in hope, perchance, that his Successors would (as since by diuine blessing they haue) vindicate it againe from such an enforced slavery, hee condescended to remue his *Charter of Substitution*, knowing belike that his expresse⁶ *reformation* to himselfe and his Heires, of all due administration of Justice, all Liberties, and Regalties, (as being excepted out of the Graunte), was forcible of it selfe to make it vnforceable. For how hath hee his wanted power of *Inflicte*, who was *supreme*, and in due *subordination*? how his wonted liberties, who was *absolute*, & in due *Homage* and *Personage*? how his fore-wed Regalties, whom another may name, and command as his *vassall*?

Yet this Charter, adorned with a Golden Bull, (hitherto the *Roman* *Phalera*, whereas the former was but sealed with waxe) was at a meeting in Saint Pauls Cathedral Church⁷ presented for other business (as the *Interdict*) presented for more authentick solemnity at the High-Altar, where, in the King and Legates presence, the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, himselfe also both a Cardinal and a Legat (in this acting the office of a *house Parson* and noble Prelate, as the Archbishop of Dublin had done at the first *Crusade*) steep forth, and is the⁸ name of the whole Clergy and Kingdomes, *boldly and earnestly* presented⁹ at the same Altar in *solemn* manner, his *Appeales* against that Charter to be *revocable* to the whole world, as like-wile formerly¹⁰ he had off his *payable* *condemner* to *disperse* the *knights* *hairs* *in* the *substitution* to the Pope and Court of Rome. That the *Power* of the land accorded with the Archbishop in the *Appeale*, (and more then in *Appeales*) both the King owne¹¹ letters to the Pope saying, they *openly* *professed*, that they *forcibly* made head against him, because hee had so *enlarged* his land, and their owne bitter exclamations against it, so frequently in a Authors reiterated, doe demonstrate; and yet both the Archbishop and other Barons, are so cunningly named in the Popes¹² *Transcript*, as if they had not ouely beene present and *witnesses* at the doing, but also *approvers* of the deed. What comfort then had Innocentius of renouncing his old Charter, and thus *insinuating* for a new? Surely but little, it seemeth; especially when hee saw both his owne *Creasures* in England thus oppugne it, and *Christian* *Princes* abroad; yea King Iohns¹³ mortal enemies, who not only denied that England, notwithstanding this Translation¹⁴ was any *patrimony* of St. Peter, and condemned the Pope for holding an *error* so pernicious to all Kingdomes; but also vowed to *doe* before they would yield, that any King *ever* of his *owne* will, made his Kingdom Tributary, and his Nobles *slaves* to others. By which vniversal detestation, of this the Popes *viurping*, it is not impossible (though for the present hee flourished the *Transcript* thereof, which hee sent into England, with the¹⁵ Preface of *Christ*, and *Statutes* *de* being *Kings* and *Priests*, and that therefore in one person of *Christ* *vicar*, as the *Soule* and the *Body*, so both Kingdom and *Presbytery* *did* *concur*), that yet ere long hee was no lesse ashamed of this latter, then of his former Charter. Whereto well fitteth his testimony, who writes that¹⁶ a *Parliament* was held at London the yeere 1214. Where the Archbishop saie as *President* with all the Clergy and Laity: wherby by commandment of the Pope, the Charter, Fealty, and homage by which the King was obliged to the Pope, was *absolutely* *released* on the 7 day of *July*: which if bee true, so mirabile if the Court of Rome cannot produce, though often challenged thereto, this Charter whereof so much they vaunt. Notwithstanding some vnquiet Spirits, alping long after to the *Papacy*, though pretending (perhaps) the¹⁷ Original Charter was consumed at *Lyon*, where the¹⁸ Pope causing, some say his *owne* *Concile* to be held on *St. John* had a pretence to extort a contribution from the Prelates: there in *concelle*, the *first* *transcription* then¹⁹ hee meant it should²⁰ they made some flourish to renew their claime of homage and

The new Charter to the Pope.
* David, Otho.
* Innoce 4.
* Innoce 4.
* Innoce 4.
* Innoce 4.

* Phalaris turned
and met in a
house in Sicily.
1. Paraphrase.

The Archbishop
of Canterbury
appears against
the Kings
Indulgence.

* An approach
in 1214. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.
ad 1216. 1217.
ad 1217. 1218.
ad 1218. 1219.

* In 1214. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.
ad 1216. 1217.
ad 1217. 1218.
ad 1218. 1219.

* In 1214. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.
ad 1216. 1217.
ad 1217. 1218.
ad 1218. 1219.

* In 1214. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.
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ad 1218. 1219.

* In 1214. 1215.
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* In 1214. 1215.
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ad 1218. 1219.

* In 1214. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.
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ad 1217. 1218.
ad 1218. 1219.

* In 1214. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.
ad 1216. 1217.
ad 1217. 1218.
ad 1218. 1219.

The Popes Legate cometh into England.

1. Innoce 4. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.

The new Legate comes into King Iohn.
* Innoce 4. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.
ad 1216. 1217.
ad 1217. 1218.
ad 1218. 1219.

1. Innoce 4. 1215.

* Innoce 4. 1215.
ad 1215. 1216.
ad 1216. 1217.
ad 1217. 1218.
ad 1218. 1219.

1. Innoce 4. 1215.

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1. Innoce 4. 1215.

1. Innoce 4. 1215.

a An. 1214.
a Hist. Brit.
1214.

The like misdeeds
in this war
made, &c. &c.
a Hist. Brit.
1214.

See Cambridge
History, p. 174.

b Hist. Brit.
1214.
c Hist. Brit.
1214.
d Hist. Brit.
1214.
e Hist. Brit.
1214.

g Brit. Hist.
1214.

Au. 1214.

The Pope's de-
claration against
Stephen Langton.
b Hist. Brit.
1214.

i See Introduction
to the
b Hist. Brit.
1214.

k Hist. Brit.
1214.
l Hist. Brit.
1214.

m Hist. Brit.
1214.
n Hist. Brit.
1214.

o The King had
been voluntarily
offered them 100000
and was to make it up
again.
p Hist. Brit.
1214.

q Hist. Brit.
1214.

r Hist. Brit.
1214.

s Hist. Brit.
1214.

t Hist. Brit.
1214.

u Hist. Brit.
1214.

v Hist. Brit.
1214.

w Hist. Brit.
1214.

x Hist. Brit.
1214.

y Hist. Brit.
1214.

z Hist. Brit.
1214.

aa Hist. Brit.
1214.

ab Hist. Brit.
1214.

prelate, till in a General Parliament, the Prelates,
Lords, and Commons, *generally and jointly* called,
that forasmuch as neither King John, nor any other King,
could bring his Realm and people to such trial, but
by common assent of Parliament, (the which was never
done,) and that in doing he did against his Oath at
his Coronation; besides many other causes of in-
convenience; therefore the Pope thenceforward should at-
tempt any thing therein, the King with all his Subjects
should with all their Forces and powers resist the same,
and rather hazard all their lives and livelihood, than en-
dure that usurpation. If Pope Paschall (in the time
of King John's grandfather) having with much solemn-
ity made some grants to the Emperor Henry, and
confirmed them with an *Anathema*, with the *sanction*
of thirteen Cardinals, and with religious receyving
of the blessed Sacrament; yet, because such
grants were thought prejudicial to his See, solemnly
disclaimed his own Act, and such his doing was
approved by a Clergy Council, as pretended to be done
by force: how much more lustily might King John
Successors and his State, by such approbation of their
General Council, free themselves of those servitudes
wherewith by another vainly, forced, unwarrantable
Act, they were supposed to be entangled?

(55) Though the Archbishop were so vnkind
against the Pope (the Advancer of his Fortunes) as to
give by his appeal so fatal a blow to his desired
Crown; yet the Pope was not so ingrate as to die
in his debt; as quickly he found in another Ap-
peal, which he made to the Pope against his Le-
gate, for that he, relying on *Apollinical indulgence*,
not only dispensed of all Spiritual dignities in such
as he liked the King, but also to his own Italian;
and King John, though absent, *unconscionable*, *un-
conscionable*, *unconscionable*. Which Legate
tyranny invulnerable in a Christian State, though
Simon Langton (the Archbishop brother and Pro-
ctor) vrged earnestly before the Pope, yet the Le-
gates Agent Pandulphus, so displayed both the
Archbishops servitudes in using *suchever* per-
sonal and appellation against the Kings subjection,
and the Prelates' amaze in their own *conscience*
as for restitution from the King being the most be-
nign, modest and humble Prince that his eyes ever be-
held; that his Holiness not only concealed an ex-
ceeding hatred against the Archbishop and his cause,
but also his Antientike Letters for repealing
the interdict, upon restitution only of 11000.
Markes more to the Prelates (the King before had
voluntarily offered them 100000) and that but by
equal portions of five years payment. But the
King, who knew the Pope's pleasure before these
letters came to impart it, having found that his
French affairs had sustained vnrepairable impeach-
ments by his hitherto enforced delays, entrusting
his Kingdom to the Legate and *Earle Marshal*
custody, was with his Forces passed into France,
(whiles in his absence, the relaxation of the inter-
dict after more than six years continuance, was
by the Legate in a Parliament solemnly promulged)
where his Successors were so fortunate, that being
powerfully subdu'd, great hope was conceiv'd the o-
ther Provinces would follow. Whence breaking
with like victoories into Britaine, being there at the
point to give battle to Lewis the Dauphin, his cur-
rentlike Resolutions suddenly forsooke him, and
made him forsake his purpose. But a greater im-
pairment of those his hopes, was the defection of
his Confederate Otho the Emperor; at the renowned
Battle of *Boissin*, where King Philip, driven
from his horse by the hand of Reginald Earle of
Bulioigne, had there with his life ended the quarrell, if a
faithful Soldier had not covered him with his own
Body and bravely sacrificed his life, to save his
Sovereigns; who thereupon recovered both his foot-
ing, and the victory. The bay news whereof,
concurring with his Barons outrages at home, drove
King John on such conditions, to capitulate on a

five years Truce, and return to bridle them at home,
whose attempts hee ever found most dangerous,
when hee was most bound abroad. For vnck a *prate*
of *Demetrius* (the villal mark for Treachery; the
Barons assembling at Saint Edmunds did every man
on the high Altar solemnly swear, to renounce their
former fealty to the King, and pursue him by arms, till
they had enforced his consent to the Charter of liberties
formerly by the Archbishop recommended to them. Which
when afterward they came in person to challenge
of the Kings as a part of his Oath taken at his Abso-
lution; hee seeing both their forces and affections ad-
dress'd for violence, was enforced with gentle language
and promised satisfactions, to desire, till after Easter,
mature deliberation on so important a matter; in which
breaching time, both in publick, hee took new oath
of loyalty through all the land, and in devotion,
undertooke the *Crusade* and *Signe of the holy Warre*,
choosing belike to die against faithlesse Turks, rather
then to live amongst such faithlesse Subjects. But
neither Oathes, nor holy oaths (them offered the sa-
cred privilege of protection) could be sufficient
backers to protect against such desperate attempt-
ers; who at the prefixed week of Easter, prepar-
ing themselves not for a Conference, as with their
Prince, but for a Battle, as against some hostile power,
troop'd together at Stamford, with 12000 men
conformable for number, whose very principal Actor
and conqueror was Stephen the Archbishop, the more pen-
sioners person, because (to hide his false enter-
prises) most assiduous in attendance about the
King. And him the King selecting to lend to the
Barons Army (who were come on as farre as Brighthelm,
not farre from the King, residing now in Oxford) to
know the contents of their desires, hee brought a
Schedule of these claimed liberties, with a message of
their resolutions, of presently hee sealed out a Charter
thereof onto them, they would compell him thereto by
forceful entrance on all his possessions. Whereat his great
heart highly disdain'd, hee demanded, why they also
demanded not his Kingdom? those their exactions be-
ing grounded on no colour of reason, and swearing
never to embrace himselfe to them by such a condition,
hee dismissed his Archbishop to return them his peremptory
answer.

(56) Neither were the Barons lesse resolute in
performance of their own message, appointing
for Head unto that huge and heady rout, Robert
Fitzwalter, whom they entyled *The Marshal of
Gods Army and holy Church*: who first assailing
Northampton Castle, after fifteen dayes fruitlesse
fury, departed to Bedford, whose Castles being
in Condemnation gave them easie entrance; but the
Londoners (displeased with the King for burthening
them with taxes) not only admitted them, but
vnto them by request, to enter their City by night:
where haling that Key (as it were) of the land in their
disposall, they by these the successful letters not only
drew most of the Nobles from the King, but also
had almost lockt him out of his Regall Seat. To
present which outrage, by gentle messages inter-
acting of the Barons place and day of meeting, who
thereto designed *Runnymede*, (since called *Con-
fession*, for such consultations of State, they thence
came) with armed multitudes out of all the Kingdom
beyond all number, that the King, seeing his power far
inferiour unto theirs, was constrained to grant them
their vtmost desires, not only for Liberties, (speci-
fied in *Magna Charta*, and *Charter forestis*), but
also for a kind of sway in the Government, by twenty
free elected Peeres, to whose commands all the o-
ther Barons also were bound by oath to be obsequious.
Thus one of the greatest Sovereigns of Chris-
tendome, was now become the twenty fifth petty king
in his own Dominion; as appeared that very night,
when all the rell following the pompous streame of
the new *Peers-Kings*, left their Sovereign one selfe
with seven Gentlemen to attend him. What mar-
vaile if high disdain hereof pierced his swelling heart,
M m m m and

The Charter new
displayed.
a Hist. Brit.
1214.

b Hist. Brit.
1214.

An. 1215.
b Hist. Brit.
1215.

c Hist. Brit.
1215.

d Hist.

e Hist. Brit.
1215.

f Hist.
1215.
g Hist. Brit.
1215.

h Hist. Brit.
1215.

i Hist. Brit.
1215.

The Barons in
open rebellion.

j Hist. Brit.
1215.

k Hist. Brit.
1215.

l Hist. Brit.
1215.

m Hist. Brit.
1215.

n Hist. Brit.
1215.

o Hist. Brit.
1215.

p Hist. Brit.
1215.

by the great
Legacy, from
Dionysius
Paris.

1 John.

2 John.

He died on 5,
July 1216, at
Beaulieu,
Gosport Catalog
of 1216.
In the reign
of Edward I.

The manner and
cause of King
John's death.

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fitian both bodily & ghostly: and not only *forgave*
gladly all his mortal persecutors (holding that a matter,
though very difficult to flesh and blood, yet salutary to
the soul) but also first commanded it to carry his name
to do the same: to whom he caused all present, to
swear fealty, as to the *King of his Crown*, and sent
his letters to all his Officers abroad, exhorting them
to assist him. And ¹ thus he commended his soul to
God, and his body to be buried in *Westminster Church*,
where the Bishop solemnly interred it, by the Kings
appointment, near the Body of *Wulfstan*, a sainted
Bishop renowned for constant fidelity to his
Prince against the rebellious Nobles of his time:
with which kind of men, King *John's* government
had been miserably encombred.

(62) This, being the *Catastrophe* of his *Tragicall*
Reign, might also have been the close of his *Story*,
had not the suddenness of his death, excited some
search into the cause of his sickness. Such *Authors*
as touch the matter but in general, content them-
selves with saying, he died of a *gravel*, or a *feaver*,
or a *flux*, or a *surfeit*: but those who have entered
into the particular, insist on such a *Surfeit*, as when
of both *gravel*, *feaver*, and *flux* were most probable
effects and *Symptoms*. For comming (say they) from
the *Waters* to *Winchester Abbey*, (being of the
Cistercian Order, which of old he had much incensed)
he added new matter of offence, as he late at meat,
when, in speech ¹ of his enemies too large prison, hee
swore, as hee lived but half a yeere longer, he would
make one halfe-penny loaf as deare as ² twelve:
whichto prevent, a Monk of that holy habit, whither
in love to *Levin*, or hate to the *King*, or pique on
the *Land*, presenting him with an envenomed Cup,
(whereof the King commanded him to bee his *Tas-
ter*) became the Diabolical Instrument of his own
and his *Successors* destruction. This relation, de-
livered by *Monks*, and men of *Monkish* humour,
as a thing too vudenable, that they know (at what
time they wrote this) ³ five Monks in that *Abby*
did sing for this their *Brothers* soule specially, and so should
wholes the *Abby* stand, which if it had bene forged
carry Child might easily have refuted; and the re-
cord of all circumstances thereof, (of the *Kings*
speeches, of the *Monks* conference with his *Abbot*,
of his preparing the drinke with a *Toade* in the gar-
den, of his dying in the *Chantry*) might deserve cre-
dite with the greatest Patrones of *Monks*; yet one
of them (as if by acquiring *Simon of Winchest*, all o-
ther of such Orders were cleared from allminating
of *Princed*) thrust eagerly, to asperse some late
a *Relater* herof, with the blots both of malice &
forgery. Wherein is the malice: in adding to the
narration, *Pictures also of the fact*, *so to move hatred*
to *Monks* and their *Religion*; whereas of truth, every
Monks, or men of that Religion, were the very first,
who not onely so depicted, but also lively and
richly depainted it in their *goodly Manuscripts*.
Wherein then the *Forgery* in adding to *Custom*, that
his *Abbot* gave him *absolution* for the same before
death, there being no such matter at all, nor any mention
thereof in the story? No? let the very story speake;
1 *The Monks* went to the *Abbot* and as for *John* of him,
and told the *Abbot* all the *King* had said, and prayd his
Abbot to give him, for he would give the *King* such a
drinke that all England should be glad thereof and say
that the *Monks* unto the *Garde*, &c. Yea farther,
one Monk alledged, an inducement for the
Abbots assent thereto, for that the *King* had sent for
the *Abbots* sister (a faire *Princess*) with purpose to
have deflowered her. Yea, but the *Story* it self is charged
with *noveltie*, the first author thereof being but *An.
1431*. and all other former *Writers* making no mention
of it. This if true, were somewhat, and doubtles, it
is as true as the former: for how could hee bee the
first Author, when not onely *Ranulph* the Monk
of *Chesler*, *John* of *Tymnham*, and *Thomas* Otter-
bourne the *Franciscan Fryer*, recorded as ² some ge-
nerally retained, but sundry other ancient flowers, as

John of *Lichfield*, the *Monke* of *Leicester*, & *Seale* *Monks*
(to omit other namelesse Authors before *An.
1431*), so confidently avouch his poisoning at *Win-
chester*, that vnpartiall after *Writers*, though friends
to *Monks*, made no scruple to beleieve it. And
why should they not, with an *Author*, more an-
cient and vnexceptionable then all the rest, (even King
John Sonne and Successor in his Kingdom) asserted
it, when the *Prior* of *Clerkenwell* finely telling
him (being then in that house) that as some as hee
came to die justice towards his *Princed*, he should cease
to be a *King*; the *King* enraged with his traitorous
threat, replied; What? meanest thou to turne mee out
of my *Kingdome*, and afterwards to murder mee, as my fa-
ther was dealt with?

(63) But not to trouble our felices with refusing
a *Gossie* gawling against *Faces* true relation; as it
is to obdurate the hatred of *Monks* against that
King, both in thus procuring his death then, and his
dishonour (a second death) in their slanderous in-
ductions euer since. For, whereas he ¹ wrote by some
of his *Bishops* to certain foraine *Princes*, for aides a-
gainst his faithlesse *Rebels*, the *Monks* charge him,
that hee counterfeited his *Bishops* Seales, and writ a-
broad, that all *Englishmen* were become Infidels and
Apolytans from *Christs* faith, and therefore such should
come to subdue them and take their possessions: 7 when hee
said, a *King* which hee kild, had neuer the lesse fate,
though hee neuer heard a *Message*; they charged him
hee doubted of the *Resurrection* of the dead, 8 and Ju-
dging, hee never died well after his yielding to the *Pope*,
that hee had bee was unfortunate since hee was re-
conciled unto God: that, 9 when hee gave leave to a
servant of his owne, to enter any religious Order, he
gave him leave to bee of what Religion and Faith
heell. That moreover, 10 hee offered his King-
dome to a *Saracen*, and would embrace the *Turk*
faith, though this tale were told by one *Robert*
of *London* (a wicked *Masse*-Priest, or rather a *Monks*-
sister, 11 having a face like a *serp*, with one arme long,
and another short, his fingers deformedly growing
together two and two, with such senseles improbabilities,
as, 12 that hee found that *Monks* King reading of *Saint*
Pauls Epistles, and that hee refused the Kingdom of
England being offered him, with the like. That last-
ly 13 it was revealed to a Monk, King *John* was in
Hell; though a Poet for so saying, in by *M.P.* (who
made no doubt of King *John's* salvation) censured for
14 *Reprobate*. These all are demonstrations of in-
credible hatred, as should rather alleviate their *Authors*
credite, then the *Kings*; whose *Raigne* had it
not fallen in the time of so turbulent a *Pope*, so am-
bitious Neighbour-*Princed*, so disloyall Subjects,
nor his Story into the hands of exasperated
Writers, hee had appeared a *King* of as great re-
nownce, as misfortunes. His works of devotion in-
feriour to none; as his Foundations declare: 15 *Beau-
ley*, *Ferrington*, 16 *Malmesbury*, and 17 *Dunelm*, and that
other for *Monks* at *Godstow* by *Oxford*, for which,
some have interpreted that Prophecy of *Isaiah* as
meant of him: *Sith Virgin* refers to *Maid* he gave,
Monks his *first* *Saints* God will him save. His Acts
and Orders for the *Wales* people, were beyond
molt: hee being eyther the first, or the chiefest, who
appointed those noble Formes of Ciuill government
in London, and 18 most Chief, and Incorporate
Townes of England, endowing them also with their
greater *Francisces*: The first who could with Sterling
money to bee here coyned; 19 The first, who ordain-
ed the Honourable Ceremonies in Creation of
Barons. The first, who settled the Rates and *Mea-
sures* for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such like Neces-
saries of *Commerce*. The first, who planted *English*
Lanes and *Officers* in *Ireland*, and both annexed that
Kingdome, and salued *Wales* to the Crowne of En-
gland, thereby making amends for his losses in France.
Whose whole course of life and actions, were cannot
flut vp with any true *Eulogie*, then that which an
ancient Author hath conferred on him; *Princed* qui-

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dem Magnam erat, sed minus felix; atque ut Mauri, utraque fortissimum expertus: Double life, he was a Prince more Great then happy, and one, who, like Marianne, had tried both sides of Fortunes wheele.

His Wives.

(64) *Alise*, the first wife of King Iohn, was the eldest of the two daughters, and heires apparant at that time of *Humbert* the second, Earle of *Maurien*, now called *Sauny*: her Mother was *Clumence* daughter of *Berthold* the fourth, Duke of *Lorraine*, who had been the divorced wife of *Henry* the Lyon, Duke of *Saxony*. This marriage was in their chidhood coöded by their Parents at *Montfort* in *Auvergne*, in February, Anno, 1273; he should have had with her, her Fathers *Earldome*, but all altered by her untimely death; and after the death of her Mother, the new marriage of her Father, and the issue male of the same, whereof the Dukes of *Saxony* are descended.

(65) *Isabel*, his second wife (by * some called *Henrietta* or *Anis*) though the * youngest of the three Sisters, yet was in regard of this marriage, the sole Heire of *William* Earle of *Gloucester*, sonne of Earle *Robert*, the Natural sonne of King *Henry* the first; her Mother was *Henri* the daughter of *Robert* King of *Leicester*. Shee was married vnto him when hee was Earle of *Mortaine*, in the first yeere of his brother *Richard* raigne; and after ten yeeres having no issue by him, was (the first yeere of his Raigne) divorced from him, vnder pretence of *Conjugalinity*, and married to *Geoffrey* *Mandevill* Earle of *Essex*, and lastly, to *Hubert* de *Burg* Earle of *Kent*, but died without any Issue by them.

(66) *Isabel* also his last wife, was daughter and heire of *Amy* Earle of *Angoulême*; her Mother was *Alice* daughter of *Peter*, Lord of *Courtenay*, fifth son of *Lewis* the Grey, King of *France*. Shee was married vnto him in the first yeere of his Raigne, & crowned by *Hubert* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, 8. Id. Octob. Anno 1200. and surrouing him, was married to *Hugh* Barre Earle of *March*, and Lord of *Lestrem* and *Valence* in *Paysois*, to whom first she should have bene married, but yet (as seemeth) continued her affection to him till now. By him shee had diuers Children, (greatly aduanced by the King, *Henry* 3. their halfe brother, and as greatly malignd by his Subiects) *Hugh* Earle of *March* and *Angoulême*, *Guy* of *Lusignan*, slain in the battell at *Lewes*; *William* of *Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Amy* of *Valence* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, *Geoffrey* of *Lusignan* L. of *Hoffings*.

His Issue.

(67) *Henry*, the eldest Sonne of King Iohn, and *Isabel* his last wife, was borne at *Winchester*, 1. Octob. 10. of his Fathers Raigne, Anno, 208. K. Iohn dying at *Newburke*, (* whether hee was brought in Horrellitter from *Smythhead*.) the Barons malice was ended, their offence amended, *Lewis* of *France* reiectd, and the young Prince seated on his Fathers throne.

(68) *Richard*, his second son by the same Queene, was borne the next yeere after *Henry*, by whom afterwards hee was made Knight, created Earle of *Cornwall*, and appointed Earle of *Payton*. After the death of *William* Earle of *Holland*, Emperour of the West, hee was by the *Electors* chosen to succeed him in the Empire, and crowned King of *Romane*, & of *Aragon* at the City of *Alem* in *Germany*, by *Conrad* Archbishoppe of *Cologne*, May 27. being the Ascension day, Anno 1257. decaying at the Castle of *Berkmunster*, April 20. Anno 1272. the 13. yeere of his Empire, his body was buried in his Monastery of

Hayles in *Gloucestershire*, but * his Heart at *Orford* in *Reuly* Abbey (founded by him) vnder a Pyramid of admirable worke. Hee had three wives, the first was *Isabel* daughter of *William* Marshall Earle of *Pembroke*, widow of *Gilbert* Clare Earle of *Gloucester*, by whom hee had issue, *Henry* slain at *Viterbo* in *Italy*, and *Iohn*, both dying without Issue. His second wife was *Saunder*, (daughter of *Richard* Earle of *Flouance*, & sister to Queene *Eleanor* his brothers wife) who was crowned with him at *Athen*, and had issue by him *Edmund* Earle of *Cornwall*, and others. His last wife was *Beatrice*, sister to the Archbishoppe of *Cologne*, who seemeth to haue surroued him, and to haue no Issue by him.

(69) *Isaac*, the eldest Daughter and Child of K. Iohn and Queene *Isabel* his last wife, was the first wife of *Alexander* the second, King of *Scots*, married vnto him in *York*, Juny 25. Anno 1211. who returning into *England* to visite her Brother, decaying at *London*, and was buried in the Nunnery at *Tarent* in *Devonshire*, 4. Martij, in the 21. yeere of her Brother King *Henries* raigne in *England*, and the 23. of King *Alexander* her husbands in *Scotland*, Anno 1236.

(70) *Eleanor* their second daughter, was first married to *William* Marshall the younger, Earle of *Pembroke*; and after his decease without issue, and seven yeeres Widow-hood, remarrned to *Simon* Montfort Earle of *Leicester*, (sonne of *Simon* Earle Montfort in *France*, by *Alice* daughter of *Robert* Blanchman Earle of *Leicester*) who maintaining the Barons warres against King *Henry* her brother, was slain at the battell of *Basham*, in the 19. yeere of her brothers raigne, 1265. after whose death, shee and her Children were forced to forsake *England*; she died in the Nunnery at *Montfort* in *France*. *Henry* her eldest sonne, was slain with his father at *Basham*; *Simon*, the second, was Earle of *Sturges*, and anccitor to a Family of *Montforts* in thole parts of *France*. *Almarick*, her third sonne, was first a Priest, and Treasurer of the Cathedral Church in *York*, and after a Knight, and a valiant scutour in sundrie warres beyond the Seas. *Guy* the fourth Sonne was Earle of *Angoulême* in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Montforts* in *Tuscanie*, and of the Earles of *Campobassi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* the fifth sonne, remained priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Montfort* to *Wellesborne*, was anccitor of the family of *Wellesbornes* in *England*. She had also a daughter named *Eleanor*, borne in *England*, brought vp in *France*, and married into *Wales* to Prince *Llewellyn* ap *Griffith*.

(71) *Isabel*, their youngest daughter, was born, An. 1214; when shee was 21. yeeres of age, shee was married (being the 6. and last wife) to the Emperour *Frederick* the second, at the City of *Wormes* in *Germany*, 20. of Iuly, 1235. Shee had issue by him, *Henry* appointed to bece King of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, Landgrau of *Thuring*: shee was Emperesse 6. yeeres, and died in Childbed, Decemb. 1. of her husbands Empire 31. of her brothers reign 38. Anno, 1341.

(72) *Isabel*, or *Isone* the daughter natural of King Iohn (by *Agatha* Daughter of *Robert* Ferrers, Earle of *Darby*) married to *Lewis* Prince of *Wales*, Anno 1204. her Father gave with her the Castle & Lordshippe of *Elinfawere* in the Marches of *Southwales*; she (like a most louing Child) gave her Father secret intelligence of the Treasons intended against him by the *Welsh* and *English*.

(73) *Geoffrey* Fitz-Roy, a baste son, who transported some Souldiers into *France*, when Archbishopped *Hubert* forbad the King his father to goe thither.

(74) *Richard*, who married the daughter & heire of *Fahiers* de *Doner*, who built *Chilham* Castle in *Kent*, which Castle hee had with her, and had Issue by her, of which some families of good cheem are descended.

* Henricus in K. Iohn.
* See Gloucest. Catalogus of Henricus p. 347. & p. 394.

* Henricus in K. Iohn.
* See Gloucest. Catalogus of Henricus p. 347. & p. 394.

Monarch 46

**HENRIE THE THIRD. LORD OF
IRELAND, DVKE OF NORMANDIE, GUYEN,
AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SIXTH MO-
NARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSUE.**

A.D. 1216.



CHAPTER IX.



HENRIE, the eldest Son of King John, was when his Father dyed about * ten yeeres of age: which state of Child-hood, being most vnfit to succede in so troublous a state, (the furious waues whet-offe seemd far from being appeas'd) God Almighty,

in fauour and pitty of his Innocency, strengthened with the seruce of great and worthy men, whereby the free and noble Realme of England was graciously preserued from French seruilite; from whose Conquest as it was naturally disparted with a Sen, so could it as badly haue endured to be ioyned thereto by subiectiue gouernement. Howbeit the difficulties were not few nor sleight, which did at first emperch this happy preferuation, though they did

not hinder it long: for, * bee disposing the matter *per se* or dameth all things wisely, and moderates them sweetly, faire weather was restored after stormes, and quiet being established through the Kingdome, the peaceable seruants of God had space to breath in.

(1) To effect so great a benefite, Wille the Popes Legate stood wholly for advancement of Henry, and expulsion of the French; the authority of whole persuasions, ioyned with his other power and example, drew many of the Prelates to fauour, that (although their lands and goods were theretofore spoiled) they would not doe any homage to Lewis; as likewise the loyall care of William Marshall Earle of Pembroke, did gaine (in time) and settle the hearts of the secular Lords. Great was the wisdom, courage and diligence of that Noble Gentleman in so broken and ieopardious estate; for he, knowing that the maine hopes of his Countrey rested in the safety of their persons, in whom the right of Succession

* *Yngl. Hist.*

The Successors of
King Henry
Childhood.

* *Ed. 2nd. 5.
Alm. MS.*

* *1st. 2nd. 3rd.
in Hist. 3.*

The great pre-
sence and care
of Wm. Marshall.

was, be first of all secured them within the Citie of Gloucester, which was at Henries seruice: There were with the young King, his mother Queene Isabel, his brother Richard (afterward King of Romania,) his sisters, the said Earle, and many others in great numbers of the chiefe and principall men of all sortes, who vpon perfect notice of King Johns death, repaired thither to their young Prince, with a purpose to console and conuince in one, for the re-union of minds and bodies to the obedience of the true borne king. The Earle of Pembroke therefore bringing forth his precious charge, and placing him with all due honour and ceremony in view of the assembled States, is reported for the pleasing of all sides, so haue vied words to this effect. *About the father of this Prince whom here you be-ho-ber you, for his euill demeanours hath worthily vndergone our persecution, yet this young Child as he is yeres tender, so is he pure and innocent from those his Fathers downy: Wherefore, if any man is to be charged with the blemishes of his euill transgressions, wither shall the Child (as Scriptures teach vs,) beare the unquiste of his Father: we ought of duty and conscience, beare our sinnes milder towards this tender Prince, and take compassion of his age. And inasmuch as he is the Kings lawfull and eldest Sonne, and ought to be our Soueraigne, and his Successor, let vs with one voice of distance appoynt him our King and Governour, let vs remove from vs this Lewis the French Kings sonne, and suppress his people, which are a confusion and shame to our Nation, and the yeaues of their forwarde vs cast off from our shoulders.*

(3) The entertaining of persuasions among the wife, is an effect of Truth, not of painted Phrases; and these plaine wordes of the 1 stele, (the young Kings Brother in Law) were received with generall applaus of all that were present, so that Henry was immediately proclaimed, and speedily crowned (vpon the day of SS. Iohn & Iude) in the presence both of Walle the Popes Legate, (who imposed on his vnexperienced yeres some vndue Oathes of seruice to the Romane See) and of Queene Isabel, with many of the Lords Spiritual and Secular, and those of all other sortes of People. The speede of which roial Ceremony (for it was the ninth day after King Johns death) was not greater then the necessity of the State required: for his Enemy (naturally his, but the enemy of the English name, Prince Lewis) had (as yet) London, the chiefe seat of the Empire, at his deuotion, many potent Earles, Barons, and martiall malecontents, subiect to his command, and an Armie in the field with which he sought to constrain that mirror of constant loyalty, Hubert de Burgh, to render him the most important Citie in England, that of Dover, committed to his much-approved trust: The young King on the other side was equinoxed with many difficulties, want of money not the least, the most part of his Fathers treasures being drowned. To encounter all which mischiefs, the said Earle of Pembroke was by common assent of Prelates and Peeres constituted Guardian of the young Kings person, and Vice-Governour of the Kingdome.

(4) Letters hereupon issuing in the new Kings name, and for his affaires, to all such as had charge in the common-weale, (with many promises of reward and fauour,) were accordingly in most places obeyed: for the cull will borne to King John, licensing to die with him, and to be buried in the same graue, the loyal bloud waxt warme about the coldest hearts, rekindling in them the honest desire of shewing themselves true Englishmen. It was also a great helpe to the Kings party, that Prince Lewis his followers and abettors, were, on every Sunday and Holiday, pronounced to stand accurd and excommunicated. Lewis perceiving (contrary to his expectation) that King Johns death was to him nothing auailable, but rather detrimental, dwells no longer about Dover Castle, but raising his flagges enters London, and provides the best hee can for his tere-

ring estate, which hee sought to support, by putting French Garrison into Callicies: The Tower of London being rendered to him, hee beleagued Hertford Castle, which after the slaughter of many French, being deliuered vpon faire composition, the custody of that Peice was demanded by Richard Fitz-Walter, as by ancient right belonging to him; but Lewis put him off with this answer, that he should haue patience till hee had conquered the Realme, at which time hee would restore their right to every one. The secret reason which moued Lewis to giue this answer, was: for that, consulting with his French vpon Fitz-Walters demand, they gave it for their common opinion: That the English were not worthy to haue such places entrusted to their charge, who were betters of their natural Lord. A well reason to moue Lewis to answer, but a farr better to teach others to continue loyal. The Battle of Berkhamsted (whose Capitaine was one Walran a valiant Dutch Knight) hopeles of succours was likewise rendered, which as the rest, hee stuffed with French Garrison, where in, howsoever hee provided for his owne Nation during that present, hee tooke no wife counsell for the maiue of his enterprise: for so apparant ielousies (secouding & confirming the Vicount Melours predictions) could not but vterly vntierle the affections of such great ones as had called him in. His next March being to Saint Albons, where hee would haue constrained the Abbot to doe him homage, hee was encountered with this honest answer: That he would doe him no homage, unless hee were absolved from the homage which hee had made to the King of England: yet to purchase respite of homage, or rather his and the Towns peace till Candlemas, hee was forced to vif the mediation both of his purse, and of his noble friends.

(5) But those intestine causes for which the Barons had called Lewis in, falling now to the ground by the death of King John, and the French by their natural insolence, insipitions and vanity, ministering new reasons of auersion, were all of them strong moeues to dispose the mindes of the English Leuitians to returne to due obedience; yet finding themselves bound in honour, not so to leaue him so dauidely destitute, (who vpon assistance of their oathes and hostages had put himself among them) that he should thereby fall into Henries hands; they desire therefore his absence, but not his destruction. The more handsomely to compass the rest, an abstinence from warre was (for a time) concluded between the King and Lewis: the rather for that Lewis had intelligence from Rome, that the curie which Walle had denounced against him, should shortly be confirmed by the Pope, unless hee left England. As this Truce gaue Lewis liberty to sayle backe to France for new supplies from his Father, (who greatly desired to confere with him;) so his absence gaue opportunity to his English, to consult more freely of their best way, that from thence forth Lewis was neuer potent in their affections, but presently lost many chiefe Lords and others, who againe became true English.

(6) Lewis vpon his speedie returne out of France, minding to make a speedie dispatch, sets out of London his Army of more then twenty thousand Souldiers, with a purpose not onely to free Mount-Surrey (then beleagued by his enemies) but to subdue the whole contry adjoining. Odious and grievous to the Countrey was this passage of the French, which reach as farr as Lincoln, there were among them so many ragged rascals, the verie scumme and filthy froth of that Nation, whose beggary was so base that they had not clothes to hang on their backs, to supply the which they made many goe naked in all the places where they marched. The Earle of Pembroke Governour of the King by the Counsell of Walle, and the Bishoppe of Winchester resolving to set the cause vpon God, and the fortune of a field, is now with the young King and his Assistant

* 7th March.

The judgement of the French touching the English Barons.

* Ed. March 4. Adam, W.C.

Mat. Park. He said so, makes so Lewis.

Motives and helpe for King Henries behouour.

Paul. Amis in Fols. Jaggli.

Mat. Park. H. 3. p. 199.

Lewis goeth into France but loose remaneth.

* Mat. Park.

* In Leicestershire

The French Souldiers becom marching.

* Mat. Park.

The King putteth on his suit to fight with the French

Hill and Meane, in Hen. 3. History.

The Earle Mar-shall speech to the Lords.

* They haue in his natural form, a word which beeing so than of Selders, in facte it hath.

The Kings Commission.

The actions of Lewis after King Johns death.

Mat. Paris.

flant Lords, at Newark, where the Generall assembly for that service was appointed. The whole Army after the Masters, relied there some dayes, which they spent not in vanities, but in deuotions & recit of the Sacrament, humbling themselves before the offended Maieſtie of God; and so all of them (saith Paris) being prepared, resolute yether to returne victorious, or to die in defence of their country, their Soueraignes right, and their owne Liberties, and possessions, all which seemed now to be at stake. To give them the greater edge and spirit, *Walle* with great solemnity accosteth *Lewis* and his Conditions, and thus the Army marcheth towards *Lincolne*, and the *Leuſians* there in siege of the Castle the King himselfe being left with a strong guard at *Stow* (about eight miles short of *Lincolne*) accompanied with *Walle* and others, there without perill of his person to attend Gods pleasure, in the event of the enterprise.

(C) Vpon their approach, if the Councell of some English Lords had bene followed, the *Leuſian* Army had issued forth of the City, & given them battle in the open field; but the Earle of *Perth* (the French Generall) thinking the Kings party to bee greater then it was, for that the Noblemen and Bannerets thereof had each of them two *Esquires*, the one born with themselves, the other aduanced among the Carriages, which doubled the shew of their numbers; they did thereupon change that course, closed the Gates of the City, and pyled their endeavours against the Castle more fiercely then before. The Earle of *Pembroke* therefore lets *Falschaw* slip in at the Castle-pollerne with his *Archbushers*, whiles others breake vp the South-gate of the City, at which the Kings Army most courageously entering, and they of the Castle falling out in *Flancke* of the Enemy, scattered and vnicely defeated the *Leuſians*.

The Earle of *Perth* their Generall, being euironed with the Royallists, and willed to render himselfe, swaie that he would neuer become Prisoner to any English: vpon which refusal he was run through the sight of his helmet into the braines, and soyed without speaking any word. In this conflict (being on Saturday in Whitsun-week) the force of natural propension was apparent; for notwithstanding the fierce resolutions of the Kings People, yet when they saw the faces of their kinsmen, friends & countrymen on the other side, that fury relented so strongly, that the most part of the reuenge fell vpon the Horſemen and not vpon the Horſemen, whom onely they laboured to make their Captiues. The whole riches of the *Leuſian* Campe, & of the City of *Lincolne*, became the booty and spoile of the Kings Army, whereupon this difcomfite was called *Lewis Fair*. Neither did the *Clergy* of the place escape, for the Popes Legate had commaunded that they also should be rifled to a penny, as persons excommunicated in partaking with *Lewis*. The Chafe was but coldly & faintly followed vpon the flying Barons, otherwise not a man could haue escaped; wherein yet the chiefest Barons were taken, with about 400. Knights, besides *Esquires*, and of other sorts without number, though some say that this number of Knights were slain, & matrons and women of the towne flying by boate, which they had no skill to goe more. Such as escaped the fight were not therefore palled the danger for the Country people fell vpon them as they fledde, killing great numbers, so that almost all the footmen tooke vp their last lodgings before they could reach to *London*, where *Lewis* was. The *Marſhal* of France, the *Chapellain* of *Arras*, and about two hundred Knights came safely thither, but were not otherwise then slowly welcome of the Prince, who laid vpon their cowardise the losse of all the rest. His feare of being taken Prisoner lustily enuincing, hee fortifies *London* by the best meanes hee can, and dispatcheth Poſts into France for more reliefe. This great victory was much the stranger, if (as some write the same

went) that only three were slain vpon both sides, the Earle of *Perth*, one of *Du-Breuil* Knights, and an obscure fellow belonging to some, or other of the Barons.

(8) The Kings Governour after the victory rode presently with the gladdest tidings in the height of speed to the King and Legate, who with tears of ioy gave God thanks. But the noble Earle not leaving his worke imperfect, seekes to imbarre *Lewis* from foraging about *London*. Meane while by the diligence of Lady *Blanch* the wife of *Lewis*, English the Russian *Apoſtata*, (who of a Monke becoming a *Demagogue*) was now vpon the Sea with a fresh supply of men and munition bound for *London*; But God was not better pleased with these, then with the other scatterlings at *Lincolne*. For the English Naue, hauing the wind of the French, sunke diuers of their shippes by tilting at them with their yron Prowes & Beakes of their Gallies; using also vnlikened lime in dust or powder, which they threw into the faces of their enemies, and blinded their sight: so were the hopes of *Lewis* for any present succours absolutely frustrated. *Lewis* himselfe, found after long search, and drawne out from the bottom of the Pompee in a French shippe, at *Deuier* had his head cut off, though some say hee was slain by *Richard*, a baill-sonne of King *Iohn*. The newes of which successe being brought to the King, did not more reioice him, then they wounded *Lewis*, for the losse was not onely great in men, but in all sorts of riches and provisions. To giue now no rest to *Lewis* his declining fortunes, the Earle of *Pembroke* with a mighty Army besieged *London*, and *Lewis* therein, as well by Water as by Land; seeking to drive him by penurie to render the City. It came to capitulation, and in an Ilet in the Riuer of *Thames*, not farre from *Stanes*, the King, *Walle* the Legate, and *William Marshall* the Kings Governour, met with *Lewis* & the Barons to finish the Peace: for *Lewis* had promised to doe as *Walle* and the Earle would desire, so that it might be tend to his dishonour or scandal: Heades or Articles of the agreement which *Lewis* swaie vpon the Gospell to performe, were, 1. That *Lewis*, the Barons, and other his partakers should stand to the iudgements of the Church (whose censures they had now for many yeeres contemned) and from thenceforth bee and remaine true to the same. 2. That he and his should forthwith depart the land, neuer to returne again with a purpose to doe harme. 3. That he should doe his best to draw his Father to make restitution of all such things in France as belonged to the King of England, and that *Lewis* when himselfe was King should quierly part with them. 4. That *Lewis* should immediately render to King Henry all holdes and places taken in the warre. On the other part, the King, the Legate and the Earle swaie; 1. That the King should restore to the Barons and others, all their rightes and liberties, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father. 2. That none (of the Lay) should suffer damage or reproch for taking part on either side. 3. That Prisoners should bee released, &c. Whereupon *Lewis* with his adherentes was formally by *Walle* absolved from the sentence of Excommunication, and so they ranne on all sides into embraces, and parted in the kilfe of Peace. The *Walle*, who had held with the Barons, were left out of this Conclation, being thereby laid open to spoile. This was *Lewis* driven out of England, whom the Earle of *Pembroke* brought to the Sea-side and the Realme was cleared.

(9) There are who write how that *Lewis* had agreed summe of money paid him for restoring the Hostages; but *Mat. Paris* whom some cite to that purpose, affirms no such matter in any printed Copy. Reason foretels vnterly against it; for when euen the life of *Lewis* was after shorn in King *Henries* hand, with what sense can it stand that the King should let all the French free without ransom; and yet himselfe pay money for the Hostages? which also were not his, but the Hostages of his enemies

* Savoy de Quinzy
R. Robert Fitz-
Walter.

The policy of
Henry's friends
in this march.

The fearful end
of the Earle of
Perth.

The Kings Army
had a strange
victory, called
Lewis Fair.

Eng. de Wund.
M. 3.

* Mat. Paris.
= compend.
Trist. R. Hist.

The persons a-
gainst Lewis.

* Wund. M.
Paris. Hist.

* Wund. M.

* Wund. M.
Mat. Paris.

* Wund. M.
Paris. Hist.

* Wund. M.

London besieged.

Articles of peace
between Henry
and Lewis.

* Wund. M.
Paris. Hist.

* Wund. M.

* Wund. M.

* Wund. M.

Lewis had no
money granted
to him by his
compeers.

mies the Barons; in that, if money were due, it must have come from them, not from the King, who both in honour and profit was rather obliged to the contrary. Writers of that very time do in plain words say, *The Poverty of Lewis was such, that he was compelled to borrow five thousand pounds of the Londoners, to set him out of England*: and therefore that other seems nothing else but a vaine glorie to false the honour of *Lewis*, who was plainly driven out of England, after so high hopes with loss, sorrow, and eternal disgrace, which the French are so sensible of, that they scarce seeme to write of the whole action, otherwise then *laying the misfortune of *Lewis* upon the Barons mutability.

(10) The Realm of England purged of those foraine dragges, was not therefore perfectly freed from other manifold encombrances, such as affect so great a clogging of all lawes and things divine, and humane, doe ordinarily flow up and downe, like the froth & working of a troubled Sea. For divers men presuming upon their former services to the State, or thinking the old bad world would either continue still, or loose returne, if iustice grew confident against Trespassors, or for what other corrupt motives fouer, did dare intolerable things. The principall Lords of this misrule, were *William Earle of Aumari*, *Falscheus de Breut* with his Garrison Soldiers, *Robert de Cespont*, with others, who having had the Castles and possessions of certaine Bishops and Great men, either to keepe in trull, or otherwise by iniquity of the times converted violently to their vice; did still with-hold the lame, both against the minds of their lawful owners, and the Kings expresse Prohibition. Among others, *Eubert de Gange* defended the Castle of *Newark* (being the Fee of the Bishoppe of *Lincolne*, as was also the town it self) against the Kings Armie, conducted by the * Great Marshall Earle of *Pembroke*, for eight dayes, and did not first yeeld the place, before (by mediation of friends) the Bishoppe paid to *Gange* one hundred pounds. There was in that great Earle, a perpetuall care to conclude things without blood-shedde, wherein shined his Christian piety and morall wisdom, there being no other lo safe way to steele disordered humors. The greater was his losse both to the King and State by his death * soone after ensuing, whole * monument yet remaining, doth not so much eternize his memory as that well-deserved * Epitaph, the Epitome of his noble vertues;

*Sunt quon Saturnus illi fuisse Hybernias, Salom
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.*

*Ireland Saturn, England Sonne our I,
The Mars of France, and Normant Mercurie.*

He left behind him five Sonnes, all Earles of *Pembroke* successively, and dying without issue; his five Daughters advanced by great marriages, brought as great advantage to their husbands issue, by the inheritances of their issuelesse brethren.

(11) The King (governed after *Marshall* death, by *Peter* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, and such * other, whom the Bishoppe had procured to ioyne in administration of publick affairs) seeming now to have a settled and calme estate, resolute (for good hopes like) to be crowned againe; (which was performed by *Stephen* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* at *Westminster* with the attendance and confluence of all the Prelates, Peeres, and People. Upon the Saturday before his Coronation, the * new works of the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, (*Paris* calles it the Chappell of our Lady) was begunne, whereof the King himselfe in person laid the first stone, as if he ment the world should know, his intention was to consecrate his future actions to raise the glory of God. This calme but new beginning, was almost as speedily dispersed and disturbed by sodaine stormes; by reason that, while the King kept his

Christmas with great royalty at *Oxford*, in the company of the Prelates and Peeres of England, *William de Forthun*, Earle of *Aumari*, incited by *Falscheus de Breut*, and the like riotous Gentlemen, sodainly departed from the Court without leave, & (whether it were upon discontentment, because the King had against the Earles will the last yeere taken some Castles into his hands, or out of an ill ignorance how to lye in quiet) he mannes the Castle of *Bisem*, vizuals it with the Corne of the Chanons of *Bridlington*, spoiles the Towne of *Deeping*, and vnder shew of repaying to the Parliament, kisheth on the Castle of *Fotheringhay*, committing many other furious actions in contempt of the King, and breach of his peace; many * others in other places following his lewd example. Yet at length the Earle coming in vnder the conduct of *Water* Archbishop of *Tork*, was at the suite of *Parliament* (who succeeded *Walrein* in the place of *Legat*) pardoned; and the like hurtfull clemency was extended toward his Complices and Retinue, whom the King (in reuerend belike of some former better deserts) set free without punishment or ransom. And to prevent any further disturbances of that nature, *Eubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, for his rare integrity and fidelity (approved in all King *Johns* troubles) was also made gouernour of the Kings Person, and Chief Justiciar of England, with the generall allowance of all the States. What need the land then had of a feere proceeding, we may iudge by this, that *Falscheus de Breut* held the Earldomes of *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, with the Castles and Holdes *Philip de Mors*, the Castles of *Pekes* and *Nottingham*, *Nottinghamshire* and *Derbyshire*; and others detained other portions, without any other right, then that which the iniquity of the laterall times gave.

(12) It was no small addition to the troublefomelness of this time, that certaine * Lords of Wales, and (as * some say) Prince *Lewelin* himselfe, desirous to ridde their Marches of the English, tole in Armes, & laide siege to the Castle of *Radi*, which incited King *Henry* to draw thither with an Armie; but the worke was made easie by the voluntary departure of the Welsh; upon the fame of the Kings approach: which appearances of some ensuing storme, moued the king to thinke of strengthening himselfe with faithfull alliances; and not long after, *Alexander* King of *Scots* came to *Turk*, (who in the yeere* before had met King *Henry* at the same place) and there tooke to wife the Lady *Joan* King *Henries* sister; and *Hubert de Burgh*, in presence of both the Kings married the Lady * *Margaret* sister to *Alexander*; *Bartolomew* * faith, that two great Lords of England married two sisters of King *Alexander* at that place. About which time, * *Isabel* Queen Dowager of *England*, without the leave of her sonne the King, or of his Council, crost the sea, and tooke to husband the Earle of *March* in *France*. The young King supposing his estate at home now somewhat settled, and his eyes beginning to grow cleare-sighted by the helpe of experience, forgets not to looke about his affaires abroad; and first sends * *Sauaric de Malen* to bee his Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, where yet the English held the greater part, and dispatcheth Ambassadors to *Philip* King of *France*, for restitution according to the Articles with *Lewis*: whereunto answer was made that nothing could be set restored (which by right of waite had bene achieved) but (as it seemes) there was a Truce for * foure yeeres agreed vpon betwene the two Monarchs, concerning the County of *Faitau*.

(13) The State both of Church and Commonwealth in those troubled daies, seeme to haue much resemblance, euery man daring to attempt in either, what his own aduocates would suggest, or others conniuey permit. But *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who himselfe was lately the ring-leader of disorders both in State and Church) is now become very diligent in his Princiuall Synode at *Oxford*,

Reg. Windsor.
24. 5.
March. Paris.
The same at
Paris at A.D.
1217, such that
King Henry
charged the Londoners
for having
given Lewis
marks in his de-
parture forcing
them to give
him as much.
* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. An. 1217.
Feb. 10.

An. 1213.

* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

* An. 1219.
* In the Temple.
Church in Lon-
don.
* *Paris* and
244. 51th.
* *Gervase* de
* *Mercurius* de
* *Mercurius* de
* *Mercurius* de

Ann. 1220.
An. 1219.
* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

King Henry
crossed againe.

* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.
* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

Ann. 1221.

* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

* *Isabel* de Mont.
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* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

* *Isabel* de Mont.
Paris. 1217.

An. 1212.
The Act of
Trial of Con-
science.
Hunt. Hist. p. 14.

* Mat. Park.

A Plewdo Chord
discovered and
immured.

* Job. Spence
Annals.
1791. West.

Deaths by immu-
ration.

Antiquit. Brit.
p. 107. Steph.
* Ol. Par. v. 10.
Antiquit. Cant. p. 107.

* East. Brit. in
Brit. Hist.
Hunt. Hist.

* Mat. Paris in
Hist. p. 107.
* An. 1217 and
Mat. Paris.

The unreasonable
vices of a
man's mind.

* Park. Hist.

* Robert. Hist.
Hunt. Hist.

* This was done
in 1212.
* An. 1217.
* By voc. West.
Hist.

* Regis. 17. West.
Hist.

Constitution and
the Covenants

* Mat. Park.

Hunt. Hist. and
see of
Hunt. Hist. p. 107.
* An. 1217 and
Mat. Paris.

ford, about reformation of the Clergie; where also was counted before him an execrable *Impostor*, who seeing how current all grossit delusions passed in those dayes of blindness, was emboldned to suffer himselfe to be wounded in his *handis forte*, and * *file* (an horror to thinke) that by the resemblance of thole bloody impressions, he might perswade the people (apt to beleave any thing) that hee was their verie *Sanitor*: whose deserved punishment was by *immuring* betweene two walles, as a monster too impious and vncworthie to die by any humane hand. There was immured with him a curied old Beate, who pretended to be *Mary* the mother of this Christ, and well might bee, if their manners bee compared; * some adde a third also, who named herself *Mary Magdalen*. The punishment by Crucifixion which * some thinke was executed vpon the man at *Arbury*, is neither so credible nor tollerable, as in which Christianity is selfe might seem to sustaine reproach, it being also against the * ancient law of *Constantine*, the first famous Christian Emperour, that any should from thence forth die by crucifixion; but it may be, that it was first so iudged (which might cause the relations error) though afterward vpon sounder deliberation changed into a more fitting censure. But strange it is, that this man deferving (as hee did) so severa iudgement at *Oxford*, *Saint Francis*, whose fiction and imposture was the very same (for the * *mynd*, though not for the name of Christ) so soon after deceased for it to be canonized at *Rome*, for a *Chiefe of Saints*; and perhaps if this Monster had been at *Rome*, hee had bene likewise *Sainted*, or if *Saint Francis* had bene at *Oxford*, hee had been likewise *immured*.

(14) In the State of the *Common-wealth* incredible darings (though of inferiour quality to that former) were not wanting, against the mastery of the Kings, as appeared by *Constance Fitz-Arthur* a Citizen of *London*: who vpon colour of a popular tumult, by him purposely cherished, (which rose at palmes of wrestling, and like maistries betweene the *Guzzers of London*, and others of the *suburbs*, Jarremped to set vp a *Leuw* againe, and in the heat of the sedition, hee traterously cried, * *Mournt-loy, Mournt-loy, God for vs and our Lord Leuw*. Though the * *Lord Mayor*, a discreet man, earnestly perswaded dutifull behaviours, yet *Constance* had made the people incapable of good Counsell with his seditious *Proclamations*, which hee there caused to bee * published. The secret of this conspiracy was * reuealed by another Citizen, and without question was farther spread then the compass of one City, euen as farre as into the heares of all such turbulent people, to whom *warre* was beneficiall, and *quiet* banefull. The chiefe *Influencer* hearing of these matters, with forces assembled, entred * the *Tower*, whither hee commaunded the principall men of the City to come, who easily put off the blame from themselves vpon *Fitz-Arthur*. But hee as resolute in his answer, as desperate in the sedition, complained of himselfe in the hearing of all, that hee had done *lesse* therein then hee ought; yet siterne thousand *Markes* sterling hee offered for his life, when hee saw the halter about his necke, (for with his *Cryer*, and his *Nephew* the next day hee was hanged,) but no price could redeeme him out of the hand of Iustice. It is said, that hee so confidently answered, vpon trust of the Articles and Oath betweene the King and *Leuw*, that the partakers of *Leuw* should not be troubled; and that, vpon this occasion, *Leuw* denied restitution of such things, as the Articles did mention, pretending that *Henry* had therein broken faith his faith, and thereby made the whole contract frustrate. Execution thus done without noise, or the *Londons* priuie, the *Justice* accompanied with *Falseslow* and his armed troupe, entred *London*, apprehends such others as were culpable, and for a terror to the rest, cutteth their hands or feet to be cut off, and then set them at liberty. The King

deposed the *Magistrats*, though some write that the tumult was appeased by the *Mayor*; but when the King found, that onely the * *baileff* were interceded in the disorder, hee was reconciled to the *Citie*, having first thus weeded this chiefe *Garden of the English Emper*, and pluckt vp by the rootes the *master bramble*.

(15) This dangerous beginning might haue had farre worse proceedings, if the King, though in yeeres tender, yet had not bene so provident, as to haue foreseen it, and so, with patient conuenance at some particular indignities, prentened a publick disquiet. For the Barons, still minding their long desired *Liberties*, and requiring a confirmation of them by the King, who, at the concluded peace with *Leuw* had sworn thereto; *William Briwere*, one of the Kings Councell answered; that the *liberties* which they demanded ought not to bee observed, because they were violently extorted. But those growing bercepoun, and Archbishoppe *Stephen* (the Barons ancient abettors) kindling thereto, the young King prudently thrust vp the whole strife with this speech: *All of vs haue sworn to these Liberties, and that which we haue sworn, all of vs are bound to observe*. His Deed immediately sealed his Word, (for hee saw hee durst doe no other), and *Writs* were sent forth, to enquire vpon *Oathes*, what *Liberties* or free customes were current, in, and from the time of King *Henry* his Grandfather: by which ad, all mens hopes were raised to expect the full conclusion of all those grievous contentions, which had so long encombered the Kingdom. The like hope was conceaved of better success then before, in terran affaires, vpon newes of the death of King *Philip of France*, the euer-deadly (and now-dead) enemy of *England* wefare; which moued the King to send the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and three other Bishops to *Leuw*, now crowned King of *France*, thereto demand the *Duchie of Normandy* and such other Lands on that side of the sea, as before his departure out of *England* hee had sworn to restore: but his answer was, *I haue held those possessions by aught title, as hee was ready to shew King Henry, if he would come to his Court to make his demand*; 2. that the King of *England* had violated his Oath, for that such as were taken at *Lincolne* were grievously finis; 3. that such *Liberties* of *England*, for which the warre was first moued, hee had bene granted at his departure, and since confirmed by oath, were not easily to be observed, but the aid wished once redoubled, and generally farre worse or dained in their place. With which solutions to their demand, the *Ambassadors* were faine to returne, and *Henry* left to come by his owne as hee could.

(16) The king well perceiving, how vnable hee should be either to recover those his Transmarine Dominions, or almost to maintain his owne royall estate at home, as fisch, as by the vntaynes of former times hauing gotten possession of Crowne-lands might still with-hold them, resolved to resume them, by aduise principally of *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Robert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, who thereby drew vpon themselves no small loads of enuie. Which recovery of such parcels of the royall Patrimony, though it were no lesse needfull then lawfull, yet by reason the interested were so many (and such as wanted no will to torde the whole Kingdom, rather then forgoe their holdings, they wisely vied all the strengths which Religion or humane policy could giue. First therefore a there was procured a Briefe from the Pope, by which both the King was declared to bee at liberty to choofe his owne Councell, and gouerne by himselfe, (which, who doubteth but hee might haue done without the Pope Bull?) and all men commaunded vnder pain of *Curses* to restore such things as against law and the Kings will, they detained from him. This put the interested into a will to raise Armes; meeting for that purpose at *Leicester*, where the *Cystrian* Earle and his * *Confederates* consult, how they (vnder

* *Wyd. Page.*
Hist. 12.

An. 1223.
Liberties again
demanded.

King Philip of
France death.

King Henry
demanded his
Signatures of
Leuw.

Leuw promised
care of English
liberties.

An. 1224
The politics
court is ready
the King is
comes his lands
from the Lord
renewed shall
want.

* *Wyd. Hist.*
Hist. 12.

Reconciliation
and vied to
disgrace the
Catholic majority.

Violence of War
and violence.

to in rage of this unexpected revocation, like a braue Roman threw the Popes letters into the fire, yet durst not disclose the Contents. And whereas the message itselfe had bene scanned and sifted to the very branne, both here and in *France*, and indged to favour of so unswifell an apprehension, as might cause a generall defection from the Church of Rome; the King in presence of his Prelates and Peeres, turned off the Popes contents demand with this thurly answer: *I he things which the Pope would perswade us unto, doe breake themselves as farre as the Christian world is wide, and because England is but an Out-Angle thereof, therefore when we see other Kingdomes give us an example, wee shall then finde us the more forward to obey.*

(11) That difficultie so avoided; the King was earnestly bent to make a voyage in person to the aide of his brother Earle *Richerd*, who poisoned the affaires of *Gascogne*; which through by the late Earle of *Sarisbury* death it received some maim; yet by the fortitude and counsell of other noble persons, it did still prosper. This intention and desire was staid by the receipt of letters out of *France*, which declared the Earle his brothers health, and the good successe of affaires. The King (some say) among his Counsellors of State, had one *William de Perrepaud* a great Astrologer, who foretold that *Leuis* King of *France* should not prevaile, and this affirmation did the rather withhold him at that present.

There is who* writes, that King *Henry* (upon the Popes letters) forbore to attempt any thing in *France* at that time, lest he should hinder *Leuis*, who was then upon an enterprize against the remains of the *Albigenses* in *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and the parts about. These men were traduced for *Hereticks*, and so condemned by the See of *Rome*; but what their *Heresy* was,* *Fryer* (who writes against them,) reports, saying, they were of all other the most pernicious Sect; for antiquity (some holding they were from the *Apollis* times; for generally, there scarce being any Nation where they are not; and lastly, for shew of piety, in that they live justly before men, and believe all things touching God aright, &c. all the articles of the Creed,* only they blaspheme and hate the Church of *Rome*. No marvell if this horrible heresy did trouble his *Holynes*, and therefore, whereas his Predecessor, and himselfe had kept much ado in *Christendome*, to exorcismen to take the *Signe of the Crosse*, and warre against the *Turkes*, (which the *Fryers* did perswade men unto, teaching, that *whosoever were palliased with any heinous offence, as *Parricide*,* *incest*, *Sacrilege*, &c. was presently acquitted both from the sinne, and the punishment of it. if hee thus take the *Crosse* upon him,) now, because the Earle of *Tholous* and his people entertained the forsworn *Heretic*, the *Crosse*, and *boile warres* were by the Pope denounced against them. Of which Earle yet let us heare the iudgement of another* *Fryer* then lining. These (saith hee) who thus take the warres and *Crosse* against him, did it more for feare of the French King, and the Popes Legate, then for zeale of iustice; it seemeth to many a wrong about to iustify a faithfull Christian man, and one who with many traies desired the Legate to examine the faith of some one of his Cities, and if any one held against the *Crablon* libellous, hee would punish him, according to the iudgement of the Church, and if any City should resist him, hee would enforce it to make satisfaction. As for himselfe, hee offered to be examined by the Legate touching his faith, and if hee were faulty, hee would make satisfaction to God and the Church. But all these things the Legate scorned, nor could that Catholike Earle find any fauour, unless hee would forsake his inheritance, and abjure it both for himselfe, and his heires for ever. These were the *Heretics* against which *Leuis* was now employed by the Pope, and King *Henry* the while *commanded to forbear from impeaching his holy enterprize. Wherein *Leuis* had spent a month in the siege of *Amisins*, and endured (for all his sacred *Crossings*) marvellous losses, by a terrible plague de-

stroying his Army by a strange kind of venomous flies, dispatching many, by a ioudaine drowning of a great part of his Armie; and lastly, by being himselfe* poisoned by one of his Earles (an vnchast Riual of his Bedde) though it was given forth of him (as o of his late Enemy King *John*, whom some thinke that *Leuis* his friends did make away) that hee died only of a Flux.

(12) The news of the French Kings death seconded with false relations of sundry discontentments, and open factions vnder the young King (who was but* about twelue yeeres of age) bred an hope in King *Henry* mind, that now the time was come, wherein hee might recover those ancient inheritances which his Forefathers held in *France*; and to advance his hopes, he had his mother Queene *Isabel* (wife to the Earle of *March* in those parts,) an earnest solicitor. Peter Duke of *Britaine* was the principall man who tooke offence that himselfe had not a chiefe hand in directing the young King *Leuis*; but his prudent mother Queene *Blanch** weakened his party by drawing his brother Robert Earle of *Dreux* from him; and albeit the Duke had repaired the breach, by affinity with the Earle of *Champain*, (one of the twelue Peeres of that Realme, to whom the Duke married the Ladie *Blonde* his daughter and heire,) yet was the Earle driven by a short warre to continue quiet. The Duke hereupon calles himselfe upon King *Henry*; *See for a succession Angles*, the English aduerses come forth such *Amblus*. These and the like inducements moued the King to send *Walter Archbischope* of *Tork*, with others to the chiefe men of *Normandie*, *Angou*, and *Poitou*, that by large promises they might procure them to acknowledge *Henry* for their King, or by persuasions, facilitate their reduction to the English Souerainie; who accordingly profecuted their employment.

(13) These opportunities for that designe, moued the King to bestow how to gather money, to furnish his chargefull an enterprize; whereby while he sought to provide to recover that which was lost, hee manifestly occasion to hazard that which hee had. The only great man in Court now was *Hubert de Burgh*: For the King professing himselfe of age to gouerne without a Tutor or Protector, did principally confere with him about all his most weightie affaires. Hence grew more enuy against *Hubert*, and perill to the King. From a the *Londoners* (besides the granted aides of a sixteenth, which all degrees were subiect vnto) he wrang five thousand Markes, for that they had (as was alleged) to his preiudice, given *Leuis* the like summe. In the Parliament at *Oxford*, by aduice of *Hubert* his Lord Chiefe iustice, hee reuokes the *Charters of Liberties*, which now for two yeeres had been practised through the Realme; pretending, that at the time of their Grant the King was vnder age, and had then no liberty either of his person or Signature; though otherwise, the royall power of the English Monarchie neuer pleads pupillage or minority. It turned the turne for the time, and all men were faine to pay, what *Huberts** pleasure was to assele, for obteining the new Seal. The fortune of such Arts, whereby they were wont to fill Princes Treasuries, was not alwaies without repentance to the Authors, and Authorisers. The Clergie was compelled (vnder paine of Papall Censures) to pay the Fifteenth not only for their temporal goods, but also for their Ecclesiasticall; and yet in the end, (after so much toiling of the People,) the Kings Ambassadors returned out of *France*, without having effected that which they went about, so that the whole enterprize qualified. For Queene *Blanch* by sweet and prudent counsell, so preuailed among the factions, that there was left no place for *Henry* to take fare hold vpon. The Duke of *Britaine* (who expected the English succours not till the Spring,) was so neerely prest, and almost opprest, with a winter war, that he thought himselfe beholding to his brother

The Popes excommunication was lifted.

* See Paris.

* The Earle of Champagne, and the Popes Legate, were probably charged with *Leuis* in *Quene*.

* See Paris.

* See Paris.

* See Paris.

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that Robert Earle of Drogha, for procuring his price through a wretch with such a condition, as avert after, left upon him, the by-name of *Maulwurf* or *Mole-dog*. He acknowledged the Duties of Britain to be the Eye of the Crown of France, and that by right it ought to hold thereof; this acknowledgment, being against all apparent truth and Record, procured to him that by-name. Such conclusion at this present had King *Henric* French defendants. Our ancient Authors write, that this dishonourable bondage was done long after, and with an halter about his necke, at such time as the King of England refused to goe in perieus to his succours, but offered *Four* Earles, and other competent Forces, which he refused by harbouring a revolt in his boosome, and turned Pirate.

(24) The coill will which the other great Lords secretly harboured against *Hubert*, (whose Enemy the Kings favour is) creating him Earle of *Kent* had lately encreased, now openly discovered it kille, upon this occasion. *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, the Kings brother, (lately returned with honor out of *Gwynedd*) had seized into his hands a certaine Manour, then in the tenure of one *Walter a Dulen* Gentleman, (to whom King *Jehan*, for his good services had formerly given it,) which hee alleged was parcel of his Earldome of *Cornwall*. The King hereupon directs his letters to his brother, commanding him to come immediately and take a reuision of his said He due do, and without any pleaders helpe defended, as ill the feisure which he had made, concluding among other words, that hee was ready to stand to the iudgement of the Kings Court, and Peeres of the Realm. When the King, and the Chief Iusticiar heard him name the Peeres of the Realm, they (suspecting his bent that way) were exceedingly offended; and (said the King) either restore the Manour to *Walter*, or thou shalt depart out of the Kingdom, never to returne: at which peremptory sentence, the Earle boldly (but too rashly) answered; that hee neither would give his right to *Walter*, nor without the iudgement of the Peeres depart the Realm. The Earle in this heat returns to his lodging; thence (vpon surmise that *Hubert* had perswaded the King to lay hold on him) he posteth to *Marleborough*, where finding *William Marleborough* the young Earle of *Pembroke*, hee enters into a full confederacy, ratified by oath; and *Ranulf Earle of Chester* is easily drawn to make another. Letters thence flying about to all their friends, at *Stanford* there assembled vnto them, the Earles of *Glooucester*, of *Warren*, of *Hereford* and *Warwick*, *Earle Ferrers*, many Barons, and an huge multitude of armed men. Their strengthes being in likely hood able to beat out their darings, they address a bold message to the King, by which they re-

quire him in the very Palace, to make preſent criminal to his
 Fathers for the wrong he had done; the ſlands whereof
 they imputed not to him, but to the chief ſuitor; and
 that if he did not without delay reſtore the Charters of
 Liberties, which he had cancelled at Oxford, they
 would drive him by dint of ſword to give them ſterner
 competent ſatisfaction. The King ſeem't it no ſafe
 time to deny their requests, appoints to meet at
 Northampton in Auguſt next; where the Earle of
 Cornwall upon his ſolicite reſolute demand of
 the King, had large arrears of any injury ſuſtain-
 ed, his Patrimony being augmented with large
 acceſſions. The moderation and equanimity of
 the King (terrified by his Fathers example) peaceably
 finiſhed this contention (the matter of the Charters
 being for the time buſied at ſome) which might
 otherwiſe have coſt many thouſand lives, and have
 hazarded the ruine both of King and kingdom.

lending through a great wood of* hucicaiges long,
that traualterly ordinarily there spoiled might paine
more safely. The Welsh not suffering that waile, vi-
olently assailed the Workemen, and not without
slaughter on both sides, drave them into the Co-
bble; which drew the King (who euen in little mat-
ters vied to make one) to comethither in person,
who, with a competent strength, glues not out,
till hee had with fire, and other force, consumed
the whole Forrest. From whence hee peireth far-
ther into Wales, and consumes with fire a place cal-
led * Cradley, where whiles the King is building a
Casse to bridle them, * Llewelin drew thither
his forces, where many were slaine on both sides,
and a man of speciall worth William de* Brause (or
de Bruse) by the Welsh intercepted, as he went
to forrage in the Country; * many great persons there
in the Kings Army being severely confederated with
Llewelin. By which trecherous practise, victualles
grew so scarce, that the king was compelled to yield
to a very dishonourable peace, the conditions where-
of were: that the King should raze to the ground the
new fort now almost finished; that * William de Bruse
should sell remayne Prisoner till the Welsh thought good,
that Llewelin should give the King toward his expenses
three thousand Markes.

(36) These home-bredde garboyles thus appeared, whereas Ambassadors had formerly repayred to the king out of *Galesne, Fainne, and Normandie*, to offer him their services for recovery of thole his inheritances if himself would com in perion with a royall Armie, hee about *Aethelstan* is now ready at *Perisburg* for the exploit; whether all his Nobles were come with so greata multitude, nonely out of England, but out of *Ireland, Wales and Gallerye*, as none of his ancessors ever had. Many ere the motives which encouraged the king to this attempt, but none greater then the basic workings of Queen *Dorothea* his mother. *Lewis* king of France had created his brother *Aimlie* Duke of *Poitoun*, commanding the Lords of that Country to doe their homages to him; one of these was *Hugh Earle of March* now husband to *Queene Isobel*, who because shee had once bene the Wife of a King, and now the *Mother*, disdained that euen her presint husband, though but an Earle, should doe homage to a *Schallie*, and thereby her Earlie (bearing the stile of a Queene) seeme inferioriour to the Lady tane, wife of Duke *Aimlie*. The Earle was therupon sworne to a refusal of homage; and the like spirit thes had breathed into the heates of the princely family of *Lefauan*, whose Ancessors had been Kings of *Ierusalem and Cyprus*. Norr then contented to haue plotted a party, for her Sonne among the *French*, he is charged to haue fought by payloia to make riddance of *Lewis* himselfe, and that her Agents for that purpose were discovered, and executed. But *Aimlie* shall pardon vs, if we herein crite not his iudgement, as also in thinking her the Author of labouring *Affaires* to murder the King; for that we find him singular therein, the * recieued opinion being, that they were first vnder-hand by the *Surceases* out of *Affaire*, to take away the daunger which they forelaw was comming, in regard King *Lewis* was too deuoutly addicted to Chriatian piety, and the hatred of *Mahomets* Infidelity. There were also at the same time great Divisions among the *French* Nobility; but the *English* (saith *Aimlie* himselfe) wrought not by treachery, but after the manner of faire warre, which they first by defiance denounced, and then did openly prosecute with sword in hand.

(27) The King of England being thus provided of men, munition, and other necessities fitt for the field, and now ready to embarke: there was not shipping sufficient to transport halfe the Company. Which enraged the King so farre, that turning himselfe to Earle *Stubbs*, (upon whom hee charged the blame) he called him *vaine old Traitor*, affirming,

* *Man. Paris.*
-An. 1314.
Scriptoris Petr.
apud Paul. Famil.
in London.

* Engle Wood,
MS.
Mel Park, at
A.D. 1840

* Yet Walpole's mannerism earlier of Kent before that Ceremony of gardening him with the sword.

* 1970-71, 1972-73,
1974-75, 1976-77.

The Barons in
Armes at Edin-
burgh.

The Baron rebels: rebellious message to the King.

The Wells in
Armenia.

* *Quercus laevis*
var. *laevis*

* Eng. Wood, 205
Main Park,
Crescent C.
Pawson Hall,
Cambr.
* Main Park,
* Hall, Cambr.

* Long Spined Ant S.
Palm Forest.

* This William was afterwards married by Lewis for living with his wife, as is reported in *Mat. Fern.* of 48. 1396, through which it was by reason of Hubert de Burgh letters to Lewis. *Mat. Fern.* of 48. 1396.

Queen Isidore
practices her law
So we stand
the French.

Queen 1st of
July charged.

* With Gentry
the East.

The noble form
affractive among
the old English
perished by stran-
gers.

Early Robert
in the Kings
disposition.

that hee had of purpose benee flake herein, as in other things, in regard of five thousand Marks, with which the Queene Dowager of France had (as he said) embroiled him, and withall ranne at him in great fury with his drawne sword, but *Ranulph Earle of Chester* and others stept betweene, and saved the King from so foule a blemish, who loone after receiued him into grace againe. But that assembly was dispersed by the arrival of a great man out of *Britaine*, a principal confederate with the English against *Lewis*, who shewed the vnreasonable time of the yeare, and other reasons; and the enterprize thereupon adiuined to the Spring. So after Easter hee transports from *Portsmouth* with a full Armie into *Britaine*.

The same day in which hee set saile from *England*, himselfe did in person, visite the poore and feeble, and dealt large Almes, not refusing to kisse the sick and leprous. The success of this voyage is so diuerly reported, that without prejudice to an obseruant Reader, it might be all left out. Much certainly was not done. The King of *England* purpose was to haue marched through *Britaine* (where many receiued him) into *Paillais*; and as some write hee did so, and tooke homage in *Galesaigne*. To emperch this passage, the King of *France* lay with a great Armie at *Angiers*, and the King of *England* at *Nantes* in *Britaine*, expecting the repaire of more force. *Fulk Paynalen* noble *Norman*, with about sixty valiant Knights perswaded the King of *England*, it was easie for him to reduce *Normandie* to his obedience; but *Habert de Burgh* diuerted the King from acceptance of that enterprize. The *Normans* therefore made an ill journey and an vn lucky, for they pleased not with King *Henry*, and for their conspiracy were distressed at home by King *Lewis*. But whether it were by losse in battle (wherein, if any battle were at all, some say the French had the better, taking about foure thousand of the English,) or otherwise, this is agreeed on, that after the walk of infinite Treasures, and the great diminution of his numbers, the King of *England* returned without accomplishment of his purpose; leaving for the defence of *Britaine*, the three great Earles of *Chester*, *Pembroke* and *Arundell*, with forces answerable.

(28.) It is not vnlike that the dangerous rebellion of the *Irish* halloed his returne; for the King of *Connaught* and his *Irish*, seeing the King and the Earle of *Pembroke* (who as Heire to the great *Strangleham* had goodly possessions in those parts) whole embroiled in the enterprize of *Britaine*, had invaded the Kings people, with a purpose and bope, veterlie to expell and amoue out *Nation* from among them: but their deuiles proued mischieuous to themselves, that rebellious King himselfe being taken Prisoner, not without the losse of many thousands of the *Irish*. The *Irish* also loone after brake out againe, whose Prince *Lorenus*, in reuenge of those *Irishmen* heads, which *Habert de Burgh* had cruelly caused to be stricken off in cold blood, and presented to the King, had burnt certaine Churches and Gentlewomen in them; for which, at *Oxford* in the presence of the King, all the Nobility, and Clergy, hee was solemnly excommunicated: and the King there gathering a great Army, in person went to repress the *Irish*, though not without losse.

(29.) Another Garboyle thereafter no lesse disturbed the whole Land, the Insulency of the *Romans* (who were charged to haue wrought innumerable confusion and infinite grieuances to the King, his Kingdom, Peeres and People) stirring vp multitudes through the Land, by a common consent, to seek by force to shake off the importable yoke of their oppressions. It was alledg'd by these reformers, that they had vnder hand the Kings Letters Patents, the Lord Chief Iustice assent, the Bishop of *London*s countenance, and the Sheriffes aide in sundry Shires, whereby the armed troopes rook heart euery where, violently to seize on the *Romans* Corne, and their

other wealths which booties they employed to good purposes, and for reliefe of the poore, the *Romans* the while biding their heades, for feare of looting them. And though the King, on the Popes complaint thereof, seemed to milike the outrage, yet had the King himselfe no lesse cause to bee moued with the insulency of the Pope, then were his Subjects of those Popelings. For that very time the See of *Canterbury* being void, *Ralph Nevill* Bishop of *Norwich* was elected by the *Monks*, and gladly approved by the King, whose most faithfull Chancellor hee was, an vnshaken pillar of truth, doing right to all without delages, especially to the poore, without declining to the right hand or the left. But the Pope being told he was a Royalist and one that would iure with the King and whole Kingdom (who were all struggling to shake off the Popes seruitude) and would to the death stick to that law and those Appeals, which *Stephen Langton* solemnly before the Altar in *Saint Pauls Church* urged against King *Iohn* (whom hee to the See of *Rome*, his Election (as being a person very dangerous) was perfectly pronounced void. Whereupon the *Monks* choos'd a second, and him the Pope misliked, for being too old, and losit spiritied, then a third was elected, a man of eminent learning, a Student in the *Vniuersity* of *Oxford*, and him also the Pope reiect'd, never resting till they had chosen *Edmond of Abington*, a man more pleasing to the *Romane* palate. But the King seeing the Great Emperor *Friederick*, even this very time whiles hee was winning the Kingdom of *Ierusalem* from *Infidels*, so Turkishly in his absence depouled from his owne Empire by the Pope, vpon a priuate spleene; no more able, if in this his vnripe age, and distracted government, hee feared to draw on himselfe by any opposition, so mercilesse an enemy. So that for the time these indignities were winked at in these parts in *France* also by the wisdom of Queen *Blanch*, and mediation of the Archbishops of *Reims*, and *Philip* Earle of *Boulens* of one part, and the Earles of *Britaine* and *Chester* on the other, a three yeeres cessation from mutual hostilities was ratified by oath, betwene the French and English.

(30.) *Habert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, Chief Iustifier of *England*, hauing with few rubbes hitherto, enjoyed the most inward loue and fauour of well of this King, as of King *Iohn*, seemes now to haue run the Stage of his best fortunes. For the King (vpon occasion of such inrodes and spoiles, as the Prince *Lewins* continually made in the Marches of *Wales*) being advertised by *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and certaine other of the Councell, once for all to giue an end to those braues and insolencies of the *Welsh*, complained; that hee was not able in regard of his want; saying, that his Treasurers told him, all the rents of his Exchequer would doe no more then scarce maintaine apparrell, houshold and ordinary Almes-deeds. This was not vnknowne to the Bishop, and the rest of that faction, who watched this opportunity of purpose to lift the Earle of *Kent* out of fauour: wherefore they boldly answered the King; that if he were poore hee might thanke himselfe, who gave away to others such Honours, Castles, and Dignities, as were vacant, alienating them from his estate, that hee was worthy to be called a King in name, rather then for any riches which hee had; that his Ancestors, magnificent Princes, abounding in all sorts of worldly glorie, and wealth, heaped to themselves innumerable treasures, out of no other means, but the Bents and Profites of the Kingdom.

(31.) The King stung with this iust reprehension, beganne (by their instructions) to call the Sheriffes of Shires, Baylives, and other his Officers to a straie account, for all such recites, as appertained to the Exchequer, thrusting some out of their places, and wringing out of all their full sponges, store of coine, till hee satisfied himselfe both for the arrerages and interest. Out of *Ralph Briton* a Treasurer of his Chamber hee drew a thousand pounds, and

* Met. Paris calls him Heric
Heir of Britain,
saying Peter
Duke of Aquitaine.

Ann. 1230.

* The great hostility and charity of Henry.
Tudor.

* Reg. de Wind.
M.

* Ralph. Virgil.
in the 12th. Statute,
ad A. R. 12. 1230.

* Ralph. Virgil.
in the 12th. Statute,
ad A. R. 12. 1230.

* Met. Paris.

* Paul. Aemil.

* Reg. de Wind.
M. in Paris.
M. in Paris.
in 1230. Reg. de Wind.

The Irish attempting to recover their Country from the English, &c.

Ann. 1231.

* Met. Paris.

* Met. Paris.

* Idem ibid.

* Reg. de Wind.
M.

* Met. Paris.

Fals.

Idem.

Antiph. Britan.
in the 12th. Statute.

Met. Paris in
1230.

* Paul. Aemil.

These years
trace with
France.
Reuolued. M.
Met. Paris.

Ann. 1231.
The annual
division of
Earle Kent.

The causes of
the Kings want
traced with.

* Ralph. Virgil.
in the 12th. Statute.
ad A. R. 12. 1230.

* Met. Paris.
in the 12th. Statute.

and also path him from his place, into which (by the Bishoppe of Winchester suggestion, who now predominated in Conrey) hee substituted *Peter de Cornhill* a * *Feilstone*, the Bishoppes * *Nephew* or *Sonne*, if *Paris* say true; and forsooth hee, the *Kings* suffers otherwise empty and leave, were by these means shifted againe, though not to their full surfeit. For these were but preparatives to a further intestine and raskie, intended against the Earle of *Kent*, whom (upon the * *Bishoppes* suggestion) the King removed from the * *Protectorship* (or high office of his *Chiefe Justice*) and put in his place *Sir Stephen Seagrave* a *Kent* onely in name. Then a strict and capacious account demanded of the Earle of *Kent*, for all such things as he was in any sort chargeable with; as, 1. For such receipts or debts, as were due to *King John*, or to this *King Henry* himselfe; 2. For the meane profits of such lands, as the King was seized of, from the day of the death of the first great *William*, Earle of *Pembroke*, his Justiciar and Marshall, whither those lands were in *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, or *Patrimony*; 3. For such Liberties or free Customes which the King had in *Forrests*, *Warrens*, *Counties* and else where, and how they were kept or alienated. 4. For such things as the King lost by *Huberts* negligence; 5. For the wronges and damages offered to the *Romanes*, and *Italian* Clerks, and to the *Popes* *Nuncios* against the Kings will by authority of *Hubert*, who would take no order to correct the misdoers, as by vertue and nature of his place hee was obliged; 6. For the many excoages comming by Carruages, gifts and presents, or for the rents of Custodies belonging to the Crowne.

(32) To all which heades, the Earle answered, that hee had the Charter of the Kings Father, by which hee was freed from giuing any account eyther for things passed, or to come, and that hee had giuen such proofe of his fidelity unto *King John*, as he would not chuse to beare him make an account. *Peter* Bishoppe of *Winchester* replyed hereunto, that such a Charter after the death of *King John* had no force, and therefore the Fathers Charter, and ground of *Privilege*, was no reason why he should not stand accountable to the *Sonne*. This defence for money dangers in this sort trueried or auoyded, they labored to draw him in for his head, by charging him with sundry Articles sounding treasonable; as, 1. That *Hubert* had disswayed the Duke of *Austria* from matching his Daughter with the King who sought it; 2. that he had hindered the King from entering vpon forraign lands to him belonging, whereby the King, Peeres, and People conuulsed their Treasures vainly; 3. that hee had enticed the Daughter of the King of *Scots* (whom *King John* had entruisted to his custody, meaning himselfe to marry her) & traitorously defiled the noble young Lady, whom he married in hope to be King of *Scotland* in her right, if shee survived her Brother; 4. that hee had done out of his leuel-houle a precious stone of wonderful value, whose vertue was to make him who had it, invincible in Battle, & that he gaue that stone to *Llewellyn* prince of *Wales*, the Kings enemy; 5. that he by his letters had caused *Llewellyn* to hang *William de Breuse*.

(33) The Earle much perplexed with these accusations (whether true or false) could hardly obtaine a short respite to make his answer; Thus, that *Hubert* (say * the Monkes) who for love of the King, and defence of the Kingdom, had provoked the hatred of all the great Lords, now being forsaken of the King, is left sole and solitary, without friends or comfort. Onely *Luke* Archbishoppe of *Dublin* puerer follooke him, but with prayers and teares beought the King on his behalfe, but could not be heard against the great opposites, on so great pretences. When the cry was thus vp, and that the world saw it was no superficiall displeasure, into which the Earle was fallen with the mutable King, there rose forth many accu-

sations (insuouring of much malignity) round about, vpon hopes to oppress & bury *Hubert* vnder them for euer; as, 1. that hee had poisoned the two noble Barres of *Salisbury* and *Pembroke*; 2. that hee had also procured *Falsburgh* de *Brent*, and *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to be made away; 3. that by *Sorceries* and *Enchantments*, hee had deuene the King to fauour him e-bow all other; 4. that in the *willow* gotten against the French by *Sea*, hee sweetly took many Prisoners from the Kings Soldiers, and made his benefite of their ransom, contrary to right, and that hee had spoiled and dispossessed many; 5. that hee had without trauell vniuently put to death *Constantine*, for which offence the Citizens of *London* required iustice against the said *Hubert*. The King hereupon makes Proclamation through the City, that all such as could charge *Hubert* with any wrong, should repaire to Court, and there receive immediate redrefe. This strange course of proceeding did so appale and terrifie the Earle, that hee forthwith fled to the Priore Church of *Merton* in *Surrey*, where among the Chanons, hee sheltered his head for a time.

(34) The King with his Prelates and Peeres meeting at *Lambeth*, at the * day appointed for *Huberts* answer, hee (being made to beleue that the King would put him to a most foule death) durst not appeare, or peepe forth of his sacred temple. The *Londons* were assembled in Armes (by the Kings command) to the number of about twenty thousand vnder banners displayed to dragger the Earle out of Sanctuary: but vpon the Earle of *Cheshires* wisser Counsell, the prey was taken out of the hands of a blondy multitude (who mortally hated him for *Constantines* death) and they returned againe to their City. The Archbishoppe of *Dublin* still performing the office of a true friend, ouerslips not this occasion, and by his importunke obtayned day for *Hubert*, till about Twelfe-oide then next ensuing, and the King for his allowance, during the *Interim*, giues him letters Patent, *Hubert* thinking himselfe secure for the present, is now vpon his way toward his wife at the Abbey of *Saint Edmund* in *Suffolke*, but his enemies so prevailed by their suggestions, that *Sir Godfrey de Cauxemb* Knight, with three hundred armed men, was sent to apprehend the Earle in *Exile*. Hee having intelligence of their approach, fledde into a Chappell at * *Brentwood*, which adioyned to his lodging, from whence those rough Souldiers haled him (hee holding in one * *hand* a *Crucifix*, and in the other the Sacrament) and sent for a Smith to make for him shackles of yron. But when the Smith vnderstood, that it was for *Hubert* de *Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, he refused, vntill such words (if *Mathew Paris* doe not Poetize) as did well shew that honourable thoughts are sometimes found in the hearts of men, whose fortunes are farr from honour, for hauing first drawne a deepe sigh, hee said; * *Dee with mee what wee please, and God haue mercy on my soule* but at first as the Lord saith, *I will neuer make yron shackles for him, but will rather let the worst death that is. For is not this that most loyal and courageous Hubert, who so often hath preferred England from being destroyed by strangers, to reuend England to England? Hee who faithfully and constantly served his Sovereigne Lord King John in Gasconie, Normandy, and else where, that he was compelled to eate the flesh of hisse, whose high courage even Enemies admired; hee, that so long defended Dover Castle, the Key of England, against all the exquisite forces of the French, and by vanquishing them at *Sea*, brought safety to the Kingdome? What need I rehearse his excellent deuias at *Lincolne* and *Bedford*? Let God be iudge between him and you, for seeing him so vniuently and inhumane, repaying good with euill, nay requiring his most excellent deserts with the worst recompence that can be.* But *Sir Godfrey*, and his blacke band regarded not such speeches, but otherwise binding the Earle hard, they let him on horse-backe, and so conuayed him to the Tower of *London*.

(35) This

* *Wm. M. S.*
* *Mat. Paris.*

* *Wm. M. S.*
* *Mat. Paris.*

The printed pall
coats in the
Sergeant prepared
for the Battle of
Kens.

The Earle of
Kent desires
disallowed.

Articles no ob-
jections of
treason objected.

A precious stone
on make a man
invincible, if you
believe it.

The Earle takes
Sanctuary;
* *Wendover.*
* *Mat. Paris.*

Other malicious
Articles objected

The hanging of
Constantine
objected.

The Earle of
Kent takes
Sanctuary.

* *On Holwood*
day, 14. Sept.

The Earle again
takes Sanctuary;
* *Fab. Crec. 261.*

* *Reg. Wm. M. S.*
* *Mat. Paris.*

He himselfe and
noble mind out of
poore Authors.

* *Adm. M. P.*
at *VP* end.

A pious speech of
that Admirer.

The Earle re-
turned to the
Sanctuary from
whence hee was
taken.

* *Reginald, 261.
Mat. 2. 10.*

The Archbishop
of Dublin a flesh-
full friend to
Hubert.

The Earle was
here delivered
to the King.

The King re-
spects towards the
Earle and will
not take his life.

* *In wishings.*

An. 1231.
An. 1231.

* *Ward. 261.*

* *Ward. 261. 262.
Ind. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.*

(35) This breach of Sanctuary being made known to Roger Bishoppe of London (whose Diocesse it was) he confidently tells the King, that if the Earle were not reformed to the Chappell, hee would excommunicate all the Authors of that outrage. The Earle is accordingly reformed: but the Sherifves of Essex and Hereford, as the Kings commandment, with the powers of their counties besiege the Chappell so long, that at last (they having cut a Trench about it that none might goe in or out) the Earle was compelled to come forth and render himselfe, bearing all things with an equall mind, as one that had a *clear conscience before God*, which hee professed to haue. While the Chappell was thus beset round, the Kings indignation was so violent, that hee forbade all men once to make mention of Hubert in his hearing. No man durst then if it bee said, that the Princes indignation is death. The Archbishoppe of Dublin neuertheless was not dejected, but with prayers and teares besought the King, who remained as yet inexorable, Huberts enemies possessing his soule and senses. Hubert therefore being imprisoned in the Tower. There was no sacrifice as it seemed could appease the Kings ire, but that of the Earles Hoord of gold, and other riches, which the Knights Templars had in their custodie vpon trust, & without Huberts consent refused to deliuer. Hubert therefore willingly yeelds; which when the Depu- ties did giue vp, the value seemed incredible. This hoarding perhaps was Huberts crime, whereof being thus purged, he had hope to recouer out of these deadly pangis and consultations of fortune, and him- selfe to bee made capable of curing. Well, the king obtains this precious booty, but his enemies would haue his blood also; saying, *that hee was convicted of theft and fraud, it was meet he should die a most shame- full death*. It seemes, they thought, that the vertie finding of so much treasure was a consuetion of fraud in the getting, and that the King must bee interpreted to haue lost, whatsoever the Earle had gained. But the displeasure of the King was mollified with this golden baine, for hee answered them thus; *Hubert from his childhood hath (as I haue heard) faithfully enough serued my uncle King Richard, and my Father King Iohn, and if hee haue done ill towards me, hee shall neuer therefore die an unright death. For I had rather be reputed a foolish or a negligent King, then a cruel Tyrant, or a bloody man towards him, who hath long serued mee and mine ancestors; nor will I weigh more his euill deedes, which are not as yet manifest, nor giue trace, then all his good deeds, which are plaine- ly knowne to the Realme, and to us all*. Hereupon Hubert had all such lands granted vnto him, as eyther King Iohn had giuen, or himselfe had purchased. There undertooke for him to the King (as forreins) the Earles of Cornwall, and Warren, Marshal & Ferrars, and himselfe was committed to the Castle of Denford, there to abide in free Prison, vnder the Custodie of foure Knights, belonging each of them to one of these foure Earles. This Court-scene thus in part ouerblowne, let vs take our standings, to view what other weather followed, and what countenance of things in this Kingdome did next present it selfe to the world.

(36) The King being naturally, as it seemes, addicted to repose himselfe vpon some one mans counsell, was now wholly swayed by Peter de Rupibus Bishoppe of Winchester, who had therefore wrought the Earle out of grace, that hee might folow raigne, and predominate in the gentile King. Which the better to effect, the Bishoppe procures him to displace the English Officers, and in their roomes to surrogate Poitounes and Bretons, who coming o- uer to the number of about two thousand, hee flusses his Castles with them, and in briefe did as it were wholly entrust himselfe, his treasures, strength, and the Realme to them. So that *Indignments were committed to the conuass, Lawes to the Out-lawes, Peace to Wranglers, and Justice to wrong-doers*. Such as would

haue praied redresse for these abuses, were interrup- ted, and put off by the Bishoppe of Winchester. Among them who were removed from their places in Court, was one Sir William de Redone a Knight, and Deputy Marshall to Richard Earle of Pembroke. This was to the Earle very displeasing, which ioyned with a consideration of the publike cause and danger, he associates vnto him certaine of the great Lords (as was the fashion of those Lording times, vpon every discontent,) and in the Company of them aduanceth confidently to the King, whom in the hearing of many hee retrioueth; for that hee had, through his- ter aduise, called in the Poitounes, to the oppression of the Realme, of his natural subiects, of their Lawes and Liberties: *humble therefore hee beseecheth him that hee would graciously reforme such abuses, which threatened the amiable subiects both of the Crowne and Kingdome: which if hee did not, himselfe and other Lords, would so long withdraw their attendance, as hee enter- tained strangers*. The Bishoppe herewith makes answer, *I hat the King might well and lawfully call in what strangers himselfe thought good, for the defence of the Crowne and Realme, and such, and so many of them, as might be able to compell his proud and rebellious people to due obedience*. When the Oracle would speake no otherwise, they departed from Court greatly discontented, firmly promising one to the other, that in such a cause which did so touch them all, they would like men stand together while anie breath was in their bodies.

(37) Those who were now most potent about the King, nothing sorry for the discontentment of so great a Peere as the Earle Marshall, but counten- ing it a part of their strength, to vie the regall power toward the weakening of the English, nourish in the King his assertion. The minds of men sufficientlie inclining of themselves, to doubt the worst vpon such diuisions, that their feare increased by findee prodigies of strange thunders and raines, but especially of foure redde P arabolles (or resemblances of the Sunne) besides the Sunne it selfe, (appearing a- bout the parts of Hereford and Worcester) from morn- ing till night in the Skies: and indeed much trouble immediately ensued aswell in England as Wales, & Ireland. The Poitounes, and other Strangers thus bearing the sway, so as the Kings person went guard- ed with troups of such, the Earles and Barons being by the Kings command summoned to ano- ther Parliament at Oxford, refused to come. While the King was there, one Robert Bacon, who vied there to preach before the King and Prelates, freelic told him, that if hee did not remove from him Peter Bishoppe of Winchester, and Peter de Rualis, he could neuer be so quiet. The King did hereupon a little come to himselfe, & Roger Bacon a Clergy-man also of a pleasant wit, did second Roberts aduise, telling the King that *Petra and Asper* were most dangerous things as sea, alluding to the Bishops name, *Petrus de Ru- pibus*. The King therefor (as hee had the happines in his mutability, to change for his more security) taking that good aduise of Schollers, which hee would not of his Peeres, summons a Parliament to be holden at Westminster, giving the world to know with- all, that his purpose was to amend by their aduise, whatsoener ought to be amended.

(38) But the Barons, considering that still there arrived sundry strangers, men of waite with Horie and Armour, and not trusting the Poitounes faith, came not, but presumed to fend this traitorous mes- sage to the king, that if out of haud hee reman- ed not Peter Bishop of Winchester, and the Poitounes out of his Court, they all of them, by the common assent of the kingdom, would drive him & his wicked Counsellors to- gether out of it, and consule about creating a new Souer- eign. The king (whom his fathers example made more timorous,) could easily haue bene drawne, to haue redeemed the loue of his natural Liegemen, with the disgrace of a few strangers; but the Bishoppe of Winchester and his friends infused

The king by ad- uising stran- gers discontent his Nobles.

The English Peeres conside- red against the Strangers.

Four Sunnes the day in April, April 25. 1213. Mat. 2. 10.

The Barons com- mence the Kings Summons. Petrus de Ru- pibus. The kinde speech of a Pre- dicator.

* Thus is, Rualis and Iones.

* To July.

The Barons in- deed contempt of the kings sum- mons.

The tyrannous rage of the king.

* In Anglii. acc.

more spirit into him. Whereon, to all those whom he suspected, the King lets downe a day, within which they should deliver sufficient pledges to secure him of their loyalty. Against that day the Lords in great numbers make repair to London, but the Earle Marshall (admonished of danger, by his sister the Countesse of Cornwall) flies backe to Wales, and chiefly for want of his * preference nothing was concluded. The King not long after is in *Gloster* with an Armie, whither the Earle and his adherents required to come, refused, the King therefore burns their Mannors, and gives away their inheritances to the *Peiſannes*.

* *Englii* 17th Feb. 1141.

The Earle Marshall in Arms.

* *Mat. Par.*

Confederates hostile with Lewelin Prince of Wales.

(19) This Rebellion had not many great names in it, but took strength rather by weight then number: the known Actors were the Earle Marshall, the Lord Gilbert Bassi, and many other of the inferior Nobles. The Bishoppes Arts had pluckt from him, the Kings Brother, and the two Earles of Chester and Lincoln, (who dishonourably sold their love * for a thousand Markes), and otherwise, as it seemed, secured the rest: nevertheless, these may well be thought, not to have borne any ruall will to their now forsaken confederate, the Earle Marshall, who took himselfe to handle the common cause; certainly hee handled his owne safety but ill, as the event shall demonstrate. The Earle hearing these things, contracts strict amity with Lewelin Prince of Wales; whose powers thus knit together, by advantages of the Mountains, were able to counterpoize any ordinary invasion. To the Kings aide, Baldwin de Giffart with many Souldiers came out of Flanders. The King now at Hereford in the midst of his Forces, sends from thence (by Winchester councill) the Bishopp of Saint Dunle, to desire the Earle Marshall; how farre faster this word descends it selfe, sure it seems that the Earle hereupon vnderstoode himselfe discharged of that obligation, by which hee was tied vnto the King, and freed to make his defence. The King notwithstanding after some small attempts and better considerations, did promise and assure, that by advice of his Councell all that was amiss should (at a * day appointed) be rectified and amended. About which time, *Habers de Burgo*, having intelligence that the Bishopp of Winchester (who was a *Peiſanne*) plotted his death, clapped out of the Castle of *Devizes* (where he was prisoner) to a neighbour Church, but was halld from thence by the *Castell-keeper*. The Bishopp of *Sarum* (in whole Diocesse it happened) caused him to be safe restored to the same place, from whence by the Earle Marshall and a * troupe of armed men his friends, hee was rescued and carried into Wales.

* *Eng. Mon.* 1141. *Mat. Par.*

* The Sunday after Michaelmas. *Habers de Burgo* escapes into Wales. * *Vincent* 1141. *Eng. Mon.* 1141. *Mat. Par.*

* *7th Feb.*

(40) The King, at the day and place appointed, holds his great Councell or conference with the Lords; but nothing followed for the peace of the Realme; it was not an ordinary passage of speech, which hapned there betweene the Lords, and the Bishopp of Winchester. For, when the English Bishoppes and Barons humbly besought the King, for the honour of Almighty God to take into grace his naturall Subjects, whom without any trial by their Peeres hee called Traitors: the Bishopp (offended it seems, at Peeres) takes the words out of the Kings mouth, and answers: *That there are not Peeres in England, as in the Realme of France, and that therefore the King of England, by such officers as himselfe pleases to ordaine, may punish offenders out of the Realme, and by iudiciall process can condemn them.* The English Bishoppes relished his speech so harshly, that with one voice they threatened to excommunicate and curse by name the Kings principall wicked Counsellors; but Winchester appealed, then they accused all as alienated the heart of the king from his naturall Subjects, and all others that perturbed the peace of the Realme.

(41) The Earle Marshall, this while had by force retuned a Castle, which he had a little before surrendered to the King, which stirred the King to gather his forces at Gloucester, and thence to aduance towards Wales. But the Earle had pollicly barred the Country of all Provisions for man and beast, that the King was faine to strike aside to *Gloucester Castle*, where the Earle, with his Confederates and the power of Wales, at awaited their time, that assailing the Kings Campe unawares, there were taken about five hundred horse, with the Sumpers, riches, and carriages of the Armeys upon which Ioffe (his men also greatly scattered) the King leauing * two noble Gentlemen with the *Peiſannes*, to make good the Marches against the Welsh, returned more empty and inglorious then before. The Earle found them worke, whom the King had left behind; and (as hee was a man of no lesse courage then deepe witte, y^e whereas Baldwin de Giffart (the valiant French knight) with a thousand Horsemen, thought to haue surprized him, who hauing but a tenth part of that number, came to view the Castle of *Monmouth*, the Earle alone defended himselfe against twelue of his enemies; and when his horse was cowardly slain by them, hee pitched one of them by the legge out of the Saddle, and leapt into it himselfe, neuer giuing ground till his Arme came to the rescue, and obtained a faire victorie, with the slaughter and captiuitie of many *Peiſannes* and others. His other exploits in and about Wales, were not lew nor valourant; it was not onely in this, (as what indeed could be more glorious or valourous to a noble mind) for that his Soueraigne was upon the contrary side.

(42) The King about this time, to strengthen his life and State, with the prayers of Benefactors, and other deuoted affections, founded the * house of *Canons*, where such as forsooke the Iudiciall Superstitions, had provisions for maintenance vnder a sober rule and rule; he also erected and endowed a famous Hospital at *Oxford*, both for the entertainment of Forrainers and Pilgrims, (who thither much frequented,) and for reliefe also of such as were diseased: So that Lewelin Prince of Wales, (the Earles chiefe Confederat) when hee was threatened fore, if hee would not live in quiet, did not speake more magnificently of charity, then honourably of the King, I were faine (quoeth) hee the *Almesdeans* wherby the King death, then all the men of warre which hee hath, and the whole Clergy, put together.

(43) The Earle Marshall encreasing in strength and haured against such as were the Kings reputed Seducers, makes spoile and booty on their possessions, and joyning with the power of *Leuins*, puts all to fire and sword, as farre as *Gloucester*, part wherof they burnt at Abbe, and lacke the residue. The * King then at *Gloster* for want of sufficient Forces, departed thence (greatly grieved) to *Winchester*, abandoning those other parts as it were to wast and ruine. It therefore seemes, that hee was not growne stronger or richer, by the displacing of *Hubert Earle of Kent*, and the rest, and by taking new into their roomes, who commonly bite and sucke hard till they haue glazted themselves, of as bad life there be any lasciuie in auarice; whereas the old officers, hauing provided in afort for the maine chance, haue the lesse reason to be grieuous.

(44) Therefore the Lions skin not being large enough for the Bishopp of Winchester, and his factious purposes, they place them one with the Foxes case; an inevitable straitage is devised. The Earle Marshall had in Ireland all the ample Patrimonies of his Grandfather, the famous *Strongbow*. To make that member of his strengthes improfishable, if not also pernicious, they deuise certain letters directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* (Deputie Iustice of Ireland) and other principall men, who held of the Earle. In them they ignifie, that Richard, once Marshall to the King of England, was for many treason by the iudgement of the Kings Court, beheaded the

* *Roll* 1st Feb. 1141. *Eng. Mon.*

* *Eng. Mon.* 1141. *Eng. Mon.*

The Earles great courage and glory.

* *Non* the Ballis in Chancery Lane, *Eng. Mon.*

* *Eng. Mon.* 1141. *Eng. Mon.*

Ab. 1134. An. reg. 18.

* *Eng. Mon.*

The King gives way to the rest of the nobles.

A *Peiſanne* to see the Earle Marshall.

The petition re-
mains of the late
1113.

Rebelle, his Lands, townes and Townements consumed with fire; other his Hereditaments destroyed, and himselfe for ever disinherited; that if upon his coming thither, they should take him either alive or dead, the King did give them all the Earles lands there, which were forfeited by virtue of his Attainre; and so a promise that the said gift should continue firme and good, they, by whose advice the King and Kingdome were governed, faithfully undertooke. To these letters (which the Monkes call bloody) they caused the King to set his Seale, as they themselves also (being eleven) did theirs; upon receipte of which lines, the parties signified backe under the seale of fire, that if the Contents of those letters were confirmed by the Kings Letters Patents, they would performe that which was desired. The Letters patentes bee made accordingly, and having fraudulently gotten the Great Seale from Hugh Bishop of Chichester, Lord Chancellor, who knew not thereof, they make them authentike with the impression.

(45) The Kings mind therefore being still exacerated towards the Earle *Matthias*, hee grievously charged *Alexander* Bishoppe of Chichester, that he had too much familiarity with the Earle, affirming that *they sought to thrust him from his throne*; the Bishop to clear himselfe from his haunces a scandall, puts on his Episcopall habite, and solemnly pronounceth all those accurs, *who did but imagine a wicked heart of so foule a nature, against the Maesty or person of the King*; and thereupon by the intercession of other Prelates, hee was received into grace. The King was then at *Westminster*, where *Edmund* the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* cleave with other his Suffragan Bishopps, bewailing the estate of the kingdome, present themselves before him, telling him, as his loyall Liegemen,

1. *that the Council of Peter Bishop of Winchester, and his*
2. *Comptroler, which now he had, and used, was not found*
3. *more safe, but cruell and perillous to himselfe, and*
4. *his Realm.* First, for that they hated and despised the

5. *English, calling them Traitors, turning the Kinges*
6. *heart from the love of his people, and the hearts of the*
7. *people from him; as in the Earle *Matthias*, whom be-*
8. *lieving one of the truest men of the land) by stirring false*
9. *intestines drew into discontentments; 2. that by the*
10. *Council of the same Peter, his Father King *John**
11. *first lost the hearts of his people, then Normandy, then*
12. *other lands; and finally, wasted all his treasure, and*
13. *almost England it selfe, and never after had quiet;* 3.

14. *that if the Subjects had bene handled according*
15. *to justice and law, and not by their ungodly counsels,*
16. *those present troubles had not happened, but the Kinges*
17. *lands had remained undestroyed, his treasures uncon-*
18. *sumed;* 4. that the Kinges Council was not the Coun-

19. *sell of Peace, but of perturbation, because they who cau-*
20. *sed rise by Peace, will raise themselves by the trouble,*
21. *and discomber of others; 5. that they had the treasure,*
22. *Castles, Wardships, and strengths of the Kingdome in*
23. *their hands, which they unjustly abused to the great*
24. *hazard of the whole estate, for that they, made no con-*
25. *science of an Oth. Law, Justice, or the Churches censures.*

26. *Therefore we, O King (said they) speake these things*
27. *faithfully contrary; and in the presence both of God and*
28. *man, doe counsel, beseech, and admonish you, to remove*
29. *such a Council from about you, and (as it is the usage*
30. *in other Realmes) govern your by the faithful and*
31. *honest Children thereof. The King in briefe answer*
32. *hereunto, that hee could not suddenly put off*
33. *his Council, and therefore prayed a short respite, till*
34. *their accounts were audited. Meanwhile the behavours*
35. *of the *Matthias* faction (having this backing*
36. *at Court) grew more and more intolerable; for*
37. *while the King was at *Huntingdon*, the Lord *Gilbert**
38. *Rasset and others, set fire upon *Northampton*, a*
39. *Towne belonging to *Stephen de Segrave*, the flames*
40. *whereof were scene of the owner, being then with*
41. *the King at *Huntingdon*. They also tooke prisoners*
42. *upon the *Walden* Marches, and according to the Law*
43. *of *Forrester*, which, faith one, is *Lawless* did put them*
44. *to their ransom.*

(46) Nothing had hitherto preferred the King more, then that hee could, without great griefe forgoe any favourites, if bee were needily pricked; the contrary quality whereof hath bene the cause of small defolation to so many Princes. For albeit the choice of Counsellors ought to bee free, yet by common incident, they should bee good; or howsoever they are, or are not, it is madnesse to hazard a Crowne, or leese the love of an whole Nation, rather then to relinquish or diminish a particular dependant. The riches of amity ought nevertheless to remaine insoluble, but in such distance, that the publike be not perverted, nor incurred for a private. The King therefore, in this point not vniotunate, commanded Bishop *Peter* to betake himselfe to his residence at *Wynton*, without once meddling in affaires of State; but against *Peter Rasset* his Treasurer, hee was so vehement, that hee swore, bee would plucke out his eyes, were it not for reverence of holy Orders; commanding also their *Fai-Flamers* to depart the *Reine*, never to see his face more.

(47) Then are the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* with the Bishopps of *Chichester* and *Bath* sent into *Wales* to pacifie things there. But the incombible Earle *Matthias* had now cross the Seas into *Ireland*, to take revenge for the spoiles and disaffaires, which his hired enemies had made in his lands thereby whole plices, according to that secret agreement, hee was finally taken, and died of a wound given him in the backe, as hee with admirable manhood defended himselfe. His Body was buried in *Kilmerie*, (which pleasantly situated Towne our Sovereigne, King *James* erected into a City,) where himselfe in his life had appointed, in the *Oratorie* of the *Minerites*: in which Towne, yet some small tokens of this great name are remaining; for in the East window of the Abbey Church of *S. John Baptist*, and in the Abbey of *S. Dunwich*, the ancient Armouries of *Matthias*, Lord of *Kilmerie*, are yet extant. The Patrimony of this Earle was shared by the Contractors according to the purport of the Letters patentes: but when the King heard of his death, hee to the wonder of all that were by) brake forth into teares, bewailing the losse of so brave a Knight, affirming that hee had left no Peere behind him in the Kingdome. A blessed King, faith *Pieris* to love even those who had offended him.

(48) The Arch Bishoppe of *Canterbury* with the other Bishopps, repaired to the King at *Gloucester*, upon their returne from *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, who pretended hee could not concinde, till the King had received into grace such of the banished Nobility, with whom himselfe had bene confederated during the late displeasures. The King thereupon moved with Pity, sends forth his Proclamations, that all such as were outlawed or profcribed, should bee at *Gloucester* upon a certaine day, there to be received into the Kings favour againe, and to have restitution of their inheritances; but lest they might suspect any evill measure, it was ordered that they should bee in the Churches protection, and come under the safe-conduct of the Arch Bishoppe and the other Prelates. Thither at the time and place limited doth *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* and lately chiefe Justiciar of *England* repaire; upon whom, by mediation of the Bishopps, the compassionate King looks graciously, receiving him in his Armes with the kisse of peace; in like sort was the Lord *Gilbert Rasset*, and all others of that fellowship, received into favour, their severall livings and rights fully restored; and both *Hubert* and *Rasset* admitted to bee of his Council. And, that nothing might bee wanting to make the joy vniuersall; *Gilbert*, Brother to the late Earle *Matthias*, had the whole Earldome conferred upon him with all the lands and rights thereof whereofsoever, notwithstanding the foresaid treacherous conveyance, whom also the King made Knight at *Wynter*, and delivered into his hands the

The King looks
in doing and let
many innocents.

Of Prince Com-
flict and
Favoured.

The king re-
moves the Bishop
of Winchester and
others from his
Council.
English people
from Parliament.

The Earle Ma-
thias death in
Ireland.

* For the sake
of the crown
all is done
past, gain.

The king leaves
the Bishoppe

Ann. 1235.

The king only
loves his subjects.

Hubert de Burgo
is reconciled.

Gilbert brother
to the late Earle
Matthias had his
inheritance lands
restored.

* As word, 245.
144-7 are.

Alexander Bishop
of Chichester de-
ceit himselfe from
discovery.

The English Bi-
shopps desire
that the King should
revoke of the
common order.

Objections a-
gainst the Bishop
of Winton and
the Prelates.

The cottages of
the Marchalline
faction.

* As word, 245.
144-7 are.

to bee expended in the generall services of the Kingdome, as occasion required; so that if the King failed to performe his duty, every man should have backe what hee had disbursed. One great and ordinary cause of warre, seemed now taken away, for that *Leoline* (who had first taken homage of all his owne Barons) did voluntarily yeeld to hold his whole Principality of the *Kings of England*, moved thereunto (though with much mislike of the Welsh) to strengthen himselfe against his son *Gryffin*, who greatly infected him, being also assailed with a pallie.

(17) There is in *Mathew Paris* much complaint of the State of *England* at this time, which by the Kings flexibility (saith he) was become the ordinary prey, sometime of one sort of strangers, and sometime of another, Poitovains, Italians, Alemaines, and Provincians. Indeed the *Gensin*, and common humour of a Nation, is not easily alterable: and our *Misfortune* (or rather our Strangers) was no new quality, for *Horace* noted it before our Christs birth: and Englishmen can hardly see when they are well to keepe them so. But no kind of Strangers at that time more infected *England* (saith out Monk) then the Romans, of which here Iwarmed three forces, *Purses*, which were the *Popes Merchants*, *Italian Clerks*, most vile and illiterate persons, which armed with the *Popes Bullies* possessed themselves (against all right of Priviledges) of spiritual revenues, and if any withstood them, they were by the *Popes curse* warrent excommunicated; lastly, the *Farmers and Practisers* for the Romans, who commonly serping together whatsoeuer was of price in the Land, sent it over Sea to the *Masteries*, who there lived on deliciousnes in the Farming of land that was crucified, and in pride on other mens goods. In somuch, that holy men with heart-breaking, teares, and deadly groans, protested it was better for them to die, then to see these miseries on their Nation and holy men. So that the daughter of *Simon* was become like an *impudent Harlot*. And as these *Papall Engines* drew here in *England*, so did they with others: at *Rome*, the *Governours* of that Church not seeking to winne mens soules, but their money, oppressing the religious by punishments, of *arrests*, *excommunication*, without any care of justice and honesty. Which made the *Greeke Church* at this time to fall quite away, and opposit selfe against the *Romane*. Doubletelle *England* had no lesse cause to doe, then had the *Greekes*; but as *Pope Gregory* knew that his onely way to keepe *England* safe, was to hold close with the Kings, so the King also saw no way to strengthen himselfe against his Barons, but by holding in with the *Pope*, though with so many unsufferable mischiefs. And for some such purpose of the Kings, newly now arrived *Cardinal Otto*, the *Popes Legate*, greatly against the liking both of the *Peeres*, and of the *Archbishoppe of Canterbury*, who not onely reprobated the King thereof, as of a thing dangerous to the Kingdome, but tooone after also took his journey to *Rome*, to make some complaints, neither would he stay, though the Legate recalled him by his authority, which ever after caused much hatred betwixt them. Yet sundry good offices were at first performed by the Legate.

The treatie of peace begun betwixt the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* at *Torke*, was again resumed in the same City, where *Otto* interposed himselfe toward making a final agreement, which ensued. There were also assembled the *Earles* and *Barons*, who by the princely offices of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, were reconciled to the King their *Soveraigne*, it being the time which *Bartolus* means, and not the next yeere. *Otto* had formerly accorded many of them among themselves, whose disagreements had emperid the State of the Realme, so that for a time working but calmnesse and amity appeared. Yet soone after they thorted to see the King to be admitted to the wall of the *Romane*, especially the Legate, for which, *Richard Earle of Cornwall* reprobated him, as carrying himselfe more like the

Popes Pensioner then a King. Notwithstanding the King was to president of his State, that the Legate calling his *National Council*, thither came from the King, *John Earle of Lincoln*, *John Fitz-Gerffrey*, *de William de Kere* a Canon of *Pauls*, to forbid the Legate on the behalfe of the King and Kingdome, not to attempt any thing against the *Crowne* or *royall dignitie*.

(18) *Simon de Montfort* afterward created *Earle of Lancaster* had now wrought himselfe into such favour, that the King with his owne hand secretely gave *Blunet*, (widow of the late *William Marshal Earle of Pembroke*) to him in marriage, notwithstanding that he had vowed herselfe a Nunne. When this was once knowne to *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, and the angry Lords, they all took such sinisther therat, because they were not first consulted with, in regard the King had promised to doe no weighty matter without the, that none but *Hubert de Burgh Earle of Kent* adhered to the forsaken King. The head of this defension was the *Earle of Cornwall*, of whom men generally had hope, that he would now free the Land from the miserable oppressions both of *Romans* and other Strangers. Him therefore the Legate undertakes, but found him thiffe and vnderatable at first. For when he truly and faithfully told him: That if all the people of the Land rose against the King, yet he being his own brother ought always to stand fast with him against the whole world, and out to make himselfe Captain of the enemies, &c. The Earle roundly replied: That none ought to marriage, if hee being the only Heire apparent, had a care of the Kingdome state, when there was no treasure in the publick coffers for defence thereof, though it were covered with canons: That it was more cruelly wounded at, for so much as the King his brother did most stand in need of helpe, and good defence, that he would not take example by such a mercies, as neither of the *Emperour*, who having married his sister, retained her with him, but sent backe all that attended her, not giving to any of them either lands or money, although himselfe did abound in both: the example of the King of *France*, who took the same course though he married the eldest sister of the English *Queene*, &c. The Legate upon these and many other shrewdly sharpe speeches, takes with him *Peter Bishoppe of Winchester*, and desles with the King, who required time to answer, which the Lords granted, and met at *London* strongly appointed vpon the day. There, while the quarrell hung in suspence, *Simon de Montfort* had with money, false wordes, and much entreaty of Mediators, reconciled himselfe to the fierce young Earle, and so also had *John Earle of Lincoln*, another mark of the publick enmie. This practise (which *Earle Richard* entertained without his Confederates priuily) had probable effects: for the controlling Lords lost thereby their Generall, and hee greatly weakened himselfe in the opinion of the Lords and People, both which were points of advantage and safety for the King. But *Simon* feeling himselfe as yet vpon no sure ground, left his wife with child at *Kentworth*, not ceasing, till by the favour of the *Emperours* letters and *excessive bribes*, (by which suffice to overcome, and made captive to the *Roman avarice*) hee had obtained at *Rome* a dispensation for that marriage, which yet was doubted, whether it could bee lawfull, because shee had taken the ring, though neither the habit of a Nunne, nor the veil. Howsoever, the King did afterward sodainly breake with him, obliging that *Montfort* had first corrupted her, and hee to cover his Sisters shame, was content to give her in Marriage.

(19) While the King and his Queene abode at *Woodstocke*, a Traitor was apprehended, who vpon examination, confest that others had vowed the same, and that hee was sent out of *Ireland* from *Flavinus* the soun of *Gerrfrey de Marfise* (one of those Patentees, which hoped to share in the heads

* *As Pauls in craft*
93. *de Marfise*.

The King forbids
him to touch the
rights of the
Crown.

An. 12:8.

Thos. H. H. H.
vol. 1. p. 128.

The Heide of
last yearly made
for the King.

* *Montfort*
p. 111. & 112.

The combination
of the Lords
broken.

* So said the
King himselfe of
this dispensation
Paris.

* *Montfort*
de *Woodstocke*, &
Peter Lombard,
and *John de*
p. 111. & 112.
vol. 1. p. 128.

The King in danger
to loose his
marriage.

London Prince of
Wales makes ro-
bustly homage
to King.
p. 111. & 112.
vol. 1. p. 128.

Complaint of
the Kings regis-
ters upon this
case.

* *Arizant* insti-
tutes for.

* *Paris* insti-
tutes for.

* *Simons* de
Procureurs
Rom. Paris.

* *Gregorius* in-
stitutes Paris.

* A Monk tells
many of *Romans*
vices.

Montfort.

The King of
Scots a peace-
maker betweene
the King and his
unwilling Barons

* *Griffin* Barons
died, 13. first at war
at London.

* *Montfort*.

* Math Paris
says this word.
* Papal. Priv. 15.
* Dravign. quiden
Lycanus, Math.
Paris, Jan. p. 104
p. 104. Jan. At Paris
his name was Cresset, and
a Clerk.

* Margaret Ript.

The Traitor
drawn in London
with his heels.

* Atulph. p. 183.

* Bernard Kings
are mentioned.
* Bernard in Italy
Seignors they
are called Gods.

* Math Paris.
ad A.D. 1240.

Paris.

Idem.

* In Wallingford
Castle.

* 16 Jan.
Lanc. 1241.

Ann. 1239.
* Math Paris.

Great feuds in
the Lords con-
towards the King.

of Richard late Earle Marshall) to commit that as-
sault upon him. This execrable wretch having
become a Courtier, and one of the Kings' Knights,
supposing to have found the King in his own re-
tiring Bed, had about midnight gotten in at the
Chamber window; but God (in whose special pro-
tection, the lives of Princes are) disappointed him,
for the King was cleft where in bed with his Queene.
Nevertheless he gave not over, but with naked
knife in hand, fought up and down in some other
Chambers. One of the Queenes' gentlewomen
(sitting late and very devoutly at her booke by can-
dle-light,) at sight of the furious villaine, with her
startling noise wakened the Kings servants, who
flaring out of their Bed, laid hands upon him; & af-
terward he was drawne in peeces with horses at
Coventree. And worthily for (as a vulgar Chroni-
cler hereupon hath truly & justly wounding and killing
a Prince, the Traitor's guilt of homicide, of parricide,
of Christicide, next of Decide. William de Ma-
rissey, who was said to be the instigator of this
Treason, knowing his danger, became a Pyrate &
fortified the Ile of Lundy in Severn, where hee
did much mischief, the situation of that little Is-
land being inexpugnable. At length hee was for-
saken therein, and listerne of his Complotes, who
all of them after consaition were put to death at
London. William to the last gasped denying his pri-
vity to the former treasonous attempt of killing
the King. About the time of the Kings danger at
Woodstocke, the Legate was in very little better case
at Oxford, where being at first honourably by the P-
nunciary entertained in Ousey Abbey, the pride of his
Romans there proved so insolent, that a troupe
of the younger Students, provoked therewith to arme
themselves, not onely slew the Legates own brother,
but would have done the like with the Legate him-
self, whom they termed an Infidel, Symon, & Reu-
erker, Money-thirster, perverter of the Kings submis-
sion of the Kings peace, poisoning strangers with spoils of the
English; but hee lurking in the Bellifry, at midnight
escaped over the river (not without danger of drowning)
and fled to the King for his protection. For which
outrage, the King sending the Earle of Warren with
an armed band, imprisoned about 30. of the offen-
ders, and the Legate interceded the Vniversity, till
all the Bishops of England purposely meeting in a Sy-
node pleaded for the Pnunciary, as being the second of
Christendome: to whose importunity the proud
Legate would not condescend, wistfull all the Bi-
shops would yield to goe on foot with the Student; from
Pauls Church to the Legates house, (which was about
a mile,) who there overgrew and outbore, should haue
crave absolution; which accordingly they perfor-
med.

(60) The Legate was (not long after) called home
by the Pope, upon notice of the scandalous dayles
given in England, by the insatiable avarice of the Ro-
manes; but by the carnell workings of the King,
who feared lest his great ones would rise against
him, hee was detained as a necessary cull to es-
tablish the good of Peace. For it was in a manner ta-
ken up for a fiction among the Lords, to glorifie
themselves with the fenelike multitude, by dis-
tastfully disparaging and taxing the Kings discretion
and government, being farre too gentle and ami-
able for spirits so puerile and insolent; which
might well force his loving nature, to seeke kin-
dness and aduise among strangers, seeing he could
not have it for any his defects among the home-
borne. A great reason why (perhaps) hee did some
few things rashly and passionately enough: it be-
ing a thing forceable to displease a very wise man,
to have so many impetuous censurs to obtrude his
actions, and few to humble their abilities to obli-
gious services, all bearing themselves rather like
Tutors or Controllers, than like Subjects or
Councillors. About which time, one William an
ordinary Calumniator, and accuser of great men

to the King, was for that impious practise con-
demned to die; though hee fought to peccot out
his dayes by the helpe of new appeachments and
false criminations; but that being discovered, he
was hanged upon a Gibbet in London. Now also
the King beganne to smell out the vnderplot and
false dealing of his beloved Legate, whose familiar
friend (Peter Saracen) being taken Captiue by the
Emperour, and to pay 10000 l. Sterling for his
ransome, the shamelesse Legate counsell'd the king
to bind himselfe and his Crown for that payment. Where-
by the King perceiving what traitors were laid to entrap
him, (the Romanes not caring what life happened to
the Kingdome, so they might be winners) swaine in great
rage that it repented him he had ever admitted the
Legate into the land, to dissipate the wealth thereof. But
the Bishops of the land meeting in Council at
London, to redresse the oppressions of the English Church,
tolde the Legate flatly, that the Romanes importu-
nity had so long exchanged their Church goods; that they
would no longer endure it. These English representa-
tions seemed somewhat too late; but that providence
which the King of Scotland looke after vicd, was, as
more tempellous, so more commendable, when
meeting the same Legate (for now into Scotland he
is going to gather coine) he desired him to enter once
more into his Kingdome, telling him, hee was the first Legate
whom ever entered that Kingdome; yet by intreatie to
save the Legates credit, hee was permitted; first
making a declaration, that his entrance should ne-
uer goe for a President of any after; whereto the
Legate should put his Seale at his departure; but
having gotten what hee came for, hee sodainly stole
away without leave of the King, and carried his
writing with him. By all which vile and indigne vi-
ages, a man might thinke the Church of Rome did
purposely strive to draw the hatred of all nations
against her, especially, (ith as we shewed) the
Greekes were taken from the Roman union, so now
the Church of Antioch had both excommunicated
the Pope, the Church and Court of Rome, and chal-
lenged the Primacie above the Pope and the Roman
Church, as being an ancient See, wherin S. Peter
first sate Bishoppe for seven yeeres, and more excellent
and deare, (ith that Peter lived with love and reue-
rence, whereas both he and Saint Paul were contem-
ptuously persecuted in Rome, which Church was new
also defiled with Simonie, Vsurie, Avarice, and other heinous
offences.

(61) But (doubtlesse) it was worthy of reproofe
in the King; that after so manifold trials of faith
and constancy in Hubert Earle of Kent, hee should
now againe afflict his honourable old-age with re-
newall of accusations, when hee rather ought to
have tendered him as a Father. Among other the
Articles (engines of vexation) which the King bent
against him, these were new ones, by which any
reasonable man may take a scantling of the reit.
1. That Hubert had taken the money out of the barrells
which were sent for the reliefe of Richard and Pauline,
and stuffed them with sand. 2. That hee dissuade a great La-
dy from marriage with the King, he had said the King
was a fowling-eyed foule, a lewd man, and a kind of leper,
whom hee perswaded, more faine-hearted then a woman, pa-
rely terrible to his own friends; and utterly unfit for any
faire or noble Ladies company. 3. That at Woodstocke,
when the King was alone, hee sought to with a naked knife
to murder him: Which and many other accusa-
tions the Earle did modestly and cleerely refuse.
But with the last (being most wicked of all) hee was
so grieved, that making low obedience to the King,
he could not forbear to say, that hee was never traitor
to his Father nor to him, which by Gods grace did not
appear in the King: as if he should have said, (quoth
Paris) That if the Earle would have beene a Traitor,
the King had never obtained the Crowne. This sentence
to have beene a publike triall, upon a Suit or Ad-
dition of trepasse, brought against the Earle by the
King in the Kings Bench, at which triall the King
him-

Widow Isidore
died upon a
Cross at Rat or
Promont.

Math Paris.

Allegations for
detaching Pn-
unciary above
Rome.

Hubert Earle of
Kent with a
new Courts
Rites.

Stoke.

A Strange de-
scriptions of a
king.

* Tynd. York.
* Mar. Fern.
* Carleton Hist.
in 1352, this
man died An. D.
1349.
An. 1240.

England a most
Christian Coun.
of.
* Benedictine
terram Fern.
* Park.

* Insuperabilis
non erat Paris.

An. 1241.

* Edmund a
Tant, although
being an Exile re-
doubled the
Popes oppo-
sition.

An. 1242.
A reg. ad.
The King goes to
reclaim Poitou.

* Calais.

The French
Kings prepara-
tion to resist.

himselfe was also present. But howsoever the Earle answered, hee was condemned to give to the King * foure his * dearest Castles, *Blanch Castle, Greyhound in wales, Shrewsbury and Hildes*, and then also (as it seemes) hee was * deprived of his Title of Earle.

(62) After so many mischiefs patiently brooked, at last the King vpon receipt of letters from the Emperour (whom as his brother in law. hee was loth to offend) commanded *otho* the Popes Legate, in reuayd of the great enmities betwene the Pope and Emperour, to depart out of England. There was also writt commandement given to the *Italian Forces*, to leaue the most * pure earth of his Realme (meaning that his owne people was most innocent and free from such a sinne), but (saith * otho, who durst write any thing he thought) by giving the King money, which is too much ought to iustifie the wicked, they for a great part remained still, as loth to forsake such fair pastures. And the Legat himselfe also staid so long, till the Pope by wily inducements and * forged calumnies had drawne the King, both to relinquish the Emperour his brother in law, and to fulfill the Papall Excommunication to passe here against him, and money also to be gathered to his impeachment. A briefe taste of all the Popes proceedings against this glorious Emperour, we may take from the *Nabillie of France*, who (when the Pope offered the Empire vnto *Robert* the French Kings brother) in their grand Council refused to accept it, charging the Pope with the Spirit of audacious rascallie for deposing the Emperour, not consulted of any sould, and whom a Greater Councell ought ought to conferre, not the Pope, to whom no credit ought to be giuen, being his Capitiuall Enemie. For that themselves knew he was a vicious and vicious Emperour, and one who had in him more religion then the Pope had. Our Legat *Otho* (who now as length is gone) was no sooner departed, but *Peter* of Savoy the Queens Vnde arrived, to who the King gave the Earldome of Richmond, and entreated otherwile most magnificently. This and the like largesse to strangers, drew on the King much euill will, who also in fauour of his Queene, procured her Vncle *Banias* to be chosen Archbishop of Canterbury in place of * *Edmund*, who weary of his life in England, for reason that he could not redreffe the Popes detestable excommunications and oppressions, made choice of a voluntarie Exile at *Fontenay* in France, where he died with the honour and opinion of a Saint.

(61) The Kings imployments hitherto haue (almost wholly) been taken vpon either in the impatience of ciuill disturbances, or in the too-patient sufferance of some forraigne greiuances, nourished within his Kingdome; which gaue him perhaps little leisure, minde, or meenes, to pursue any transmarine designe. But now better provided with money, then with men, (and yet not sufficiently with money) he takes hisppeedily after *Easter* towards *Poitou*, where the Earle of *March* (now husband to Queene *Isabel* his mother) expected his arrivall. Hee committed the Government of the Realme in his absence to the Archbishoppe of *York*. Thirtie Hoisheards or Barrels fraught with firing money were shipt for that seruice. There also went with him *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, (who was returned with much honour out of the Holyland not long before) and fouen other Earles with about three hundred Knights, besides other souldiers. To resist the English, the King of *France* (who had giuen *Paulin* to his brother *Ayauce*) assembled an Armie royall of foure thousand men of Armes, excellently well appointed, and about twenty thousand choise Souldiers; with a thousand Carro to carrie their other necessaries. King *Henrie* vnderstanding that the King of *France* lay before *Fontenay*, (a Castle belonging to the Earle of *March*, lying to force it by assaults, sent a messenger of defiance to him as a breaker of Truce. *Leuis*

a most iust and valiant Prince, denied that euer hee brake the truce, but that the King of England by maintenance of his Rebels, did rather seeme to infringe the Truce. Neuertheless hee offered (so as the English would not protect his enemies the Earle of *March* and others) to giue him *Paulin*, and a great part of *Normandy*, in satisfaction of his * *Fathers Oath*, and moreover, to enlarge the last truce with a longer terme of yeeres. These so honourable, safe, and profitable conditions, by the practise of the *Facsimile* (who feared the French Kings indignation would proue too heauie for them to beare, if the English abandoned their cause) were vnforsunately refused.

(64) When the French King heard thereof it repented him that he had humbled himselfe to flatter telling his Lords, that he neither feared his *Cath of England*, nor all his forces, but only that *Otho*, (for restoring of the lands in *France*) which his father made when hee was in England. This scruple did so trouble the Kings mind, on the behalfe of his dead Father, that hee would admit no comfort till one of his Lords told him, that the King of England, by putting *Constantine Fitz-Arno*ld to death, for hauing spoken some words in honour of King *Leuis* (his Father) had first broken the truce. This satisfied the French. That whole business is thus concluded by * *Tilias*: *Hugh* Earle of *March* overcome with the pride and persuasions of his wife *Isabel*, would not doe homage to *Ayauce* the French Kings brother: for soe was a cause to draw the English together, where things thriving on his part but meanely, *Hugh* is constrained in the end to doe both homage and fealty unto *Ayauce*. This onely must be added, that he did so faithfully provide for his priuate safety without the knowledge of the King of England, at such time as he * pretended otherwile.

(65) This treacherie lost the King all *Poitou*, for whereas he principally tooke care for money, presuming vpon the Earle for men, when it came to the point, the Earle was not only not provided, but seare by the throat of God, he neuer promised any such matter, and denied he had set his Seale to any writing concerning such promises, and that if any such false writing were (as the King and his brother the Earle of *Cornwall* affirmed) their mother his wife had forged it. They were now in sight of the French Host before *Tailbourg* in *Normandy* when this improvident expostulation was made. The King of England manifestly seeing his perill, and hauing by his brother Earle *Richards* meditation (whom many of the French did greatly honour because he had by composition been a meane at his arrivall to free them from the *Saracens* in the holy-land, raised his camp by night, and retreated with much more hast then good speed. Not long after this, the faire Citie of *Amster* in *Normandy*, vpon displeasure conceived by the Citizens against the King, because he had giuen the same to the Lord *Hugh* his half-brother (sonne to the Earle of *March*) first contriued a perfidious revolt so clostile, that if first the said Lord *Hugh*, and then *Guy* de *Lusignan* his elder brother, had not in good time signified the danger, the King and all the English had been surprized by the French. There was none (among all the notable *Facsimiles*) found respectiue of honor and loyalty, but only one called *Hertald*, Captaine of the famous Castle of *Amirabell*, who in great sorrow repaired to the King of England, praying counsell and assistance, where the King with a downcast looke gaue him this answer: *I haue doo see (Hertald) that my forces are soeare sufficient to defend my selfe. Our Lord and Saviour was betrayed by his Disciple Judas, and therefore who shall be safe? Behold the Earle of *March*, whom I loue and reuerence as my Father, hath giuen a perniuous president; I haue trusted in a staffe of reed, and the splinters thereof haue wounded my hand. Thou art the only man who hast beheld the selfe benefit: what fauour therefore thou dost possesse of none by any last title, take it to thee as thou comest, I giue it thee: Provide otherwise*

* *Paulin* says
his departing
from England.

A small Christian
fear of the
Christian King.

* *Ja. Till. Chou.*

* *Math. Paris.*

Isabel Queene
Dauyng herpeth
writings to draw
her sonne the
King into France
Mat. 1. 47-50

Paulin is by
the English.

Isabel also
and *Isabeling*

The French
Earle of *March*
compared by
the King to *Judas*
Hertald an ex-
ample of loyalty.

wife for thy selfe, as thou dost thinke it most expedient. The King of France, in whom all magnanimitie, bountie, and Christian vertues did shine, hearing what *Hertald* had said and done, commended the man, and manner so highly, that saying, *Ireland* and *allowed such as her.* The Cattle was entrusted backe to the same Capitaine, when with many teares and other signes of sorrowe, he had surrendered himselfe and it to *Lewis.* The further prosecution of that warre was empeached by sickness and penurie which sore afflicted the *French* armie. An overture therefore for five yeeres tract being made, *Lewis* returned into France, and *Henrie* to his City of *Bordeaux* in *Gascogne*, where his Queene *Blanche* (who bare him Prince *Edward* about two yeeres before) bare to him a daughter called *Beatrice.*

(66) Meane while the King looking carefullie into the double dealings of the *Peisvains*, who were the limitarie or border-subjects of the English dominions in *Aquitaine*, and by a nature proper to free March-men which lie betwene the hammer and the Anvill, are enured to all sorts of devices how to save themselves and delude others, wicilie withdrawes his large Penions, which they by deep dissimulations and improfittable shewes of assistance had shared among them, for which they repayed nothing but secret scoffes of their Patron and Pay-master. The Earle of *March* whatsoever his Fees were from the King his Sonne in Law, made bot an euill bargain in the end: for, besides that the *French* Kingooke from him no small portion of his Estate, hee was openlie appeached of Treason in the *French* Court, by a valiant Knight, who offered to proue the truth of his accusation by Battell. *Isabel*, whom the *French* in passion called *Isabelle*, because her pride and turbulent practises had procured all those euils, fled vpon the newes to a Nunnerie. In the end yet her husband being aged, by the diligence & care of friends avoided the Combat, and was suffered to returne home. The king (whose commaing had bene long expected in England) hauing ordained one Sir *Nicholas de Males* his Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, is now vnder Saile, although the *Gascogne*, because his presence was greatly beneficiall, had sought all the waies they could to detain him longer. Being returned, by reason of that vnuisidell and lossefull voiage into France, hee was compelled to be borthenous to his Subjects, aswell by the leuie of Exchequer, as offloances and otherwise. The Iewes also felt the gripe of his wants so farr, that euen Christians commiserated: whose gold hee receiued with his owne hands, but their filuer by others. These and other importunate corralions, were not made onely to fill vp such breaches as the *French* affaires had produced, but also to spend in entertainments and shewes.

(67) Neither will the Maiesty and honour of the Kingdome permit, that such kindes of expence should bee wanting, when publike occasions do require; in which respect they are not onely vifull, but absolutely necessary, because Common-weales are partly founded vpon the opinion which Subjects and neighbours haue of their power and riches, and their estate is commonly made by that which is outwardly seene at such times. This care, besides the great leue hee bare to his wises kindred and Countreimen, made him pursey for money in this manner; for in December the Lady *Beatrice* Countesse of *Provence* mother to the Queene of England and France, having with her the Lady *Cynthia*, *Cynthia*, or *Scintia* (for by all those names shee is called in Authors) and a princely traine in all points excellently well furnished, landed at *Dauers*, where innumerable of the best fairs gaue her welcome and attendance. London was hung with rich Ornaments, from the Bridge thereof to Westminster. This noble young Lady *Cynthia*, was brought hitherto bee married to *Richard* the King's brother

Earle of *Cornwall*: At whose Nuptiall feast, there were thirty thousand Meffes provided in the Cookery onely, and of all other things there was incredible plenty. All which our wishlandding did manifestly proue (as *Peris* saith most truly) that the world is but a very stage, and the pompe thereof but an idle shew, seeing the next morrowe blew away the whole varietie of so great preparations like as it had bene a *Cloud*. Nor much vnlike is the life euen of greatest Princes, which hangeth on very vntuly termes, as *Griffith*, eldest brother of *David* Prince of Wales did find, when boping by a chaine of Blankets, and such like stuffe to escape out of the Tower of London, where the King had imprisoned him, the line breaking, hee pitcht vpon his head, which the weight of his great body draue (as it were) into his shoulders, and miserably slew him. The King therefore punishing the Keepers for their sloth, commanded that the Sonne of *Griffith* (prisoner with his father) should from thenceforth bee more narrowly watched. Not long after the which, *David* Prince of Wales provoked by wronges, (chiefly done by the Earle of *Hertford*) invaded the *English* Marches, whom the Earles of *Gloucester* and *Hertford*, and other mighty men in those parts, hauing the Kings coulent and assistance, did withstand, yet fighting but with variable fortune. It was Prince *David*'s purpose to haue freed himselfe from the obedience or tenure which hee had acknowledged to the King, for which purpose hee exhibited his complaint to the Pope, pretending that the King of England compelled him vniuallly to hold his Principality and Lands of him. But the Kings credite, cause, and workings, easily overweighed the Prince of Wales, and prevailed.

(68) The States of the Realme were in those dayes nothing supple, when the King fought to handle them for money: for hee about this time labouring to drawe some from them, vpon faithfull promise to keepe and obserue the libertie, vnto which hee had sworn at his Coronation, and whereof hee had granted his Charter, they beought him to remember, how often hee had wrang from his faithfull liege people (whom hee ought to cherish, not utterly empouerish) without performing his promise. This forthwith after the taking of *Therford*, hee had *Carrawage*, that is, two shillings vpon euery Ploughland; the next yeere after, a fifteenth of all their Moueables: vpon his passage into *Brittain*, so small summes of money from the Prelates, Religious orders, Bacheliers and Iewes: after his returne, hee had Exchequer, that is, vpon euery Shield or knights Fee) three markes: then a fortieth part of all their Moueables: within a while after a thirtieth part; By and by, for the marriage of the Lady *Isabel* to the Emperour, two Marks vpon euery Ploughland; at his Sonnes birth, hee by *Profits* heaped vp no small store of money. Again, when hee went into *Gascogne*, hee raised almost infinite heapes of money from all sorts of Subjects: vpon his returne, where hee had bene deluded and dishonoured, hee receed all manner of Subjects. They now also (vnder the name of aide for the marriage of his eldest daughter) granted him vpon euery Knights Fee, which belof of the King in chief, twenty shillings, the one halfe to bee paide at Easter, the other at Michaelmasse. But (say they) how well the King will keepe and fulfill his undertakings and promises, in requital of the past and present contributions, hee easily knowes to whom nothing is unknowne. But such as trauelled to strengthen the Popes designs, with collections of money among the English Clergy, found a stern and constant opposition, not onely for that they were unwilling, but also for that the Emperour had written to the King in plaine phrase, that if hee suffered any such matter, hee would not faile in grieuous sort to punish all the English hee could get, in reuenge of that partiality.

* *Peris*.

A surprising truth concerning the world's vanity.

An.D. 1244

Griffith eldest brother to the Prince of Wales actually broke his oath.

* *Met. Peris* p. 68. Troubles vpon the Marches of Wales.* *D. Peris* p. 68. Concl. p. 68.

The first seizure of the Lands to the Kings demand for money.

The Catalogue of extraordinary aids to the Kings reigns.

They grant him new supplies.

The great Lords reuered and loved the King.
* *Peris* Edward wrote at P. 68. the next day, as he says.
An. 1244.
An. reg. 17.

* *Peris* 1. Barling holds the Earle of Marches huge summe.
The Postulor policy in this fall was to deuide the king of his money.

* The King lends at P. 68. in October.

The prodigality of kings, as in the rapine and spoyle of the Subjects.

* *Peris* in his Sermon p. 68. says the way to riches is to be contented, and to be contented, to be married to a Philistine King of Manasse.
* *Peris* the King's brother married the Queene, Elizabeth.

The effect of the
long journey into
Wales.

* *W. Lamb.*

A judgement of
God on a wick-
eder of church
lands.

* *Spald. Contem.*

* *Reg. cap. 1.
1214.*

An. 1246.
A. reg. 34.

* *Met. Par.*

The French King
reverts the
Papal action as
unjust.

David Prince of
Wales.

* *Artinal. Apv.
Gronovius. apud
T. 124.*

want could make him forget his magnificence, and
bonnie, hee caused the East-part of the great
Church at *Wymmsbury* to be taken downe, and
by aduise of expert Workmen newly to be build-
ed and ioyned to the West. The effect of the
Kings expedition into *Wales* was, that after he had
fortified the Castle of *Gannochin North-Wales*, upon
the passage into *Aungley*, and by the *trifurmen* wa-
shed that fertile land, hee was himselfe enforced
by sharpness of the weather, and for want of
victuals to retorne about the end of *October*, ha-
ving taken all courtes hee could to helpe the
Welsh, forbidding the Irish upon pain of death
to bring any reliefe into *Wales*; and lest that they
of *Cheshire*, or the neighbour parts should give them
any succour, hee so spoiled them of all their pro-
visions, that they were scarce able to feed them-
selves; and if the Welsh compelled by famine
ventured out of their strengthes or fastnesses, in or
about *Sunderland*, the Garrison Souldiers of *Gannochin*
were ready to intercept and kill them; and
on the other side the Lords of *Strimfield* and *Prwy*,
though *Wellshmen*, held with the King, so that
they were miserably flattered. The King pawned
his Jewels to his brother *Richard* at this journey for
3000. Markes, which helpe to piece out the charge
thereof. *Fury* hath a long list of great names,
which dying about this time, left neither name,
nor issue to preserve the memory of their Greatness
but none so strange as of the Marthals, five brethren
of them successively Earles of *Penderel*, and all
dying childles; which hee attributeth to the iudgement
of God, for the iniquity of their Father, and of
themselves, who would neuer restore certaine
Manors, which their Father in warre-time had taken
in *Ireland* from the Bishoppe of *Ferri*, an holy
Irish man, who often required restitution, and for
want thereof, did put them vnder Gods curse and
his. * One doth indeed obscure, that the *Irish*
Saints are vindicating; but certainly the exam-
ples of punishments for *Sacrilege*, and violent extor-
tions are terrible in holy *Scripture*, and most feare-
full was the sentence in itselfe which Gods Prophet
pronounced against *Ahab* for * *Naboths* vineyard;
agreeing with the very plague which this yeare fell
upon the house of *Marshall*.

(72) The Popes furie was now so much inflamed
against King *Henry* and the English, forso dis-
gracing him publicly in the Generall Council, *
that hee *excommunicated* him, if ever the Emperor were
quelled, so tunc *England* also; and whetted on the French
King, to enter on the Land, promising him all the helpes
of the Church and Papal power. But the said King, not
only refused to visit in offer, (as having no title to
England, themselves also knit by hundred, and by three,
their *Servants* being *Sisters*, the attempt kindly for *Chris-
tians*, &c.) but further ratified the former truce,
and enlarged it with the addition of more yeares, be-
cause King *Leois* was prepared to make warre a-
gainst the *Infidels*, which voyage King *Henrie* would
no hinder, but advance. And that nothing might
disturbe the peaceful life, with which the King of
England was most delighted, *David Prince of Wales*
departed out of the vale of the dying, (as *Paris* elegantly
saith) into the vale of the dead. The King seeing all
things quiet and safe about him, doth now conuert
his whole cares to the reformation of the inward
males of his dominions, calling the estates of the land
together for that purpose. To whom he there
delivered in writing, sundrie * *Articles of the grievan-
ces and oppressions of his Kingdom and the Church*,
1. that the Pope extorts great Contributions of the Clergy,
without the Kings assent, against the rights and
liberties of the Kingdoms, 2. that *Parsons* cannot
bestow Church living on fit men, but the Pope gives them
to his *Monks*, who can make no English, (nor celebrate
divine service, nor preach, nor keep hospitals, nor care
for souls, &c.) but only beg for the Land with carrying
away the Cane. 3. that the Popes *Procurators* and *Pensi-*

ons are unsufferable. 4. that Englishmen are drawn
forth of the Land to end their canies. 5. that the Pope
by his non obstante overthrows Oathes, Customs, Char-
ters, Grants, Statutes, Priviledges, Rights, &c.
whereupon, the King, Bishops, Nobles, Abbots, and
Priors, did all write their severall complaints to the
Pope, requiring speeche redreffe of those infinite
wronges to the King, the Kingdom, the Clergie, the Na-
tion, and the People, who would rather die, then thus daily
endure these oppressions. Notwithstanding sundry
Prelates (either out of ambition or feare) vnderhand
furthered the Popes desires, when secretly he craved
an annuall tollage of the Clergie for maintenance
of his Souldiers; and that the State should take no
notice thereof, the Pope caused his Agents to make
them * *swear not to reveale that their Contributions to any
maintaining for the space of halfe a yeare*. Yet the King
came to the knowledge thereof; and sent forth his
writs, forbidding under great paines that the money
should be carried forth of the Land. This the Kings dis-
pleasure was much augmented upon the returne of
his messengers from the Council of *Lyon*, who re-
lated how *proinde* the *Papal* *Cardinals* the *vassal* complaints
of the State, saying the King himselfe did *Frederick*, and
holding his People as *Schismaticks*. Which incited the
King to publish his Proclamation in Every Cite
and Towne, that none of his Subjects should dare to con-
tribute any money to the Pope: but it came to no effect,
for that some * *Papall* Bishops and ambitious Clerks
(of his Council) fearing the *Papal* threats, where so
cause of feare was, drew him to raise his purpose unwea-
rily, which he manfully undertooke.

(73) The Bishop of *Worcester* (a principall
worker herein) was laid to * *have had authority from
the Pope to interdict the land*, which perhaps was it
which the King so grately feared, and which the
Monke hid, was not worth the fearing. The Earle
of *Conwall* also with others (who favoured not the
Emperour *Fredericks* cause) laboured to change the
Kings minde, so that the wonted extortions were as
current as ever; in somuch that a Cardinal truly
told the Pope, that *England* was to the Pope as *Balaams*
Ass, which being so often wronged, bargained,
and sold, it was no marvaile, if at length hee opened
his mouth to complaine: and for themselves and their
Romanes Court, they were like *Ismael*, * *curse men* hand
against them, and theirs against every man. But if we
should so often insist on the relation of this King-
doms distresses, as the popes endless Corractions
from yere to yere, and the States remedielesse com-
plaints give vs occasion, we should but cloy the
Reader with ruffall matter, which * *Monks* them-
selves have mouementally and copiously ended vnto
vs, and set forth the too ferule affections of our
owne Ancestors, who still entreated new consula-
tions about the disease, but neuer brought the medi-
cine vnto a perfect receipt. For vpon fresh angariations
from *Rome*, the King againe assembles his State
to thinke of redreffe, * *the common-wealth*, as well of
Laity as Clergie, being brought to the point of utter de-
fection, as the *liber* was neuer heard in any age, whereof
they againe made their lamentable complaint to the
King, whose duty it was to protect the land from such
wronges and dangers. Their only remedy was againe
to write letters to the Pope, which slender meanes
he could as slightly put off; and thought to stop the
clamour for the present he promised never to send
any Legats into *England*, but on contrary of the
State, yet daily did he send his raking Clerks, with
the power, though not the Title, and Ensignes of Legats,
both into *England* and *Ireland*, so to delude the King,
and still pursue his Subjects.

(74) The State of the Kingdom still requiring
reformation, there assembled againe at *London* cer-
taine Prelats, Earles and others, at the Kings com-
mandement, where after so much purloining by o-
thers, now the Kings owne errand and affaires was
to get money for himselfe. But they (who gaue
such way to the Popes collections) were now all
close-

* See their *Letter*
all *London*.

* *Met. Par.*

* *Epistol. Epist.*
1214. 1215.

* *Par.*

* *Johnes*
Anglican
England the
Popes *Ass*.

* *Genes. 1214.*
An. 1247.

* *Met. Par.*
1214. 1215.

* *Jo. Crisost.*
Trinitarian.
1214.

An. 1248.
Aug. 34.

The tedious Nobles expostulate their grievances with the King in stead of granting away.

close-handed, and open mouthed; for, besides their vnderfull vpbaying the King with some over-sights, they vtrally and seditionously charged him to haue done contrarie to the example of his magnificent Predecessors, in that his chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurer were of his owne choosing, and not by the Common Council of the Realme, as they ought. The King inwardly touched herewith, yet seeing no other helpe, promitteth redresse and change for the better. Whereunto they answered; that they would expect a while with patience, and as the King shall carrie himselfe toward them, so will they performe their obedience to him. Sothe meeting was adourned from that Candlemas till Midsummer; at which time also there was nothing done, but all parts rose discontented. The cause of that discontentment was, for that the King, instead of satisfying their audacious demands, answered them, That they sought to bridle him at their iurie places, prouide forbidding that in him, which was lawfull for themselves. For that curie private man may vse, what, and whose Counsel he list; for the matter of a familie presure or remane what officers in his house he list; which yet they fauorably denied vnto him, their Lord and Soueraigne, as if Seruants and Vassals were to rule their Lords; whereas indeed he is no King but a servant, who must bow at others becke. That therefore he would neither place nor displace either Chancellor, Justice, or Treasurer as they thought good. Remouing helpe hee required money at their hands, to reuocall such forreine lands as concerned affeill them as him, to see it done. Hereupon the Parliament brake vp, and the King was left to furnish himselfe otherwise so well as hee could, euen by sale of his Jewels, Plate and other precious stuffe after a dishonourable manner.

The king driven to sell his Jewels and Plate in the Londoners.

A.D. 1249. An. reg. 33. Simon Earle of Leicester comes with his own out of Gasaigne.

(75) The affaires of Gasaigne (which one Gasaigne de Biard had greatly troubled) by the manhood and wit of Simon Earle of Leicester were now brought into better quiet, which made his presence returned, as it seemeth for more supplies, which went againe with him very acceptable in the Court of England. The King intending to furnish that enterprise afresh against the coming spring time, left no meanes without thought of, which either by Art or strong entreatie he could vse, to replenish his exhausted Coffers. In which he emboldned too much the Royall name and dignity, calling some (and perhaps truly) whose boutique he cramed, that it was more almes to ayle him with money, then one that went begging from dore to dore. Meane while the king neglects not his administration of Iudice; for, whereas the whole Countie of Hampshire swarmed with felons and murderous robbers, himselfe so ordered the matter, sitting in person in Winchester Castle, that the infamie and danger of those places were cleared by hanging the Offendors; many of which were very wealthy, and some the kings owne seruantes. Walter de Clugford also (a Baron of the Marches of Wales) for enforcing an officer (whom he had otherwise handled badly) to ear the kings writ, waxe and all, ran so farre into the kings displeasure thereby, that while he liued, he was made the lesse able to feed himselfe; paying to the king a very great sum of money, and hardly escaping without confiscation of his whole patrimonie. The king desirous to be friends with the Citizens of London, to whom of late he had bene ouer-hard, publicly reconciled himselfe vnto them, whom for that cause he had commanded to appeare at Westminster, and there immediately reuelled the badge of the Crosse at the hand of Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury; but whatsoever his intention was, it neuer came into action on his part. In the meane time contrarie to his Fore-fathers example, he so much abridged the expences of his house, and his Almes, that he vnderwent some dishonourable imputation. Neurtherlesse he wisely wound himselfe out of many a Merchants debt; whereto he wrung great helpe from the Jewes, (as the ordinary Clippers and defacers of his Coyne,) and the forgers of Seales and Charters;

Hampshire purged of robbers by the King himselfe sitting in his court.

A.D. 1250. An. reg. 34. Walter Clugford makes an officer ear the kings writ, wax and all.

The king lessens the charge of his Household.

from one of whom hee had at times drawne thirthe thousand markes Sterling, besides two hundred markes in gold.

(76) It seemeth an Inseparable qualitie in his nature, to be extremely violent, in doing whatsoever hee had a mind to doe, and that sometime without the due respect to secular Maiestie; as in the Course hee tooke for aduancing his half-brother Athelmure to the Bishoprick of Winchester. For not contenting himselfe to haue sent his messengers to the Countie by them to worke the election, hee came thither in person, where the Chapter being in the Cathedral Church, hee entered, and placing himselfe in the Presidents seat, makes to them a speech in the nature of a sermon, taking for his Theme those words of David: Justice and Peace kiss each other. Wherupon hee shewed them, That whereas Justice belonged to him, and to such as had the rule of Nations, and to the Clergy caluallise and Peace, both these should that day kiss together if they elected his brother for their Bishop: For which he gaue them many reasons, but concluded, If they did otherwise, they should feele his Princely displeasure. When therefore they published to the King their Choise, they did it with this reservation (because Athelmure was to remaine vnder the title of the Elect of Winchester, for that he was not a Priest) if such an election might stand by law, or lawfull fauour. But the Pope, who meant to make his aduantage hereof, as well as the King, exacted of him for confirmation of the same election, five hundred Markes of Church reuenues, to be paid ouer vnto the Earle of Burgundie sonne a child; which makes * the Monke to breake forth into this bitter lamentation; O Pope, the Chief of Fathers, why dost thou suffer that the Christian world be defiled? worthily, therefore art thou * driven out of thy owne Cite and Ste, and like a runawaye and another Chem, art enforced to wander vp and downe. O God, thou God of iust reuenge, when wilt thou draw forth thy sword to imbrue it in the blood of such oppressors? Though in these vniuersall abuses, the Pope would neither redresse himselfe nor others, yet God raised vp a stout and learned Prelate, Robert Grosset, Bishop of Lincoln, who undertooke to reforme the Monks and Friars; but they (who knew Rome was from the beginning * Asylum Latronum) appealed to the Pope. Wherupon the aged Bishop going to his holinesse, tolde him that all offenders ceased, by his opening his bosome to such as brought him bretheren who snatching him vp with angrie Countenance and speech, sent him home with reproach. The Pope was at this time at Lyons, where not long after the Colicell breaking vp, Cardinal Hugo made a sermon of offence to the Citizens; whereas amongst other benefices which the Pope lying in their City had brought them, he tolde them this was a * Principall, that whereto at their coming there were three or foure Whore-houses in the Lyons, now at their departing they left but one; and indeed that reached from the East-Gate of the City to the West. Whereby wee see, France had some part of the Popes Almes, as well as England.

Thirte thousand markes wrong from one law in a five years.

The king presseth to the Countie.

*Perch.

*The pope was now led from Rome for that of the Emperours.

*Linda.

*He called in a profitable Alms-deed Paris.

(77) The King now wholly intent vpon encrease of treasure, neither gaue any rich presents according to the ancient Custome of England, and also sheweth yet more the allowances of his Household and entertainments, without any regard to Maiestie or honor. And to spare his owne charge the rather, he inuities himselfe sometime to this man, and sometime to that, but no where concerning himselfe with his diet & hospitage, vnlesse both he, his Queene & some Edward, yea and chiefe fauorites in Court, were prebent with great and costly gifts, which they tooke not as of Courttesie, but as due. This was the vnhonourable face of the Kings estate at that time. But in the depth of his want and rigour of his Patrimonie, he could not thus vt himselfe against the sinnes and aduancement of his Priuies and Favorites, so that it was become a common murmur in England; Our inheritance is con-

An. 1251. A strange description of the Kings pashury or poverty.

uerred

* Necesse est
dare unum
commodum.
* On former
particulate.
* Mal Paris.

nerred to almost, and our houses to strangers. The matter seemed the more grievous, for that their pride and violence were intolerable. About this time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up in England by the King, in his grants and other writings, as *Non obstante priore mandato, Non obstante antiqua libertate, &c.* This our ancient Author calls an odious and detestable clause; and Roger de Taverham Iustitiar, fetching a deepe sigh at the sight thereof, cried out both of the times and it, saying, *"it was a firebrand derived from that infernal fountain of the Clergie."*

(78) Another of the Kings Iustitiars, and a learned Knight, Sir Henry de Bath, (whose Lady, because her life was well defended, filled him with pride,) was so confidently greedy, the better to satisfy her ambition, that in one circuit, hee appropriated to himselfe about two hundred pound lands. Corruption in Iustice (which must needs be supposed to be there, where excessive wealth is gotten by the Officers of Iustice) is but a landie ground-woke of a vainly-hoped greatness, and may well be reputed in the number of *crimes totius*; and this moved a Knight, Sir Philip de Aris, to appeach him before the King, both for vnfaithfullness in his office, and treason against the King. The King had no hold of himselfe, after hee was once thoroughly kindled. Bath knows it, and therefore writes to his wives friends to come strong in his defence, that the King should not dare to call him to his trial; yet withall hee fectles all secret meanes how to appeare the King, who vnderstanding of this combination, was the more enflamed. The Earle of Cornwall his brother could not appease him; so, not though hee knit vp his intercessions with these minatorie words: *We must not forsake Gentlemen in their right, nor in preserving the peace of the tottering Kingdom.* In March there was holden a Parliament at London, there the King caused Bath to bee sharply prosecuted. Thither Sir Henry Bath repairs, strongly attended with Knights and Gentlemen of his owne friends, and his wives, to daunt the edge of Iustice, which hee deservently feared. The accusations were many, (for all mē were called to say what they could against him,) and among all, these two, most hainous: *that hee troubled the whole Realme, and stirred all the Barons thereof against the King, so that a generall rebellion was to be feared,* (which one of his fellow-Iustitiars did openly testifie); *that hee had for reward discharged a committed Malefactor out of prison without punishment, in prejudice of the King, and to the perill of his affeete Iustitiars.* The King was encouraged therewith, that seeing no other way to punish him, being so strongly backed, hee mounted into an higher place than before, and cries out, *Whosoever kills Henrie de Bath shall be gilty of his death, and I here doe acquit him;* and presently departs. Neuthelesse, although hee left behind him many men, who would haue readily executed the Kings terrible doome; yet by the wisdom of Sir John Maunsell, (one of the Kings private Counsellors) they were restrained. His wordes are worthy to bee remembered; *Gentlemen, and friends, it is unnecessary for vs to put this presently in execution which the King hath so often commanded. It may be when his wrath is overblowne, hee will bee sorry hee said it. Moreover, if any outrage be done to Bath, hee here are his friends who will take all sorts of revenge. Sir Henry escaping thus from so present a danger, found meanes upon promise of money and great mediation of friends, to obtain his peace & safety; for at this time, Iustice and all things grew saleable. The North-East part of Wales was committed to Alan de Zouch, who had it in Farme for eleven hundred Markes yearly, whereas John de Gray (whom hee supplanted in the place) paid but five hundred: so miserable Wales was let out to such as would give most.*

(79) Alexander the third, succeeding his Father in the Kingdom of Scotland, comming in Christ-

mas to Turke, there espoused, though very young, the Lady Margaret, daughter to King Henry. There were present the two Kings in person, with a most choice multitude of either Nation, the English being in number about a thousand Knights, beside greater States, as Prelates, Earles and Barons, and of the Scots about fixe hundred Knights and Gentlemen, all of them well appointed. There was also two Queences, the Mother of the Bride, (who was to be Queene) and the widow or Queen Dowager of Scotland, who for that cause was returned out of France, attended vpon in toyal manner with many Lords and Gentlemen of France. The Scots were lodged in one place of the City by them selves. Vpon Christmas day the King of England gaue the order of Knight-hood to the King of Scots, and at the same time to twenty others richly apparelled. Vpon the next day the princely couple were espoused. Take a scantling of the cheere and multitude of guests by this. The Archbishop of Turke, who was Prince (as it were) of the Northerne parts (and the common host of all that most noble fellowship) which cost him about foure thousand marks, gaue toward that feast fix hundred fat oxen, all which were put in the first general seruice; and whatsoever the waste. Stage-play of the world might afford cyther for pompe or delight, was there all enjoyed. More worthy to be remembered, then that magnificent gluttonie (the natural vice of these our Nations) was the orderly and no childish action of the young Bridesome, in reconciling Philip Louell (whom King Henry had lately fined and dis-courted for taking Bribes) to the King his Lord. K. Alexander vndertaking the balliue, and finding a fere time, presents himselfe to the King of England vpon his knees, holding vp his hands, neither would hee rise, though earnestly requested, but with a gesture which seemed to draw teares of ioy and loue from the eyes of such as fate round about, prosecuting his intent, saith *My Lord King, your Maiesty knows that though I my selfe am a King, and through your goodness honoured with the title of Knight-hood, yet that I am withall both a Child, as well in age as in knowledge, and also an Orphan, my father being dead, and my mother leaving me, though at your sending for, she is now pleased to bee present, therefore from henceforth, and for ever after, I here doe take you, both for Father and Mother, that you may supply both their wants, and with your paternal care best protect all mine insufficiencies. The King smile able to refrain from tender teares, or to hold down his throbblings, laid no more but only this one word, *Willingly.* The princely Child replied there-upon: *I will make experiment of that, and know it by proofes seeing you haue graciously heard mee husband in trying whether I shall reape the effect of my first joy.* Then hee declared his request, and had it so that Louell was afterward Treasurer.*

(80) The State and fidelity of the Gascony was so desperately shaken and ploughed by the reuenges which Simon de Montfort to whom the King had given the government of their Country for six yeeres, had exercised vpon them, for that they had accused him to the King of tyrannous & pecciditorious dealing, and affirmed that his name ought rather to bee Simon than Montfort, that but for the vent of their wines, (in which respect their subiection to England was verie beneficiall to their Common-weale) it was thought they would generally haue revolted. But the King thought ready this to lesse Gascony, would yet needs hope to obtaine Normandie and his other lands in France without blowes. The King of France (whose conscience was wonderfully tender and sincere) had indeed written out of Palestine to that purpose, as thinking King Henries tide was better then his owne; but the French, among whom their Kings misfortunes in the losse of Damietta in 1218, (which was wholly ascribed to the Popes avarice, who

Alexander the third King of Scots espoused the Lady Margaret.

Fix hundred Oxen spent at one feast.

* Mal Paris.

The young King of Scots a lover to the King for bringing Philip Louell into fauour againe.

* Citius/Clarius

The most witty and princely intercession of the young King to the King his father in Law.

Philip Louell reconciled to the King.

Simon Earle of Leicester rather to be called Simon, as the Gascones said.

* The Pope disapproved this most insupportable Part for

Sir Philip Darcy approaches to Sir Henry Bath a knight being judge of wisdom.

The slenderly weak and rickie carriage of state.

The King presents Sir Henry Bath.

Sir John Maunsell Bayes the Kings seruants from killing Bath.

a Two thousand Markes.

* Addition at March 17th. An. 1252.

The Kings hope to recover Normandy.

for money released *those who should have aided him*, he had brought him into less regard than his excellent virtues merited, did unmercifully and constantly refuse, adding, *that before the King of England should have any more land among them, he must pass through a thousand sharp Lances, and a thousand bloody Swords when the Lances were worst.* On the other side, the King of England was but in little credit with his people: for, whereas (by an agreement between the Pope and him,) the *Tenth* of the Clergie through England during three yeeres should have been received toward his charges in his pretended journey to the Holy-Land, yet in a general assembly at *Westminster* very few were drawn to give their names to that service, notwithstanding that two Bishops and the Abbot of *Westminster* laboured in their Sermons all they could to stirre the people to that martiall Pilgrimage, and though the King himselfe in all their view took a most solemn oath, that within three yeere he would let forward *the* onlie reason of their unwillingness growing vpon suspicion, *that he would forsake* (as the Pope had given him example) *draw by this colour the treasure of the Realme into his hands.* Thus their diffidence of sinceritie in him, made him rather incline to foster and fauour strangers, & that with a kind of perniciacie, though himselfe by manifold neglects of his word, had wortheie bred that diffidence.

The common opinion of the Kings designe for the holy Land.

(81) The King could more hardlie find followers in such an enterprise, for that his people had no conceit of his valour, but said: *What reason encourage him, who was neuer trained up in Martiall discipline, nor hath managed an horse, nor drawn a sword, nor charged a pike, nor shooke a Target, to hope for a triumph over the Saracens, against whom the Champions of France hath miscarried? or wherefore dreames hee of recovery of more land, who could not keepe that which he had in former parts?* concluding, *that he was a man only borne to debase their purses, to empty his own, and to multiply debts.* This was the opinion of men, & behind his backe; but not onely of men, for *Isabel Countesse of Arundel*, widow of *Henry Earle of Arundel*, a young Lady reciting the repulse at the Kings hands in a manner which shee allowed to be hers in equity, durst say thus to his face: *O my Lord King, why doe you turne away from myselfe? we cannot now obtaine that which is right in your Court; you are placed as a man between God and us, but you neither govern us, nor your selfe, neither dread you to venge the Churchs diuinity, as it hath not onely felt in present, but often heretofore. Moreover you doubt not manifestlie to afflict the Nobles of this Kingdom.* The King fired at so free a speech, with a scornfull and angry countenance, answered with a loud voice: *O my Lady Countesse! What? have the Lords of England, because you have tongue at will, made a Charter, and byred you to be their Oreator and Advocat? wherevato the Countesse replied: Not so my Lord, for they haue made more no Charter, but that Charter which your Father made, and which your selfe confirmed, swearing to keepe the same inviolably and constantly, and often extorting money vpon promise that the Liberties therein contained should be faithfully observed, you have not kept, but without regard to honour or conscience broken. Therefore are you found to be a manifest violator of your faith and oath. For where are the Liberties of England so often fairly expressed in writings? so often granted? so often bought? Therefore though a woman, and all the naturall layell people of the Land, appeale against you to the Tribunal of the iust full Judge, and Heauen and Earth shall beare us witness, that we are vfed wrongfully, and God the Lord of reuenges right vs.* The King abashed at these words asked her, if shee did not looke to obtaine her suite vpon fauour, in regard *how was his Kingdom?* wherevnto shee answered: *That seeing hee had denied that which the Law gave, how could shee hope to obtaine her suite by fauour? Therefore* (said shee) *I doe appeale to*

A petition holds Disloyalty between the Countesse of Arundel and the King.

the presence of Christ, against also *those your Counselors, who beuitch and dull your iudgement, and draw you out of the path of truth, saying onely after their own commodity.* But the King (saith *Paris*) remained incorrigible, and the Lady lost both her charges, hopes and traueil.

(82) Thus harsh were the former yeeres to the King and Kingdom: let vs see what more gentle or rougher accidents rise vnto vs in the next. But it then the first little better appeares, for the King having bought out the time which *Simon de Montfort* had in the government of *Gales* (which now he giues to Prince *Edward*) was truly aduertised, that *Gauis de Burd* was turned *Spaniard*, and labored by all the meanes hee could to plucke that part from the English obedience. *Alonso* K. of *Spain*, claimed the same by vertue of a Charter made thereof by *Henry the second*, confirmed by *Richard* and *John Kings of England*. *Simon Earle of Leicester* thus displaced, to let the world see that hee would not for any preferment incur the suspicion of disloyalty, refused most honorable offers, which, (after the death of Lady *Blanch*, Queene Dowager, and Rectrix of *France*, the French Nobility made him, if he would with his counsell and Force be able to iustifie that Monarchie, while *Leu* in their king was absent. In the meane time the king of England (all old matters being buried in obliuion, vpon hope of future amendment) for aduancement of his martiall Pilgrimage had large aides granted him in Parliament, but vpon condition that hee should now at last, once for all forsake himselfe to goe on by a Law, not at his pleasure, confirming the Charters of Liberties, against the breakers whereof a most solemn curse was pronounced by the kings assent. The Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Prelates pontifically apparelled, pronounced that curse with Tapers burning, which when they had throwne away vpon the pavement, where they lay extinguished and smoking, the King (having laid his hand on his breast all the while) were to keepe all Liberties vpon paine of that execratory Sentence, as he was a Man, a Christian, a Knight, and a King committed and crowned. The busines of *Gales* soone after called him to a neerer warre, whether vpon his promise made to the *Galeses*, hee failed, leauing his sonne Prince *Edward*, and his kingdom to the government of his Brother, the Earle of *Cornewall*, and the Queene his wife: his arrival requiring a light and flay to all the affaires thereof. Such Holds as held against him hee reduced to obedience, but with too faulty a Clemency sparing most open Traitors, whereas if an Englishman had offended, hee was sure to suffer for it, and that rather more then lesse.

(83) His feare now was, lest the *Galeses* should draw in the *Spaniards*, and relinquish his Souerainety. To prevent this, hee venge prudently and seasonably sent Ambassadors to *Alonso* King of *Spain* and *Castile*, to desire that the Lady *Elizabet* his sister, might be giuen in marriage to Prince *Edward*. The motion was well approved, and besides that they brought Letters Patentes from the King of *Spain*, in which, among all other Clauses it was contained, that the King of *Spain* did quit his claime and vnderright, which by vertue of any Grants from *Henry*, *Richard* and *John Kings of England*, hee had, or ought to haue. Herevpon hee lends both for his Sonnes (whom the King of *Spain* desired might be equiaied to him, onely with a noble intent to see and doe him honour) and for his wife the Queene. Among other Acts of sinceritie and love, *Alonso* sent to the King of England good aduise: that, after the example of good Kings and Princes, hee should be a Lamb toward his Subjects, and Seruitours, and a Lion to Aliens and Rebels. *Simon Earle of Leicester* with a gallant Troop of Souldiers offered his seruice to the King, who admiring the *Earles* charity, received him with all ioy possible: at which reconciliation

An. 1253. Anrep. 37.

The King of Spain claims Leicester.

Simon Earle of Leicester refuses high honour in France to avoid the suspicion of disloyalty to England.

Alonso Charles confirmed, helps the King to marry.

The Kings such resolution that reconciliation.

The King requests the King of Spain's sister to be given for wife to his sonne Edward.

The King of Spain queth his claime to Gales.

The King of Spain sends to the King of England.

* Hist. 1. 2. 2. 2.
* 2. 2. 2. 2. 2.

* Romanorum
maxima & con-
tempor. Paris.

* This letter is
in Latin in Paris.

* Hist. Paris.

Afin. 1254.
Prince Edward
married the King
of Spain's Sister.

The estate which
the King gave
him in prison.

The King's debt.

The King of En-
gland with his
army encamped
in France.

the *Gaſconers* who feared him like lightning, were so appalled, that they came dropping in, and became good Subjects. That valorous Earle was thereunto moved by that great, free, and noble Prelate, *Robert Grosseteste*, called the * *Maid of the Bannet*, as being a great carbinen those dayes of the Popes vagantly courtes towards his State of *England*, again which hee wrote a famous letter to his Holiness, learnedly proving, that his despicable, abominable, foule-murdering *Almon*, did deserve him to be an Hereticke, worthy of death, to be a *Antichrist*, and to sit in the Chaire of *persecution*, as next to *Lucifer himselfe*, and that he had no power to excommunicate such as resisted those his *edicts*. With which Catholike Letter, the Pope was besides himselfe for rage, swearing by *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, that he could find in his heart to make that daring Prelate a *murderer of confusion* to all the world for his *swearing*. But some wise Cardinals abused him from any sharper course against him; telling the Pope that all was true he said of their Courts abuses, that he was better than any of themselves, and one who had no Peers amongst all other Prelates for *fancie or learning*; and therefore it were best to hush the matter, for fear of stirring coales, especially sith it was knowne, that at length there would be a departure from their Church. This noble Prelate dyed this very year, with opinion of a Saint (in despite of the Pope, who would have had his bones thrown out of the Church) leaving this * *Propheticall* farewell at his verie last gaspe; that the Church would never see free from such her *Egyptian* servitude, but by the dint of bloody sword.

(84) Soone after the *Queenes* arriving in *Gaſconie*, when all things were rightly prepared, *Prince Edward* was thence sent into *Spain*, where, at the City of *Burgos* hee married the Lady *Eleonor*, sister to the King with great honour, having first received Knight-hood at his hand; which done, hee returns with his Bride to *Bordeaux*, from whence they all together came safe through *France* into *England*. What treasure this noble young Princeſſe brought in portion to her husband, wee cannot say; but the King forthwith gave his sonne *Gaſconie*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Brifflin*, *Stanford*, and *Grantham*. He had drawne upon himselfe a debt, in this and other his actions of above three hundred thousand Marks; the King of *France* being not long before returned from the Holy-Land, gave them both safe-conduct in their passage, and did to him, & his whole noble company all the honor which the wit of man, or the most goodly kingdom of *France* could afford. There were at *Paris* in this entertainment *Beatrice* the Countesse of *Provence*, and foure *Queenes* her Daughters. The King of *England* had in his owne Household traine, a thousand choice & excellent horse, beside Carriages, Snmpers, and Coarſers. Hee was lodged in the Pallace of the olde Temple, being an house almost capable of an Armie, where the next morning hee commanded all sorts of poore should be relieved with

his charity and Almes. The magnificence of the great Fealt of the Kings, at the King of *England* charge, shall be expreſſed in our Authors owne words, who is bold to affirme, that *Aſſuerus*, *Arthur*, *Charles the Great*, had never any such. After dinner, the King sent to the *French* Lords, and men of Armes, Plate, Buckles of Gold, and other royall presents. The King of *England* late at the Table on the right hand of the *French* King, and the king of *Navarre* on the left. But the *French* King contented much in cuncties to the contrary, till *King Henry* obſtinately refused laying the King of *France* as his Lord, so should be for there was no reason, because hee held his Lands in *France* of him. To whom the most iust and gracious King *Lewis* with a sofe voice answered; *It would to God every one had his right without offence*, meaning such other lands as the *English* Crowne had right unto. At another time he gave the reason, why the *Peeres* of *France* would not consent to the restitution of *Normandy*, for that the *Normans* would never learn to keep their Borders in quiet. The *English* King did to himselfe, and to the *English* name great honour, in his whole behaviour and carriage, which was full of *Charity* towards the poore (a vertue for which in those dayes Kings chiefly sought to be commended) of *Mercy*, *Magnificence*, and all sorts of royall liberality and gentleness. The King and Court of *France* brought him an whole daies journey upon the way. Hee staid a while at *Bologna* for a wind, but returned safe, having peaceably measured a way through *France*, out of *Gaſconie*, which his martiall Nephews kings of *England* trode a fierward in another manner, drawing lines of blood and fire over all *France*, the most pleasant, rich, and spacious realm of *Christendome*.

(85) *Eleonor* Prince *Edward* wife landed at *Dur* in great State. On the other side, *Edmund* the Kings second sonne, by a King, which the Pope sent (so to ingage King *Henry* in his warres against *Manfredus*, the sonne of the late Emperour *Fredericke*) was solemnly inducted in the kingdom of *Sicilie*. The Ambassador was a Bishoppe, who forthwith departed, for indeed his errand was in few glorious, but in truth both delatory and unprofitable, as well because the King had already unreasonably interested himselfe in this quarrell, (the Pope having changed his vow against the *Turkes*, into this against *Christians*), as also, for that the *Roman* Armie which (by the Popes fetches) warred most at his charge, was (notwithstanding the Popes blessings) utterly overthrowen, before this syrie honour could be feild in the Lord *Edmund*, whom yet his Father whose credulity the Pope for his owne ends had shamefully inieigned, by drawing him into obligations of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds) openly termed and used as the King of *Sicily*, (for which also hee did this annexed Seale) highly pleasing himself in the variety of a waitfull Title to his owne, and his whole Kingdomes extreme impoverishment.

An. 1255.
Edmund the Kings second sonne King of Sicilie.

* Hist.

* In ista regia
civitate non
possibile, Paris.

Edmund



King of Sicily.

A.D. 1256.
Anno 40.

(86) The Calamities of the Kingdoms in these exhaustings, was the more lamentable, because they were countenanced by the King, who should have repelled them. But the Pope having no so easie way to be supplied as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope and King were well accorded to grudge the people each for the others

viz; the King to satisfy the Popes Avarice, the Pope to advance the Kings Ambition. The gaying of the Kingdom of *Sicilie* must be the colour, for which the King was resolved to goe in person; and therefore *Edmund* (the Popes Agent) sent to gather the Tenth of all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the Popes use and the kings, indifferently, had called

* Ad filium & filium. Paris.

called a great Counsel the former yeere, and adinured it till this; where he also required all the Prelates to hinder themselves to the Popes merchants, as having received of them a great sum of money, which was imploied to the use of their Churches. At which grieffull and vntre deuile the Prelates replied they would rather die then suffer such oppression, and that they held it a manifest Martyrdom to die in such a cause, then was the death of Thomas Becket. The Nobles also peremptorily refused either to recouer *tithe*, or to beare the charge thereof, being both impossible; the one for the strength of *Ansfrède*, the other for the present povertie of *England*. And indeed soone after the Pope and *Ansfrède* were made friends, and so King *Henrie* and King *Edmund* beguiled one of his great expenses, the other of his high hopes. The King was herewith wakened out of a sweete dreame wherein till then he continued, feeding his minde with the hope to leaue to either of his sons a kingdom; though neither so he rested quiet till he had almost throwne the Crowne into the gulphes of irreconcilable debts and viciarie. The young King of *Scots* and his Queene, about this time came into *England* to visite their best friends, the King and Queene of this Kingdom, which lay wholly open to their honor and vices. The King to let his sonne in law fee how welcome he was, did bestow vpon him the Earldome of *Huntingdon*; They and their Queenes with almost all the great Lords and Ladies of *England* met at *Woodstocke* by *Oxford*, from whence they came to *London*. The King was unwilling to denie his sonne in law and daughter any thing, for at their earnest suite he pardoned Sir *Willielm de Lile*, Knight Sheriffe of *Northamptonshire*, who was proued to haue practised by most foule suborned treachery to spoile another Gentleman of his estate: for which the said *Lile* had died a shameful, but a worthy death, by drawing and hanging, had not his wifes teares and prayers made the King and Queene of *Scots* their intercessors. Thus the young Princes returned into *Scotland*, worthily well contented.

Alexander king of Scots and his Queene highly encouraged in England.

Princes to compare themselves as those wickedly, judged worthy of death.

The King comes in person to the Court of Exchequer and makes orders there.

(87) The King much the frether to vndergoe serious affaires, by reason of the late comfort he had in his Childe the Queene of *Scots*, bestirres himselfe, and comes in person into the Exchequer among the Barons thereof, when the Court was set, and made sharpe orders against all Sheriffes and Baylies of Towns incorporate, who did not yeerly appeare at the Exchequer, to pay such money of the Kings as was come to their hands. At the same time all the Sheriffs of *England* were amerced, because they had not disfreined all those which had such estates in land, as the law limiteth to take the order of Knighthood, or pay their fines. Which of the Lords could say now, that the King would not prove a good husband! Howbeit the case of the people seemed nothing releued, for (saith *Pieris*) there were so many petty Tyrants by the negligence or conniueance of one, that the ancient State of *England*, when it had many Kings, seemed to be brought in againe.

Prince Edward being no help to his father, his wife was brought to his wife Richard.

(88) Occasions of expence like the heads of Hydra daily increased. The Welch (oppress by *Geoffrey de Langley* an officer vpon the Marches) rose in armes, and misliued one of those occasions, but that Prince *Edward*, to whom his Father had given *Wales*, was left therein to himselfe, for his Father could spare no money. The Prince therefore borrowes some thousands of markes of his wicke *Richard*, and with his owne and then wagheth Souldiers; his seruants behaued themselves most violently euery where, taking without paiement, or paying with blowes; and it was the humor also of their young Master, who had store of martiall and stirring fire in his boosome. The Welch therefore would not for any persuasions be drawne to lay downe weapons, but hauing about ten thousand of their coun-

try hurfemen, and many more on foot, tooke a solemn Oath, that they would stand together for their libertie and ancient lawes, holding it better to die with honour, then to live a wretched life in shame and seruitude. And indeed they did great things vnder Prince *Llewelyn ap Griffith*, by whose meanes they valiantly recovered all the Inland-countrey of *Northwales*, with other places; and in one fight slew above two thousand Englishmen, and drave the rest out of the field. They also spoiled the land to the very gates of *Chesler*. This they had the greater opportunitie to doe, for that the King, while he was Kingdome in the Clouds, and plunged himself into the Abysses of Vitiy, suffered some few, his sonne, his brother, the Earle of *Gloucester*, and his halfe-brothers with their families to trample rich and reason vnderfoot, and with his hatred to enrich themselves, his owne meanes daily consuming, and mens mindes more and more alienated from him, as men that despaired of redresse and iustice. The Welch also persisting in their enterprise, made Prince *Edward* retire in a bataille, and he complaining to his Father, had no other comfort but this: *what is that to me? the land is thine of my gift. Put forth thy strength at first, and get honour in thy youth, that from thenceforth thy enemies may stand in feare of thee. As for me I haue somewhat else to doe.*

The high road and noble conquest of the Welch.

* Tadis. Welsh.

(89) The greatest worldly forrein honour that (since *Constantine*) ever fell vpon any *English* subject, was at this time, in regard both of his birth and riches, deuised and tendered to *Richard*, Earle of *Cornewall*, brother to the King, to whom was sent an honorable Ambassage out of *Germanie*, who, in humble manner declared, that the Princes of the sacred *Roman* Empire had elected him King of *Romane*, beseeching him to accept of that their common chiefe. In testimonie whereof the Archbishop of *Colen*, high Chancellor of the Empire, Prince Elector, and other great Lords of *Alemaine* had sent their writings vnder seale, affirming, *That neuer was as one with so generall consent and vniuersall good liking elected to that place as he his name carrying it clearly without any contradiuision among them. Vpon receipt of this most honourable intimation and offer, there was much debatement in the Chappell where they sate vpon the Earles behalf, whether he should accept thereof or no; but while all of the flood in doubt the king pates in a deciding voice, saying: Let my brother be thought faint hearted, my spirit is so quick, that he would not refuse to accept this honor, which God can make it more to him. This made the Squadron of the negariques to giue way, and at last wile to become Neutrals, till all objections were answered, as they were all of them by one or other, concluding in their speeches to the Earle; *T hat he should bee warned, and withall stirred up to the service of God, in acceptance of this highest place, by the example of Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy (elder sonne of William the first, King of England) to whom the Kingdome of Ierusalem, for the content to rule the inheritance of Christ was offered, which he refusing to accept, did afterwards feele the grievous wrath of God, and neuer had happy daies after.**

A. D. 1257.

To these and many other reasons the King, his halfe brothers, and speciallie the Elect of *Winchester* encouraged him with one voice affirming, that his honour would exalt the *English* name for euer: The Earle therefore putting on the main with a free and cheerfull voice answered: *And I relying vpon the goodness of Almighty God, though I am insufficient, or unworthy, to assume the name of saintnesse, doe thankfully accept this burthen and honour, which Heaven (I hope) hath put into my hands.* And then turning himselfe to the Bishops who were present, among which *Richard* Bishop of *Bauger* (from whose mouth our author wrote those things) was one, he concluded and said: *Let mee before I depart out of this Chappell, doe, and suddenly be burnt with the fire of Hell, if I doe accept thereof either for ambition, or avarice; but onlie to restore the Empire (which God grant)*

The Earle's cuppe the elect.

* Met. Paris, who had also many thousand ducats from the King himselfe. pag. 15. col. 16. 1604.

His most noble
protection.

The King of
Rome what
and who.

The English
emperor in the
day of Richard
was ever to be
to the French

to a better estate, and to govern them, who have willing-
ly elected me for their Lord, in modest, just and honour-
able manner. These words calied joyfull teares
from oif many of the hearers, and the Ambassadors
returned to deliver the oewes of this acceptance,
who from thenceforth was King of Rome, that is
Emperor elect, which title was vied till they receive
the Crowne imperiall; though to all other purpo-
ses he is Emperor, so that King of Rome seems
to answer to the Title of Caesar, which vnder the
ancient Roman Emperours was given to the heire
apparent of the Empire or Coadiucors. After the
German Ambassadors were gone, the King permit-
teth his brother to send some over to sound the
truth of the Electors and Peoples affections, which
(in regard the English were originally German, and
by late affinity incorporated, and for that English

(with Paris) was in a fort agreeable to the Alman
tongue) they found entire, and with that certitude
returne. The King of England hereby seemed to
have his designs for recovery of Normandy, great-
ly strengthened, the Alman and French hardlie
brooking one the other; but howsoever, sure it is
that his brother the new King, had occasion to
spend the golden Oyle, which was so long in gather-
ing, to maintain the light of this Imperiall lampe;
and without question hee might bee liberall, for he
was reputed to possesse so much ready coine, as
would every day for tenne yeeres afford him an
hundredth marks vpon the maine stocke, without
reckoning his rents & revenues in Germany, and the
English dominions. The Earl was tooo after crow-
ned King of the Romans, at Aquigraue, by Cardale
Archbishop of Colen, with great pompe & solemnity,

The huge sum
of ready money
which Richard
King of Rome
had of his own
at his Election.
* A. Cal. 1258. de
Aquisgrano.



* Cantu. antiqua
Rex et Imperator
Paris.

* Mat. Paris.
in Hist. Angl.
The University
of Oxford the
second School
of the Church
Paris, pro-
posed by the
larg.

(90) In the meane time, while his brothers
royall preparations were in hand, the King being
for a weekes space at the Abbey of S. Albans, cer-
taine matters of Oxford brought a great complaint
against the Bishop of Lincoln, for some encroach-
ments vpon the ancient liberties of that Vniuersitie,
to whom the King was gracious and assigned a day,
& Matthew Paris, whom the King in honor of his
learned penes, admitted euery day to his table,
and Chamber, laid to him vpon this Complaint;
* *My Liege, for Gods love haue a care of the English
State of the Church. The Vniuersity of Paris (the Nurse,
and mother of many holy Prelates) is not a little disqui-
eted. If as the same issue the Vniuersity of Oxford should
be disturbed, which is the second School of the Church,
yet the fundamentall base thereof, it is greatly to be feared,
least the whole Church do fall to ruine. Whereunto
the King made answere, God forbid that should happen
at all; but chiefly in his daies. Which the Parliamen-
t then at hand, he accordingly prouided for,
to their contentation. The memory of the King
seemes by this to haue bene excellent, for beside
that hee recounted to Paris all the Kings of England
which had bene Canonized Saints, all the Princes
Electors, and great Princes of Germany and France,
he called to minde the names of about two hun-
dred and fifty Baronies in England.*

(91) At this Parliament, (which was exceeding
great) holden at London, the King in sight and view
of all the people, brings forth his younger sonne Ed-
mund attired like an Italian of Apulia, (which Coun-
try is a member of the Kingdome of Sicilia) and
vied this speech: *Behold here good people, my sonne Ed-
mund, whom God of his gracious goodnesse hath called to
the excellencie of kingly dignitie; how comely and well
worthy he is of all your fauours, and how earnest and prais-
eworthy they are, who at this pinch, would deny him effectu-
all and timely helpe, both with aduise and money. The
summe of all was to draw a vast contribution from
the Clergie for attienement of this shadow (it pro-*

ued no better) into his Coffers. Neuertheless he ob-
tained a grant of about fiftie thousand Marks, vpon
covenant that the liberties of the Realme should be
reaily and finally once for ever established; which
was done. There were present in this Parliamen six
Archbishops, Canterbury, York, Dublin, Colen, Arles
10 Sicilia, and Taranton 10 Apulia. The politick Ger-
mans knew what they did in choosing Richard their
King, for they saw a cloud of gold and silver would
dissolue it selfe into shoures among them at his ar-
riuall; and all elections of strangers came to their
profit, because none is chofen that relies wholly vpon
the rents of the Empire.

(92) It was a worthy care in this King, that when
by the prouision of his brother Richard King of Ro-
me, there arrived in the riner of Thames fiftie hie
of German Ships, laden with come to relieve the
great dearth, which then raigne through the Land,
he caused proclamation to be made, *That no Citizen
of London should buy any of that come to fure up, which
they were wont to doe, to the intent they might sell it at
the deare afterward, so such as wanted. But no warning,
prayers, aduices, nor fensle of wants were able to
make him frugal of his expenle; whereby he was
miserably streightened, neither would the Laity in
Parliament contribute anything, but (hammering
some great attempts to their thoughtes) in plaine
words concluded, *That they neither would, nor could
any longer endure such (they called them) extorsions.*
Moreover they there vntered many granteances, and
Simon Earle of Leicester complained of the dishonor
and ioiroy done him by William de Valence, calling
him Traitor; so that against the Session to be holden
vpon prorogation, he, the Earle of Gloucester, and
Marshall, confederated themselves and (pretending
the feare of strangers the Kings fauorites,) determi-
ned to come strong to Oxford at Saint Barnabas day.
They also sent messengers to the King of France,
praying at least so much assistance, as that he would
not hinder the good purpose which they held of or-*

A. D. 1258
Art. 42.

The profile of
Londoners in
conspicuous
by the
ling.

The Roman
consoles.

The King com-
mends the Coale
of his sonne Ed-
mund for the
Kingdome of Si-
cilia.

Note that by
this it appears
a demand was
not to be de-
voted to the
war, but to the
war, but to the
war, but to the

ordering and fixing the troubled estate of England. They had also taken order to watch the Ports against strangers. Thus they prepared to abate (as it seemed) or banish the insolence and insolence of *Peilounes* and of other Forreiners, by whom the King was powerfully lewd, for they deprived of redress at his hands, who like another *Protem* (as *Pars* saith) took all shapes upon him to serve his turnes, and then slip out at his pleasure, no promises, or ties being strong enough to hold him. These were the beginnings of bloody evils, and the frede-sparks of those furious fires which afterward brake forth, from the sight and sense whereof, many thousands were taken by death, whose mortall stroke of pestilence raged over England, specially among the poore through scarcity of food.

(91) When the time appointed for the Parliament at Oxford was come, the infamous Earles and Barons (with whom^o sundry Bishops had taken Council against the King the Lords announced) repaired thither, and firmly propounded sundry trayterous Articles to the King, to which they required his assent. The chiefe points were, That the King would constrainedly keepe and observe the Charter of liberties, which he had of old granted, and severn to maintain unmovable; That such a one should be in the place of Chiefe Justiciar who would judge according to right, without respect to poore or rich, &c. Then they renewed their confidence, solemnely swearing, That neither for life nor death, nor love nor hate, they would be access to violent to their purpose, till they had cleared England (in which their lives and their Forfeitures were borne) from vsurpations and abuses, and had recovered lawfull Statutes. Those turbulent Nobles had yet a further plot, then all this; which was first broached (saith *Mat. West.*) by the disloyall Bishops, which was that 24. persons should there be chosen, to have the whole administration of the King and State, and speedy appointment of all great Officers, referring only to the King the best place at meetings and consultation of honour in publick places. And because they would not be crossed in their purposes, they came exquisitely armed and appointed, that so the King and his Adversaries should be enforced, if they would not willingly assent. To all their wickedness at the King and Prince Edwards as enforced to swear, for fear of perpetuall imprisonment, the traitor our Lords having by an Evil pleasure death to all that resisted. Whereupon all the Peeres and Prelates took their Corporall Oath to be faithful in this their infidelity, and made all who would abide in this Kingdom, to swear they would stand to the tryall of their Conscience: the Archbishops and Bishops solemnely asserting all that should rebell against it. The Monks themselves detesting this impudent treason, alke with what forehead, *episcopal* Priests, dar'd thus unpious the King, to *advise* against their future fidelity to him? This conspiracy they so prosecuted, that when *Willelmus de Warenne* the Kings halfe-brother, denied with Oathes to render up any Castle which was given him, the Earle of Leicester, and the rest of the Barons answered, they would rather lose his Castles or his head. This violent proceeding so terrified the *Peilounes*, that suddenly they left Oxford, and shortly fled into France, where also the Barons had made them odious. *Hugh Bigod*, brother to the Earle Marshall, was made chiefe Justiciar. The people, seeing whole wholy things, which made the Barons so rough and contemptory in all their conferences, that when the Lord *Almaric* sonne to the King of *Almaine*, refused to combine or take their oath, without his Fathers consent, they roundly bad him know, That if his father himselfe would not hold with the Barons of England, he should not have a farre word of earth among them. And besides a thing which might tend to their security, should seeme to be omitted, they viling the Kings name, commanded London to stand upon her guard, by keeping their Cities gates carefully shut, & by maintaining strong watches night by night, upon presence of

danger to the Realme through the practices of strangers, and after they dispatched thither certain sic Agents, who in the Guild-hall made known their commission, which was directly to understand, whether they would immediately adhere to the Barons and obey their constitution, by manifestly and effectually supporting them in the common cause. Whereunto the Citizens descended, binding themselves thereunto under the publicke seale of London.

(94) The Barons did as yet forbear to declare, what those reformatorie Propositions should be, because the Earle of Gloucester (a principal man among them) was in danger of death, whose sickness did perplex & suspend their proceedings, & the manner of his maladie did put them in doubt of their owne safeties, making them grow in distrust of their Cooks, their butlers, and stewards, for the Earle his body breaking out into *pestilence*, and his haire, nailes, teeth and skinnie it selfe, falling away, was (as many others, of which some died) thought to be poisoned. But whether they were or no, the *Peilounes* and strangers had the blame laid upon them, to make them the more odious to the Commons. But the Earle partly reconciled his health in time by the benefit of medicines and diligent attendance. The Propositions were laid to have been tempered in the house of *Elm* a few after ward baptized. The King himselfe perhaps would not have beene soery, if that be, *Simon* Earle of Leicester and some few others of the Barons had bene with God, for howsoever his body was among them, yet his heart was not at quiet, which in this wise well appeared. For being in the month of June upon the river of *Thames* in his barge, the sky suddenly grew dark, and there ensued a terrible shower with thunder and lightning, of which the King impatient commands himselfe to be set on land at the next place which was *Darham* house, whereas then, the Earle of Leicester lay. The Earle being thereof certified came out to entertain him, saying, *Sir* why are you afraid? The tempest is now past: whereunto he answered with a severe looke: *I fear* thunder and lightning about me, *because*, but by the head of God, *I do* more feare them then all the thunder and lightning of the world. Whereunto the Earle replied: *My* lord it is in vain, and incredible that you should stand in feare of me, who have alwayes bene loyal both to you and your Realme, whereas you ought to feare your enemies, such as desire the Realme and abuse you with bad Counsels. The Barons therefore remaining time in their first purpose, sent messengers abroad to will all such as had bene wronged by the Kings halfe-brothers and other *Peilounes* and strangers to present their grievances to the Barons, and to prosecute them. Moreover (because sundry other petty-tyrants of the English nation, encouraged by their example, had exceeded their limits, in oppressing their inferiours) they procured the King to appoint four Knights Commissioners in euerie shire, to enquire of all such miseries, and certifye the same vnder their seales within a certaine time limited.

(95) The Barons in the meane time neglected not their enterprise, at whose instance (principally of *Hugh Bigod* the new chiefe Justiciar) *Philip* Lord the Kings Treasurer, for abuses committed in the Kings Forreills and game about *Stony-Strawford*, and many Officers of the Exchequer, were likewise removed, to give roome to such as the Barons better liked. The Sheriffs likewise of Shires, their practices, and extortions were diligentlly scene into, and it was ordained, that aswell the piers as takers of bribes should be severely punish. The welth seeing these round proceedings in England, the peace & reformation whereof they feared, labored for reconciliation but could not then obtaine it.

(96) *Richard* King of *Romans*, having a desire to see the King his brother, and his lands in England, not without a purpose to bring an Armie, or such a number of men as might greatly strengthen the King against the Barons, as they suspected, was advertised

The City of London, which the Barons were to defend, was strong.

Mat. West.

The King sends the Earle of Leicester to see how the Barons were to be managed.

Certain officers to reside with the King in every County.

Officers put into their places.

The shires of Shire were ordered and provided against.

A.D. 1259. The King of Romans, who had been the King of the Romans, was now the King of the Romans, and was now the King of the Romans.

that they provided for his resistance as well by land as sea. This made him, his wife, and sonne, to lay aside that purpose, and to arrive in a priore maner at Dover with a small traine, in which there were onely two Earles, and about nine Knights. The king met him with great congratulation at the Sea side, but not King, nor hee could be suffered to enter into Dover Castle, because (forsooth) it was the principall Key of England, for the safeguard whereof they openly exacted an Oath of him at Canterbury in this manner. The holy Gospels being laid upon the Pulpit in the Chapter-house of Canterbury, the Barons reverently brought in thither the Kings of England and of *Aquitaine*, then Richard Earle of Gloucester (for *Simon* Earle of Leicester was gone with others into France, to deale with the King and States thereof about a perpetual league) standing in the midst openly, and in humble words called Richard King of *Romans* unto him, by the name onely of Richard Earle of Cornwall, who obeyed accordingly, to whom hee distinctly ministered the Oath following: *Here all men that I Richard Earle of Cornwall have sworn upon the holy Gospels, to be faithful and forward to reforme with you the Kingdom of England, hitherto by the counsel of wicked men too much deformed. And I will be an efficient Assistant to expell the Rebels and trouble of the Realme, from out the same. This oath will I enforce upon paine to forfeit all the lands I have in England.* On the other side (had the King known how to vicia) there fell out such dissention between the Earles of Gloucester and Leicester, that Leicester departed from England discontented, saying, he tooke no ioy to live among men so mutable and deceitfull. Nevertheless such means were used, that these two chiefe Captaines of the Barons, brake not forth into any further diuision. Thus while the Barons using the Kings name, disposed of all things, and *Simon de Montfort* Earle of Leicester, was gone with others to transact with the French about an indissoluble league, the King himselfe through desire not to be interrupted with foreaine matters, if warre should rise at home, or through want of money or better aduise, was induced (if not betrayed) to an act of little honour, though it carried with it the face of profit and felicitie quiet.

(97) For (the affaires of the realm thus strangely managed) the King in person suiles ouer into France, there to demand a penceable restitution of such Signiorities as Philip & Lewis (father of this Lewis) had iniuriously withdrawne from his father King John. The French replied, that no restitution was due for many respects, specially, because the * ancient grant made to *Rolls* the first Duke of Normandy, was not voluntary, but extorted by force and force of Armes, in the dayes of the weak state of France. The King having * no disposition to recover his claim by battell, and destitute of money wherewith to wage an Arme, but principally for that his owne Peeres and people stood on their guard against him, did * unwillingly raise a conclusion (the Articles whereof were, that the King of France should quietly hold the Dukedom of Normandy and Earldome of Angou * *Maine, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou*) for * three hundred thousand small pounds of *Touraine*, and upon promise to receive other lands to the yearly value of twenty thousand pounds. *Payd* (saith, that the repared limits of the English Pale in France, were from thenceforth the river of *Charente* in *Gasconie* and the mountains *Pyrénées*, and that hee should peaceably have *Angoumois, Quercy, and Limousin*, being Countries marching upon *Gasconie*, in lieu of the rest, yet so as the King of England should * hold them of the Crowne of France by homage and fealty. Upon these Articles the king acquiesced, and for ever renounced all his challenge to Normandy & the other lands, and thenceforth abridged his Seale, and changed his Seale, using a Scepter in place of a Sword: whereon these Monks and mockish verses were written.

*Æt M.C.C.L.IX. utinam concordia felix,
Anglorum, Pictorum, Neustria, posteretis
Anglorum, plantis his France, signis nuntiat,
Nominis solentur fugit Ensis, Scepter gerantur.*

*At C.C.L.IX. God grant some peace thanke,
Faith on, Angles, Normans so France range you,
New Seales are made, old styles forsaken,
Droove lead the Blade, Scepter up taken.*



A.D. 1260.
A. Reg. 44.

Ann. 1261.
A. Reg. 45.
* *Wm. Fyng.*
14.

(98) The King (at these unworthy rates) having secured himselfe from the French, laboured to vindicate the Regall power out of the usurping Barons hands (whose over-coppings at home had drinen him to those foraine indignities,) alledging, that the Oath which his sonne and hee had taken at Oxford, was void, in regard it was compulsorie, that the Barons also, who pretended the profite of the Realme, sought onely their owne honour and gain, contrary to their decrees. For his more security he takes the Tower of London, preparing force by the

helpe of his brother King of *Romans*. There followed a grievous perturbation of the Realme, although at this time it brake not forth into the extremity, Armes being laid downe for a little space. Edward the Kings eldest sonne would not trauctie the oath he had made at Oxford, but held with the * Barons for the present. The King, the Queene, and his selected friends, still remaine upon their guard in the Tower; where hee (in the yeere before) had buried yve locks of the ancient *Depository*, or dead stocke of the Crown, to employ against the Barons. Peace

The King (who
never less France
to demand restitu-
tion of her
lands.

* *Guil. Gemet.*

* *Wm. Fyng.*

* *Wm. Fyng.*

* *Wm. Fyng.*
1461 1462.
* *Wm. Fyng.*
1461 1462.
* *Wm. Fyng.*
1461 1462.
* *Wm. Fyng.*
1461 1462.

* *John Tilt.*

* *Wm. Fyng.*
A.D. 1262.
A. Reg. 46.

The King (who
never less France
to demand restitu-
tion of her
lands.

was notwithstanding brought about againe by the Queene's speciall diligence; and *Deuor* and *Ancheſter* Castles (whether hee went in person) are deliuered vnto him. This makes him refuse to partise the Barons; the rather also for that the French King (who much condemned the Barons vniuersall) had promised his assistance. *Henry* therefore thrusts out the Barons Chancellor, & Chief Iusticiar, placing *Walter Mareschall* & *Philip Basset*, men of much more loyall affections to their soveraign. The Barons hearing of this, hasten in Armes to *Winchester*, where the King was, who (having intelligence by his faithful Clerk, *Sir John Mansel*) got back into the Tower of *London*. The King of France was made Vnpire in the quarrell. The cause was heard at *Amiens*, where hee gaue iudgement with the King of England against the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at *Oxford*, to be utterly void; provided neuerthelesse, that the Charter of Liberties which King *John* had made to the English nation, should in no sort be thereby infringed. This pronounced *Simon* Armes of *Leicester*, and the Barons, to maintain all the Statutes of *Oxford*, (because they were preccedently founded vpon that Charter) notwithstanding that iust iudgement which King *Lewis* had given. The secret confederacy with *London* Prince of Wales, misliked to the Barons no little encouragement; who about this time waited the Dominions of Prince *Edward* in the Marches of *Wales*. This iudgement of the French King did much disaduantage the Barons, of whom diuers being drawne with perswasions, gifts, and promises, revolted from *Simon* *Mansel*. There was now a striking of Townes and Prisoners on all hands. Prince *Edward* (who now was wholly for his Father in despite of the Barons) takes the Castell of *Bristol*, and fines the City at a thousand pounds. *Simon* *Mansel* encountereth his greatest reuenges vpon the Queene's friends which were Aliens, not sparing the Kings. Marching forward, he recouers *Gloucester* Castell, enters *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*; lastly, surpriseth the Ile of *Ely*, subduing that lastnesse or fenny strength to the Barons wife. *Sir John Mansel* the Kings Counsellor, fearing the euent of things, flies secretly from the Tower where the King was. *Henry* comes to the King of *Almaine*, was after this taken by the Barons. Meane while Prince *Edward* fortifies *Winſlor* Castell with frangers. Mutual wearienes at length begat a desire of peace, and the King had yielded that the Statutes of *Oxford* should stand: but the Queene was vterly against it, not without cause; for it did enfeble the arbitrarion which the French King had made. The Queene's opposition in this point was knowne to the *Londoners*, which put the baser sort into so lewd a rage, that they being to throte the Bridge from the Tower toward *Winſlor*, which with dirt and stones and villanous words forced her to returne. Prince *Edward* vnder the conduct of the Bishope of *Worcester*, came from the Castell of *Bristol* (by reason of quarrell betwene his men of warre and the Barons) and contrary to his promise entered into *Winſlor* Castell; but afterward going forth to meet *Simon* *Mansel* at *Kingſlow* vpon 7 homes, with purpose to offer peace, the said *Simon* goes to *Winſlor* Castell, & would not permit him to depart. At *London* yet in a Parliament, matters were pieced againe, and the Kings side grew stronger daily.

(99) There were with him his brother King of *Romanes*, his sonne *Edward*, *William de Valence* (whom Prince *Edward* had brought out of France) *John Comens* of *Scotland* with a multitude of valiant Scots, (whose King was *Henry* sonne in law) *John de Baid* Lord of *Galway*, *Robert de Brunſwicke*, with whom hee marcheth from *London* to *Oxford*, where the Rendezu of his friends and forces was appointed. The King meaning to make that place (where his chiefe blow was giuen him) his chiefe seat to consult for remedies, dismissed thence all the Students,

by reason of their multitude, being about a thousand (such as *William de Roffenger* who then liued) of those only whose names were entered into the *Matriculation* books, amongst whom being so many young Nobles, the King doubted how they might be affected to the Barons. Whereupon many of them went to *Northampton*, where then the Barons were strong; and thither the King coming with his host, and breaking in at the Towne-walles vpon *Passion Sunday*, encountered his enemies, amongst whom the Students of *Oxford* had a banner by themselves advanced right against the King, and they did more awny him in the fight, then the rest of the Barons; which the King (who at length perswayed) had vowed sharply to reuenge, but that his Counsellors told him, that the Students were the fittest and kindest of the Great-men of the Land, whom if hee punished, once the English who new stood for him, would take Armes against him. The King there took *Simon* *Mansel* the younger, and fourteene other principall Barons and Knights Barons, forty other Knights, besides Esquiers, &c. Encouraged with this successe, hee advanced the Standard royall toward *Northampton*, burning and waiting the Barons lands whereouer hee came. To diuert this tempest, *Simon* *Mansel* halleneth to *London*, and attempts the taking of *Rochester* Castell, which *John* Earle of *Warren* defended for the King; who coming to raise the siege, takes *Kingſlow* Castell, which belonged to the Earle of *Gloucester*; then vnexpectedly falling vpon such as maintained the siege of *Rochester*, while *Simon* was absent, kills verie many, and scatters the rest. Then leueth hee the Castell of *Tambridge*, and therein the Countesse of *Gloucester*, whom, notwithstanding hee nobly set at large, as professing not to warre against Ladies; from thence the Cloud of power borne vpon the wings of indignation, speedes to *Winchester*, and receiues the Cinque-Portmen to grace, setting at last in *Leuiss*, where himselfe resided in the Priorie, and his sonne in the Castell, winneth the Barons first letters to him, protesting their loyal obedience to his person, but all hostility to their enemies which were about him.

(100) But the King flaming with desire of reuenge, lets flye by these vowed (but fained) fidelities; and returns a full defiance as to *Trenton*, professing that hee takes the wrong of his friends as his own, and their enemies as his. The King of *Almaine*, Prince *Edward*, with other of the Kings chiefe friends, sent their like letters of defiance. The Barons, loath to let it come to the hazardous and vnkind trial of Steele, (though they then encamped about six miles from *Leuiss*;) nor acquiescing themselves in this repulse, iterate their messages, with an offer to pay to the King thirty thousand pounds, in satisfaction of such hurts as their people had done through the Realmes, so as the Statutes of *Oxford* might stand. The King of *Almaine* (whose honour they had toucht, and did poore part of his liberities) hindered all harkening to any their offers.

(101) It came to a batell, wherein *Simon* de *Mansel* commands his traitorous Army to weare white Cresset on breast and backe, to shew they fought for iustice; great was the effusion of blood on both parts; chieftie of the Scots vpon the Kings side, & of the *Londoners* vpon the Barons side; a whole Battalion, (lead by the Lord *Seymour*) Prince *Edward* most furiously charged, and had the execution of them for about foure miles, which hee purified the more bloodily, in reuenge of the extreme disgrace which they had offered vpon *London* Bridge to the Queene his Mother, and after that the Garrison of *Tambridge* followed, and flew many at *Croydon*. But while the Prince spent himselfe in that reuenge, his Father (who, having his Horse slain vnder him, had yielded himselfe prisoner to *Simon* de *Mansel*) this while the King of *Romanes*, and others great Peeres were taken, and the whole hope of that day lost. There fell in all on both sides, about five thousand. Prince *Edward* returning from the slaughter of the *Londoners*, would

The Barons drive the King from Winchester. A.D. 1263. An. Reg. 47. * Added ad. Per.

Simon Mansel in separate battle.

A.D. 1264. An. Reg. 48.

* Addition ad. Man. Paris.

An insupportable violence offered by officials to the Queene.

The Scots aide the King.

The king takes Northampton & many chiefe men.

* In Roffenger Aris in substance in Roff, Croydon, &c. &c.

* Chron. M. S. Paris in 1263 saying, the battle.

* Mareschall slain.

The Barons letters.

The Kings letters.

The King of Almaine, Prince Edward, & Prince Edward.

The Barons find the second time.

Simon Earle of Leicester takes the Kings of England and of Almaine in the battle of Ely.

Prince Edward
and Henry join
to the King of
Rome: yeld by
composition.

An. 1265.

An. reg. 49.

The Earle of
Leicester carries
the King about
till he had posse
all the chiefe
strength of the
Rebelle.

* Epistolam Sa-
borem in
* Alai. 179.

The Earle of
Leicester & Glo-
cester fall at de-
bates in a good
tune.

Prince Edward
having escaped,
joines with the
Barons of Glo-
cester.

* Wile. Trist.
and Hildebrand.

would have reinforced the Battaille, but the Barons offered peace, which vpon the next day was concluded for the present, so that Prince Edward and Henry Iohn to the King of Rome, should also render them felues prisoners, and the two Kings, till such time as all quarrels might receive an happier conclusion by calme deliberation. Thus was Simon Earle of Leicester in possession of both the kings and of their elder Iohnes, so fortunate may Treason and Rebellion bee for a time, but in the end it speedes as it deferves.

(102) By this advantage this Kingly Rebelle got all the chiefe Castles of the Kingdome into his hand, leading his Sovereigne as his Prisoner about the Countrey (yet with all outward respect and honour) the rather to procure a more quiet surrender. The King of Rome here imprisoned in the Tower, Prince Edward and the Lord Henry in Dover. The Earle feeling now his owne greatness began to be lesse tractable; neither could the Popes authority interposing it selfe for the King, prevaile. For as the Pope by *Apostolicke sentence* before had absolved the King and others from his Oath to the *Provisions of Oxford*, so now he sent his *Cardinall Legate* to excommunicate all the *Faunders* of these *Articles*, *comprisers* of the King, but these men *hauing* the material sword to trust vnto made no reckning of the *Spirituall*, pretending they appealed to the Pope, or to better issues, or a generall Council, or to God himselfe: so great account made these crossed Iouliets of the Popes curle. Now withstanding the loyall blood of Roger de Mortimer, and many other high spirited men of Armes, could not brooke their Kings loyall base viage and dangerous estate, but make head, in vaine. For Simon treacherously combes himselfe with *Leoris* Prince of Wales, and with their ioint forces takes *Hereford* Castle: thertoe they remoue Prince Edward from Dover. The loyall band was hereby compelled to capitulate, and deliver hostages, & the fearfull point, to which England was brought at this present, but God (in whose protection it was) deliuered it. Simon and the Earle of Gloucester fall at debate about their *Diuidend* and shares in the spoiles, (for what euer they pretended for the Kingdome, their owne greatnes and gaine was the motive, and somewhat also the vnequall altitude of his said partner the Earle of Leicester, together with the perill of his Countrey moued him. Who thereupon confederates, with Roger Mortimer and his associates, to whom not long after, Iohn Earle of Warren, Surrey and Sussex, and William de Valence Earle of Pembroke with others are ioyned, and not long after, Prince Edward by escape from the Castle of Hereford, commeth in safetie to *Wigmore*. There were that laboured to attone the two Earles of Leicester and Gloucester, but offence and indignation had taken too deepe tooete. Meanewhile thow, & Henry are flew vp and down by the Arch-rebellious Earle of Leicester, to countenance thine owne destruction.

(103) The Prince therefore seeing that he must resolutely stand for the liberty of the Realme and of his Father, friends and posterity, raiseth an Armie, confederates himselfe with the people and Countiees of Hereford, Worcester, Shropshire and Chester. Gloucester hee enters by force, and drives the defendants into the Castle, which after yeelds. Simon Montfort with *Leoris* Prince of Wales, doe in the meane time spoile their enemies lads in *Wiltshire* & *Gloucestershire*, the King in person, not in spirit, being present. Prince Edward and the Earle of Gloucester on the other side, speed to the Castle of *Kewenorth*, kept against them by Simon, sonne of the Earle of Leicester; there they intercept the Earle of Oxford with about thirtene Knights Bannerets before they could reach the Castle, whither they were halting. Newes came then that the Earle of Leicester was returned with the King in his companie out of *Southwiche*, nere to Worcester. Thertoe the Prince aduanceth to fight with him. The Earle hearing of his approach, encampes at *Kenilworth* with his whole power. Vpon the third of August the noble Edward lets out of Worcester, and

strikes betweene Simon Montfort and his way to *Kewenorth*, and the next day turnes backe toward *Kenilworth*; the Earle of Gloucester with his force, and Roger de Mortimer (as they had agreed) with his battailon, drawing thertoe by two other waies; so that Simon thus shut vp and enclosed, must either fight or yeeld. They ioinc in battaille in a goodly large field before the Towne of *Kenilworth*; where the Earles both being assailed on all sides, was with much laughter (of the *Welsh* especiallie) vnto the end distressed and distressed. At the houre of his death it thundered and lightened, and so great a darknesse spread the skie that men were amazed. The Earles head, (which was lent to Worcester Castle to the Ladie Mortimer) his hands, and feet, were chopt off. In this crall Battaille the King himselfe (being wounded with a lance) was almost slaine. Let vs now behold how this victorie is vied. The King being thus restored to liberty, calls a Parliament at Worcester, by authority whereof hee seith into his hands the Charters and freedoms of the Citie of London, and of many other Townes for their Rebellion. Those that were taken in the battell are committed to safe Custody, and all such as had been vpon the Earls side were disinherited, a terrible distribution being made of their estates to the Kings well deterring friends. Simon and Guy de Montfort, the Earles sonnes, were chiefe of the attained; their mother the Countesse with all her goods was sent in safetie out of England neuer to returne. Simon the eldest brother sought to preferre himselfe, and the remains of his Fathers misfortunes in the Ile of *Achadne*.

(104) The King meaning to take all refuge from him, is together with his brother the King of Rome, Ottobon the Popes Legate, (who was lately arrived) and a puissant armie, at *Northampton*, with purpose to oppresse him by warre. Simon had friends about the King, but the Earle of Gloucester maligning his restitution to full grace, it was concluded (vpon his submission) that he should lye in exile, and for his maintenance receive only five hundred marks by the yeere. But the Castle of *Kewenorth* would not yeeld, driving the King to an halfe yeeres siege; who also in the end was content to giue the garrison pardon for life and limme, licensing it to part with bag and baggage. In the meane while the other outlaws and disinherited men, made sundry excursions out of the Ile of *Ede*. Temperate men, desirous to pacifie all these evils, would gladly haue had the king to pardon those transgressions, and restore their lands vpon reasonable fines. This proposition found a sower enemy of Roger Mortimer, who had by the kings gift gotten much of their land; which moued the Earle of Gloucester (who fauoured the other courte) to indignation and distrust, so that he withdrew himselfe. Not long after which, hee by his messengers be sought the king, to remove strangers from about him, soe that the *Statutes of Oxford* were obserued throughout the kingdome, and to keepe such promises as he had made at *Kenilworth*. Otherwiese the king must not maruile, if the day that him selfe thought best. The Legate Cardinall Ottobon, about the same time (to hinder the growth of anie new rebellion) excommunicated the Bishops of Worcester, Worcester, London and Chichester for hauing adhered to Simon Montfort, and also declared that the Clergie were to pay their tenths, for seven yeeres next ensuing, to the king. On the other side, all the vndone and disinherited men (except the sonnes of Simon Montfort and Robert Earle of Derby) were offered to be put to ranfome, and for certaine fines to be restored to their lauds; but they required to haue them without redemption, expostulating with the king and Legate many grieuances. When words had no better operation, the King and Prince Edward besiege the Ile of *Ely* on all sides. This being known to the Earle of Gloucester, who (although hee had vnder his feale promised neuer to take armes against the King and Prince, but only in his owne defence) gathers a force

Simon Earle of
Leicester enclosed
by the French
Armies, in the Ile
of *Kenilworth* in
Worcestershire.

An. 1266.

An. reg. 50.

An. 1267.

An. reg. 51.

The Earle of
Gloucester
sues to the King.

An. D 1268.

An. reg. 52.

The Ile of *Ely*
of *Gloucester*
in arms against
the King (about
London).

force in Wales in favour of the disinherited, marcheth vp to London and taketh it, the Citizens favouring him. Then commands he the Pope's Legate, who lodged in the Tower, to yield vp the same; but he, as taking no knowledge of any such matter, repaired quietly to Pauls, there, by preaching to stirre vp people against the enemies of Christ in the Holy-land. Peacee lasted not long after, by mediation of the King of Romania, and the Noble Lord Philip Bassor, the Earle binding himselfe in ten thousand markes to the King, neuer to moue any tumult. Lewyns Prince of Wales, who had greatly supported the Earle of Leicester's rebellion, for thirty two thousand pounds sterling was restored to foure Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the warre, and reconciled.

* Bassor, Cambre-
luch bar. p. 1000.
marche.
The Prince of
Wales reconciled
to the King.

A.D. 1269.
An. Reg. 53.

(107) Domestick peace now beginning to shine in the English Hemisphere, Prince Edward his brother, the Lord Edmund, the Earle of Gloucester with many other Noble men of England, with intent of a more honourable warfare, take the Crosse vpon them at Northampton, by the demerit of Ottobon, who not long after returned into Italie. Then was the Kings peace proclaimed through England, all men being vpon paine of death commanded to forbear to make spoiles, or take booties violently, as they of late had been accustomed. The Prince, seeing the Realme thus acquitted, doth the more willingly (having his Fathers consent) yield to goe with Lewis King of Fraunce, into the holy land, who, toward his furniture in that voyage, lends him thirty thousand markes: for assurance whereof the Prince morgageth Aquitaine vnto him. But what true felicitie peace may we iudge it, when John de Warrens Earle of Surrey the Kings halfe-brother (vpon the increase of words betwene them) durst kill Alan le Louch the chiefe Iustice, with his owne hand in Westminster Hall? A plaine and fearefull example of favorites potencie. That all things yet might not run out of square, the King held a Parliament at Marlborough where the Seacutes called of Marlborough were enacted. The old King and his Queene henceforward enioyed the blessing of a quiet estate at home, with the more iusture to pray therein for their sonnes faire successe in Palestine, whose vertues had there raised an admiration of him among the Infidels. That quiet neuertheless was a little interrupted by an incendiarie outrage at Norwich, where the Citizens set fire on the Priories Church. The king being kindled with another kind of fire, swore he would in person fee a ransome taken; and dispatching first away Sir Thomas Trere, (before whom a great multitude were found guilty, and condemned to be drawne and hanged) himselfe, hazing in his company one Bishop and the Earle of Gloucester, followed; where beholding the deformed ruines, he could hardly refrain from teares. The Bishop hauing therefore excommunicated the noceat, and the King condemned the Towne in three thousand markes, toward the reedification of that Church, as also to pay one hundred pounds for a Cup weighing ten pounds in gold, he purposed to returne toward London. This publike act of zeale to religion and iustice, was the last which he did, as a King; for now he was come to that, which hee was to enter into as a mortall man: At the Abbey of S. Edmund in Suffolke, he fell greetously sick, where while he lay, * he caused the Earle of Gloucester to be sworn to keepe the Realme for his sonne; the Prelates, Earles and Barons of the land, being assembled to be present at his departure. Therefore after hee had in Christian manner prepared his soule, by acknowledging his sinnes, and receiving his spirituall consolations, he rendered vp the same to his Redeemer. His will was short, for his Creditors and the Poore shared all his goods. The space of time which he reigned, is almost an old mans age, and absolutely the longest number of yeeres, that euer any King of England reigned, not excepting E-thebert the first Christian King, if (which is * written by some) he reigned fiftie six yeeres, and as manie

The State of
England ruled a
game.

The chiefe Iu-
stice killed in
Westminster Hall.

The Kings last
yeeres spent in
quest reple,
A.D. 1270.
1271.
1272.
1273.

The Priories
Church at Nor-
wich burnt in a
revolt.

More the pro-
portions then
becomes the va-
lue of gold and
silver.

* Ethebert,
said John. Som-
erset.

King Henry the
third dyed, ha-
ving reigned six-
ty six yeeres and
twenty daies.

* Addition ad
Joh. 1. v.

daies more, as are between the feast of Simon & Jude, and * Saint Edmund the Archbishop, which are about twentie. A Prince whose * deuotion was greater then his discretion, as we see in his permitting the de-
gradation of himselfe and his whole kingdom by Papall ouerthrowings, the error of whose Govern-
ment, concurring with the tumultuous treasons of his Nobles, did precipitate him into many misfortunes, out of which yet God almighty did strange deliuer him; for if he had not bene diuinely protected, there is no cause for a reasonable man to doubt, but that his end had proved as headlong, as some of his own, and his Barons actions seemed to threaten. The royall remains of this happily-dying Prince were with all the due pompe of exequies interred in West-
minster, the great and sumptuous new worke where-
of he began, but finished not; the description of whole life, being full of diuertiells and abrupte pas-
sages, as a maze or labyrinth, here at last hath found a place of rest for it selfe and vs.

* himselfe. J. B.
Peterson.
Trid. 8. H. 1. 1. 1.

His Wife.

(108) Eleanor the wife of King Henry, was the second of the five daughters, of Raymond Earle of Provence, sonne of Earle Alfonso sonne of Alfonso the first king of Arragon; her mother was Beatrice, daughter of Thomas Earle of Savoy, sister of the Earles of Anjou, and Peter, and the Archbishop Raimond of Canterbury. Shee was married to him at Canterbury, January 24. An. 1236. reg. 20: Crowned at Westminster the 19. of the same month: was his wife 37. yeeres, his widow 19. died at Non at Almsbury, the 25. of June, in the 20. yeere of her sons reigne 1294. and was buried in her monastery, the 11. of September following.

His Issue.

Edward their eldest sonne was borne at Westminster, the 28. day of June, the 24. yere of his Fathers Reigne, 1239. hee was named Laurence, of his tall and slender body, made knight in Spain of Calfia King of Castile, created Earle of Chester by his Father, after the said male extinct of the former Earles, and succeeded his Father in the kingdom of England.

(107) Edmund their second sonne, borne Jan. 26. A. 1245. and of his Fathers reigne, 20. y. was surnamed Crooked-backe, of bowing in his backe; saye some, but more likely of wearing the signe of the Crosse, (anciently called a * Crouche) vpon his backe, which was usually worne of such as vowed viages to Iherusalem, as he had done. He was inscribed in the King of Sicilia and Apulia, and created Earle of Lancaster, (on whole person originally the great contention of Lancaster and York was founded) and hauing of the grant of his Father, the lands of Somers Manserf and Robert Ferrers, (disinherited in the Barons warre) was by vertue of the same grant Earle of Leicester and Derby, and high Steward of England. He had two wives, the first was Aveline, daughter and heire of William Earle of Ailemarke, by whom he left no issue, the second was Queene Blanche, daughter of Robert Earle of Artois, (brother of Saint Lewis King of France) widow of Henry of Champagne, King of Navarre, and mother of Iohn Queene of France and Navarre, the wife of Philip the faire. By her he had issue three sons and one daughter. Thomas who after his Father was Earle of Lancaster, and hauing married Alice, daughter and heire of Henry Leis Earle of Lincoln, was beheaded at Pontefract without issue: Henry Lord of Monmouth, who after his brothers death was Earle of Lancaster, and father of Henry the first Duke of Lancaster: John, who died without marriage: and Mary, married to Henry Lord Percie, mother of Henry, the first Earle of Northumberland. This Earle Edmund died at Bayn in Gascoigne, Jan. 5. An. 1296. and of King Edward his brothers reigne 24. when hee had liued fifty yeere, foure months and nineteene daies; whose body halfe a yeere after his death, was conuaid into England, and both entomb-

* So we call the
crooked top-
peth of some
castles, made
like a crosse
on the top, and
Crooked Peters
for wearing a
Crosse.

ed at *Westminster* on the Northside of the high Altar, vnder a faire monument of Stone, with his Portraiture, and the armes of him and others of his house, and manie noble houles of that time.

(108) *Richard* the third sonne of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, (bearing the name of his vnckle *Richard*, King of *Romans* & *Aragon*) deceased in his youth, and lieth at *Westminster*, entered on the south-side of the Quire.

(109) *John* the fourth sonne of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, (bearing the name of King *John* his grandfather,) deceased young, and at *Westminster* his bones lie entered with his brother *Richard*.

(110) *William* the fift sonne of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, is mentioned by *Thomas Fichering*, (a Priest of the monastery of *Whithy* in *Yorkshire*, who lived in the time of King *Henry* the sixt, and wrote a large Genealogie of the Kings of *England*, and their issues,) and that he dying in his childhood, was buried within the new Temple, by *Fleete-Street* in *London*.

(111) *Henry* the first sonne of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, is also reported by the same *Fichering*, to haue died young, and to be buried at *Westminster*.

(112) *Margaret* the eldest daughter of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, borne the twentie sixt yeere of her Fathers reign. 1241. was the first wife of *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, married to him at *York*, An. 1251. by whome shee had issue, *Alexander* and *David*, (who died both before their Father without issue,) and *Margaret* *Queene* of *Norway*,

wife of King *Erub*, and mother of *Margaret* the heire of *Scotland*, and *Norway*, that died unmarried: shee was *Queene* twenty two yeeres, lived thirtie three, deceased before her husband, in the twenty third yeere of his Reigne, the first of her brother *Edwards* in *England*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Dauferling* in *Scotland*.

(113) *Beatrice* the second daughter of King *Henry*, and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at *Bordeaux* in *Gascogne*, June. 25. An. 1242. of her Fathers reign 37. At the age of eighteen yeeres, shee was married to *John* the first Duke of *Britany*, (sonne of *John* the last Earle of the same,) and had issue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britany*, *John* Earle of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip*, sonne of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*; *Eleanor* a Nunne at *Ambury*, and *Maria* married to *Gay* Earle of *Saint Paul*: when shee had bene his wife twelue yeeres, and liued thirty yeeres, shee deceased in *Britany*, in the first yeere of the Reigne of her brother King *Edward*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the Grey Friars within *Newgate*.

(114) *Catherine* the third daughter of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at *London*, An. 1251. of her fathers reign 37. *Novemb.* 25. being *Saint Katharines* day, whose name was therefore giuen vnto her, at the font, by *Ranulf* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, her mothers vnckle, who christened her, and was her Godfather. Shee died young and at *Westminster* her bones lie entered, with her brother *Richard* and *John*, in the space betwene the Chappels of King *Edward* and *Saint Benet*.



Edward J.

EDVWARD THE FIRST, LORD OF
IRELAND, AND DUKE OF AQUI-
TAIN, &c. THE FORTIE-SEVENTH MO-
NARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSUE.

Monarch 47



CHAPTER X.

Ann. 1273.



Edward, who followed *K. Henry* in wearing the *English Crowne*, but far oot-went him in all repail vertues, was abroad at the time of his fathers death, still pursuing his high desires for the *Italy* *Carres*: wherein what he performed, being yet but

a Prince,) against the publicke enemies of *Christians*, it shall not bee impertinent to touch, before we come to his actions as a *King*; having already remembered, with what valour and felicity hee had subdued his Fathers domesticke enemies, reled the peace of his Kingdome, and reestablished the raignes of Soueraignty in his Fathers hands, which those potent Rebels had formerly extorted.

(1) *King Lewis of France*, whose persuasions had enflamed this ooble-spirited Prince to assaume him

in this glorious quarrell, having first set forth for the enterprise, lay now in siege of *Tunis in Africa*; where *Prince Edward* with all his forces arriving, the *French King* (greatly reioycing in his wished preience,) together with the *King of Navarre*, and other Princes of his Army, went forth to meet him, and received him in the kilfe of Peace. This place which they beleaguered, was (as then) not great, yet by reason of the situation,* it greatly impeached the *Christians* in their passages through those Seas; being built out of the scattered ribs, and washed raignes of that mighty and famous City *Carthage*, rual once in *Massey* and *Ambition* with ancient *Rome*, as contending with her about the *Empire of the World*. Therefore to secure the *Mediterranean Seas*, it was thought necessary to beginne that enterprise for *Affa*, with this in *Africa*; but oot long after *Lewis* yielding vppe his holy Soule to God at the siege, and sicknesse (by reason of the heates in those Regions, for it was August) raig-

Prince Edward at Tunis in Africa.

**Paul. August. Lib. 9.*

Circumscripta Mal. Par.

ning in the Christian Campe, *Charles* King of *Sicilie*, whom *Lewis* (before his decease) had sent for, to take charge of the whole enterprise, arrives; and after sharp reinforcement of the siege, (where *Edward* gave frequent proofe of his great valour and prudence,) *Charles* is content to forebear extremity, (to which the *Saracens* were brought) upon capitulations with them, contrary to *Edward's* mind, being wholly set to subdue, convert or root them out.

Prince Edward unwilling to any truce with the Saracens.

Paul. Atrop.

(3) Yet the points of the treaty & truce (though granted for many yeeres) carried shew of honour, being these: 1. that all Christian Captives should be set free without ransom: that in the Cities of that Kingdom, the Christian faith might freely be taught: 3. that all such as were willing, might freely receive sacred Baptisme: 4. that the *Saracens* should repay to the Christian Kings, their charges: 5. that the King of *Tunis* should remain tributary to the King of *Sicilie*. The siege hereupon was raised, to the griefe and indignation of *Edward*, who would not (as is reported) partake nor share in any of the treasure, which by reason of the truce was payed by the *Saracens*, as accounting it to be wickedly gotten, and contrary to the Tenor of the vow, which for the honour and advancement of Christian Religion had beene made. The celestiall fo seeming to confirme so little; for the wrath of Heaven (such our * Author) purified King *Charles*, brother to the late King *Lewis*, and finding him out upon the sea in his returne toward *Sicilie*, took severall revenge by terrible weather, as well upon him, as almost his whole Army, which perished in the waters, together with the impious treasure brought from *Tunis*, and all other his furniture of State and Household. Which when Prince *Edward* understood, hee swore by the blood of our Lord, that though all his Companions in Armes and Countenances should abandon him, yet hee and *Frederick* his * *Lackey* alone would enter into * *Jerusalem*, and keepe the ope which hee had made, whilst *scale* and *body* held together. A noble resolution, and as faithfully performed; but not with so final attendance; for the English hearing his fervent asseveration, promised with one heart to accompanie him, and that (in all likely hood) the more willinglie, because it is not obliuious, that the tempest had any way daniſhed *Edward*, or his fellowship. He forthwith therefore sets sail toward *Alema*, into which hee entered safe not about four daies before the City should have beene yielded to the *Saracens*, from which precipitation theſe ſcours out of England withheld it. The Sultan of *Babylon*, who lay about *Alema* with a puissant host, and had begun to assault the breaches; hearing this, not long after raised his siege, and without the fruition of his desire withdrew to his owne Dominions.

Prince Edward high resolution to hold on his enterprise.
* *Calon* English.
* *Alon* at *Alema*.

Heavily sets sail at *Alema*.

(4) *Edward* undoubtedly was not more tall of personage then stout of courage, and upon trust thereof, doing some things, which perhaps a Prince of his hopes, and fortunes, might with good reason have forborne. His advanced courage against those *Infidels* may be gessed by the like against a domesticke Rebelle. Among those who were out-lawed for Rebellion & Treason, after the battell of *Bartham* for partaking with *Samuel* Earle of *Leicester*, was one *Sir Adam Godard* a Knight of the parts about *Windsor*, who with certaine his Complices kept out of the way of the Kings officers, but made the Kings high-way between *Wilt* and *Furham* (which by reason of woods and windings was fittest shelter enemies) very dangerous for such as meant to passe, but doing most mischief to the lands and goods of such as were the Kings friends. *Edward* hearing of this mans singular courage, gets intelligence of a fit time, and comes upon him with a strong band of followers, but he, nothing terrified, prepares himselfe to fight for his life to the last gaspe. The Prince hereupon commands that none of his men should dare to interrupt their Combat, and forthwith with

Edward's valiant single fight with *Sir Adam Godard*.

equall courage exchanged mighty blowes without winning ground each of other. *Edward* delighted with the bravery of *Adams* spirit, and proofe of his manhood, had him yett, promising him life, and his lands againe; who presently throwing away his weapons, enjoyed the full benefite of Prince *Edward's* promise. The happinesse of that age, when *Sword* and *Shield* were the ordinary weapons, and afforded much assurance in fight, might somewhat excuse the Prince from the note of temerity, which otherwise, in hazarding his princely person against a private Gentleman, hee could hardly have escaped. But here at *Alema* hee refused an occasion of putting forth the naturall strengthes of his firme-compacted body, till by the Sultans retreat the most honourable opportunities were subtracted.

(5) All this while did that renowned and vertuous Lady, *Eleanor*, wife of Prince *Edward*, endure with him an inseparable companion of all his fortunes, and was at *Alema* delivered of a daughter baptizd there by the name of *Isabel*. But if God had not better provided for him, there was not likely to have enjoyed any longer the deare company of her loving Lord and Husband. Amongst that bloody Sect of *Saracens*, called *Assassins*, who, without feare of torments, undertake (upon command of their * *Superior*) the murder of any eminent prince, impugning their irreligion, was one *Assazam*, often vied by the *Saracen* Admirall of *Ippre*, as a Messenger betweene him and *Edward*, whom the Admirall pretended exceedingly to honour for his heroicke parts of mind and body. The desperate wretch by this employment getting credite and access, upon his insinuation of certaine secrets to be imparted, Prince *Edward* commanded all men to void the Chamber, when looking out of a window, the *Assassine* suddenly with a poisoned knife gives him three wounds, two in the arme, and one neere the arme-pit, whom *Edward* presently with his foot threw to the earth, wrung the knife from the Treasour, (not without wounding himselfe in the hand,) and with the cresel of a Table smote out his hraines. Then calling in his people, hee commands that the body of the villaine should be hanged up over the Cities Wall, and a lue dogge with him. The Admirall hearing of this trayterous attempt, is * *ſaid* to have sighed for sorrow, for that hee never knew thereof, but meant himselfe to have become a Christian. But when the Christians understood of this cursed assault upon the person of so renowned a Prince, they ment in revenge thereof, to have forthwith invaded the Pagans whereſoeuer. But the Prince (whose first care was the safety of Christians) said, *I forbid you on the behalfs of God, that none of you yet presume to assault the Pagans Army, because many of our people are gone to visite the holy Sepulchre, who shall every one of them bee murdered by the Saracens, if they shall now ſlayne any (though but small) creature at our hands*. The second care was of his wounds, which by reason of the envenomed blade were feared to be mortall, wherein the Lady *Eleanor* gave so rare example of coniugal affection, as her immortal memory doth iustly impart glory to that whole Sex. For when no medicine could extract the poison, shee did it with her tongue, licking dayly, while her husband slept, his racking wounds, whereby they perfectly clased, and yett her selfe recovered no harme, so ſingular a medicine is a wises Tongue garnished with the vertue of lovely affection.

Edward's wife delivered of a daughter at Alema.

* *or* *Sunder*.

Prince Edward wounded by an *Assassine*.

* *Constantine* *Moh.* *Tam.*

A rare example of wifely affect.

A wifely Tale, which could, in Medicine.

The *Assassine*.

(6) Thus while *Edward* abode in forraigne parts for the generall service of Christianity, against the encroaching Enemies thereof, (contending then to that lamentable Greatnesse, wherein our vnhappie times behold them;) his Father king *Henric* dies, and Prince *Edward* had the defect of his presence supplied by the faith and care of such venerable and noble persons, as his Father left behind him at his death. Therefore *Robert* *Kilmarly* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, with other the chief

chiefe Prelates and Peeres of the land, assembling together at the *New Temple* in London, acknowledged and proclaimed abſent *Edward* for their Sovereigne Liege Lord; and by the assent of his Mother, the *Queen Dowager*, provided for the common affaires of the King, and the good estate of the Kingdome. The first wces of his Fathers death were brought vnto him, when after his return from the Holy-Land (which fruite hee was * enforced to forsake, having long in vaine expected the promised aids of Chrilians, and Tartars,) he reſted himselfe in *Sinſia*, with *Charles* the King thereof; where to the immortal commendation of his pietie, and filiall affection (rare in Princes) it is recorded, that the death of his *Father* and *Heire*, coming first to his eare, and afterward of the King his *Father*, hee much more sorrowed his Fathers departure, then his Sonnes: whereat King *Charles* greatly marvelled, and demanding the reason, had of him this answer: *I be left of Sonnes is but light, because they are multiplied every day: but the death of Parents is irreparable, because they can never bee had againe.*

(7) Now, whether it was the terror of such reo-enge as followed the captivation of his valiant Predecessor King *Richard*, or his owne wiser carriage, for the calmer condition of the times, or all of them together, which secured him in his returne: certaine it is, that hee travelled in great safety and honour over land from *Sinſia* to *Rome*, where he was met vpon the way with all the Cardinals, gratulating the honourable successe of his Chetivrie against the Turkes, his late returne, and new Kingdome. At his instance Pope *Gregory* * excommunicated the bloody-handed *Gay* *Marſhal* (because * his person could not easily be gotten, by reason of his Greatnesse, and power) with all his receders, and (vntill amends were made) put their whole Dominions vnder interdict, for that the said *Gay*, (Sonne to *Simon*, late Earle of *Leicester*, slain at the battell of *Emſham*) in reuenge of his *Fathers* death (for which he mortally bated all King *Henrie* race,) had most butcherly murdered * *Henry* of *Almaine*, King *Edward* his neere kinsman, vpon his returne toward *England*, in the raigne of the late King *Henry*, as hee was devoutly learning God in the Church at *Fleſche* in *Italye*, which horrible act induceth a * iudicious Author to suspect, that *Gay* also had a hand in that *Assassination* on *Edward*, who had slain his *Father*. This *Gay* being afterward taken by the Admirall of *Arragon*, to gratifie King *Edward*, was kept in prison, & the death of *Henrie* reuenged * with him. From *Rome* hee iournaed through the Cities of *Italy*, where he was generally entertained with exceeding ioy and honour; and as he was * entering into *Savoy*, at the footte, or descent of the *Alpes*, very many of the *Prelates*, and *Peeres* of *England* met him, acknowledging their gladnesse for his safety, and their duties to his Sovereignty. In his passage, hee gaue notable proofe of his great prowesse and strength at a Turnement (or rather * battell) against * the Earle of *Chaboun*, and his Burgundians for the said Count being a gallant man at Armes, after many blowes with the sword betweene King *Edward* and him, throwing away his weapon, graipt the King about the gorget, and bung vpon him with the weight of his mailed body, in hope to cast him to the earth; but the King, sitting vpright, without any bending, put spurres to his lully horse, and lifted the Count to hanging about his necke, quite from his Saddle, carrying him away, till hee had forcibly strooke him off to the ground, who recovering himselfe, & comming to redeme his disgrace, had such entertainment, as hee was contented to yeeld. In our effeminate and degenerate age, to omit such an achievement of a King of *England* in his owne person, had beene hainous and picauncious. Thus his renowne encreasing with his progresse, hee had magnificent entertainment in *France*, of *Philip* the King,

to whom (vpon condition to have such territories restored, as were promised to his *Father* King *Henrie*, when he sold *Normandie* to the *French*) hee did homage for such Signiorities, as he held of the Crowne of *France*.

(8) And as well to shew his owne moderation & princely temperance, (a vertue which maketh every man a King in himselfe, and Kinglike to Gods) as also his reuerence to the Crowne of *France*, whose Homager hee was for his transmarine Dominions, *Gauſes de Biern*, a valiant man of Armes, being in actual rebellion against King *Edward* in his Duchie of *Gascogne*, was admitted to appeale for triall of his pretended causes to the *French King*, as the superior Lord. Many of King *Edward*s friends and Counſellours were vterly aduerſe to this fauour, as well because the said *Gauſes* had drawne the King to no small charge, and labour, as also for that now he was brought by ſtraite ſiege to such extremities, as that hee could no longer hold out, and himselfe, having all that while put his confidence in walles of stone, and the weapons point, there was also little reason to allow him an ordinary ciuill triall of his pretends for taking armes, and many perhaps, both thought the example, preiudiciall to King *Edward* and his Successors, by giuing way to such appeales, and distrust of the iustice of the *French Court*: Contrary to all which, the King decreed, and it was fortunate with him; for *Gauſes* (not long after) was condemned in *France*, and sent with * an halter about his necke, to prostrate himselfe to iustice, or mercy at King *Edward*s feete in *England*, who pardoned him the forfeiture of life, & (when hee had for certaine yeeres kept him prisoner at *Wincheſter*) set him at liberty, and sent him backe to his owne, who remained for euer after gratefully firme and loyall.

(9) King *Edward* (his transmarine affaires thus being sealed) arrived in *England*, where hee was after so long desirings most ioyfully welcome, and there, in the Church of *Wincheſter*, the magnificent new work of his deceased *Father*, who had with great cost, and after about fifty yeeres spent therein, almost finished the same) hee and his deare *Elder* were anointed, and crowned by * *Robert* *Wickham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. There were present at this solemnity Queen *Elenor* the Kings mother, * *Alexander* King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Burgundie*, with multitudes of Peeres and others: where (as * one faith) for the more royall celebration of this great feare and honor of so martiall a King, there were five hundred great Horſes let loose, every one to take them for his owne, who could.

(10) The finall abolishment of succession of the *Wales* bloud in the Principality, or cheifdom of *Wales* now ensued: but yet (as great matters vie) not first without some time, and certaine degrees. The originall was this: King *Edward* having lent for *Llewelin* Prince of *Wales* to his Coronation, there to doe him homage, he, exulting the same, was againe (for that cause) admonished to repaire to the Kings Parliament at *Westminster*: whither likewise hee fore to come, pretending it was danger to his person, but * directing his excuse to the Archbishops of *Canterburie* and *York*, and their Suffraganes, professed his readinesse, if it would please the King, rather to send a Commission for taking his Oath and fealty, (who here him a deepe displeasure, cure * since *Llewelin* had put him, being then but Earle of *Cheshire*, to the woe) or else, to appoint some indifferent place, or give to him for hostages the * Kings sonne, and *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, with *Robert* *Bornell* the Kings Chamberlaine. But King *Edward* dissembling the arrogancie of the demand for the present, went forward in his Parliament, where the first Statutes, called of *Westminster*, and among them the Statute of *Mortmain* were enacted. But after the Parliament, the King repaired to his City of *Cheshire*, being very neere to *Wales*, and *Llewelin* foreſollowed his comming thither also; wherefore the King, resolving (for deniall

* Paul. Aragon. l. 2. p. 2.

A.D. 1274.

* The 1st of May. * Paul. Aragon. l. 12.

* Paul. Aragon. l. 2. p. 2.

* The sonne of Richard King of Romans.

* Paul. Aragon. l. 2. p. 2.

* Paul. Aragon. l. 12.

* Paul. Aragon. l. 12. p. 2.

* All and Men. l. 1. p. 2. * The 1st of May. Edward. l. 1. The marvellous strength of body in K. Edward.

* Paul. Aragon. l. 12. p. 2.

* Mercy well pleased.

* The 1st of May.

* All and Men. l. 1. p. 2. * The 1st of May. Edward. l. 1. p. 2.

The Welsh also, and destruction of their government.

The Prince of Wales (as hee was named) and his homage & fealty.

* De. Aragon. l. 12. p. 2.

* The 1st of May. Edward. l. 1. p. 2.

The Statute of Mortmain was enacted.

of homage) to seize vpon the whole Fee of the said Prince, marcht with an Armie into Wales; his good fortune there was accidentally augmented by a prize, which foure Shippes of *Wylsh* tooke about the Isles of *Saile*, wherein the daughter of *Simon Montfort* late Earle of *Leicester*, (who, according to a secret contract betwene their friends, went to be gauen in marriage to *Llewelyn*) and *Amerch* her brother were surpris'd, but hee found honourable vantage of the King her neere kinsman.

(11) Meanwhile, *Llewelyn's* affairs, by the manhood and diligence of *Pain de Cambray*, and others, who had tak't *Wylsh* in, and brought it to the Kings peace, thriving but poorly, and the said Prince feeling the foundations of his failete beginning manifestly to faile, and shrinke from vnder him, * faied for peace, and had it vpon such termes, which in likely-hood were none * *Polidors Virgil* would haue it (iceme) granted by King *Edward*, *that he should leise his cast, and carry away against boys and mountaine*. In the conditions of Peace which was proceed * with great difficulty of the most remarkable (as carrying the shew of a farre greater riches in the possession of the *Welsh*, euen at that time, then some preiudicated can easily beleue) * were these. 1. That the Prince should pay to the King for his peace and goodwill, fifty thousand pounds sterling, the payment whereof, should hee in the Kinges will and graces that is (as we conceive it) how much thereof the Prince should pay or not pay, and when. 2. That the said Prince should haue the Isle of *Anglesey* in Fee-farme of the King, to him, and to the lawfull issue of his body in generall taile, for five thousand Marks readie money, for * *griffon*, or a fine in hand paid, & the yearly rent of a thousand Marks. The rest of the articles (being about eight,) amounted to so much as a plain Conquest, or dissolution of the Principality of *Wales*, after *Llewelyn's* death, who was to enjoy the same, during his time vpon conditions.

(12) Now whereas the said *Llewelyn* had three Brethren, *Daniel* (whom King *Edward* fauoured) *Owen*, and *Roderick*, hee was enioyned to him at this conclusion (made by the Lord *Robert Tiptot*, and certaine other * Commissioners, vpon cyther side appointed) that hee should appeale and iustifie his said Brethren: but because *Daniel* was afterward a principall Actor in the calamities which fell vpon himselfe, his house, and his Country, we must not neglect to speake somewhat particularly of him. This Gentleman for some causes, * flying into England from his Brother *Llewelyn*, for his faithfull seruice to the State of England, was there honoured (contrary to the manner of his Nation) with the order of *Knighthood*, and receiued also, by the bounty of King *Edward*, for his maintenance, the Castle of *Denbigh*, with lands to the yearly value of one thousand pounds, and the Daughter of the Earle of *Derby* (being then a *Widow*) to wife: with all which bounty, the King did but enterteine a creature of his secrets, as * *Pen* (not improbably) doe affirme. The State of *Wales* thus compos'd, and the Castle of * *Aberystwith* (which seemes to be the same, that by another is said to haue bene built in *Wylsh* by *Llewelyn* being hault by King *Edward* for assuring those parts, the King (as he was manifest, and rollall) the more to tie *Llewelyn's* faith, gaue vnto him the Lady, of whose surpris at *Seaw* we haue mentioned, to be his consort, honoring the Nuptials with his owne presence, and his Queene. And whereas *Alexander* King of *Scots* came about the same season into England to treat with *Edward* concerning important affaires, and had formerly sent to the *Welsh* warres, certaine aides of the *State*, the said *Alexander* being ialous (on his Countreys behalfe) that those aides might be interpreted, to haue bene sent vpon duty, obtained letters testimoniall from King *Edward*, declaring that they were not sent of duty, or in respect of seruice done.

(13) Though King *Edward* were thus desirous

to gaine the *Welsh* Nation rather by his largesse, then puissance, hauing so honourably vied *Llewelyn*, hee could not yet retain their hearts, for whether it were (which * some, to amoute the more of ingratitude, & turbaulency from them, asseme) for that there was partiality vied by the *English* officers in distribution of iustice vpon the Marches, or (which seems to some as likely) for that they aspired vnto in their ancient liberty (being miserably seduced with certain * blind prophesies) the *Welsh* herooke themselves afield to Armes: for *Daniel* himselfe, whom the King had laden with so many benefites and graces, became to them a principall leader, and to giue them full assurance of his fastnesse to their cause (reconciling himselfe to his brother the Prince) hee sodainly and treacherously vpon *Palme-Sunday* leifed the Castle of * *Hawarden*, surprisng *Joger de Clifford*, a noble & famous Knight, whom the King had dispatched into those parts, as Iusticiar of all *Wales*, and slaying such vnarmed men as offered to resist that violence, whence marching, hee laid siege together with the Prince his brother, to the Castle of * *Rodlan*, doing many outrages, and killing all such as they could reach, yea so (as it is said) whole ransomes * they had taken, though against *Llewelyn's* mind. And while King *Edward* spent his Easter at the *Fishes* in *Wylshire*, and afterward visited the Queene his mother, who liued in the Nunnerie at *Ambresbury*, the *Welsh* vnder diuers Capitaines, had taken sundry of the Kings * strongholds and Castles in diuers parts. There are extant the * Copies of certaine grieuances, exhibited to *Iohn* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* by the *Welsh*, as such time as of his owne accord (so say the said Copies) hee interposed himselfe (without the Kings leave) to settle their quiet, which Articles in shew, (for the answers of the English are not set downe) containe indeed sundry great abuses; but the fate of *Wales* had now insouled them all in a desolating warre, and made them vn capable of reliefe. For after the Archbishoppe had trauelled in person to the Prince of *Wales*, being then in * *Swansea*, and returned without any Conclusion made, * coming vnto *Oxford*, hee there sent out the lightnings of * excommunication against him and his seduced adherents: Wee say seduced, because they did capitulate in such sort, as if they had bene able to make their party good.

(14) But though the old *British* Principality was now to expire, yet it must be confessed, that as *Llewelyn* had an end vpon worth of his blood, being rather vnfavourably slain, then otherwise, so on the other side the same hapned no without revenge: for at one encounter in open field, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloster* lost *William Falewe* (a younger Cousen of the Kings) slain in the fight, and foure other Knights, though at the same time also, many of the *Welsh* left their bodies dead vpon the earth, together with the victory to the English: but the day certainly which they had of King *Edward* himselfe, may not be forgotten, in which the *Welsh* slew the * Lord *William de Audley*, and the Lord *Roger Clifford* the younger, and got foureteeue Ensignes from the English Arme, *K. Edward* being enforced to enter into the Castle of Hope for his safety. These things, though not contemptible, but rather of some doubtful fauour, vsual when the ruine of a Nation is by God decreed, could not vphold the cause. For first the Prince, hauing vpon some occasion withdrawne himselfe with some few others from his Army, which then was in the land of *Barth*, was set vpon by two principall Gentlemen, *Iohn Gifford*, and *Edmond de Mortimer*, with their Forces, and there by the hand of one * *Adam* *Franklin* was runne through with an Horsemans staffe, who at the first being vnknowne, had his head broken afterward off, and presented to King *Edward*, at whose commandment it was * crowned with Iris, and set vp for a certain time vpon the Tower of *London*.

(15) This (such the * History of *Wales*) was the end

A.D. 1278.

* *John Cambray*

* *Leopold in Epist.*
Ch. 14. Th.
1278.

* *Polid.*

* *Daniel Powel*,
Pag. 414. R. 127.
* *Thom. Walsing.*
in Edw. 1. and in
Yngl. N. 127.

* *Owen Gwynne*,
in some of the
word.

* *De. Pow.* p. 138

* *Thom. W.*

* *Polid.* in Ed. 1.
An. 1279.
* *De. Pow.* p. 138.
* *Thom. W.* p. 138.
* *Polid.*

Scotish aid
promitted me
to be sent of duty
to K. Edward, but
it was
An. 1282.

* *De. Pow.* p. 138.

* *Polid.* p. 138.

* *The W.*

* *Baron. De.*
p. 117.
* *Arch. de Cant.*
and *De. Pow.*
p. 139.

* *The W.*
* *De. Pow.* p. 138.

* *The W.*
* *Arch. de Cant.*
* *Polid.* p. 138.

A.D. 1282.

* *The W.*
* *Arch. de Cant.*
* *Polid.* p. 138.

* *De. Pow.* p. 138.

* *The W.*

* *Polid.*

end of *Leveille*, betrayed by the men of *Bath*, who was the last Prince of *Britaine* blood; and with him (whom one *Yvesher* calleth the *Captaine the prais*, the law, and light of *Nations*, and another deaceith with as many ignominious attributes) the liberty of that people did also die. For it was not long but that King *Edward* subdued in a manner all *Wales*, & referring to himselfe the Coast-Towns & strengths toward the Sea, distributed the In-land Countreies to the Lordships followeth: therein prudently following the counsell of *Augustin*, who then under presence of defence for the *Princes*, had the bridling of all their forces at his pleasure. Nevertheless the whole flame was not as yet extinguished, for *David* the *Princes* Brother, and a chiefest firebrand in this fatal combustion, was at large: who being taken & brought to King *Edward* at the Castle of *Exeter*, could not obtaine admission to his sight or speech, but was armed, and sent Prisoner to *Shrewsburie*.

Thither the King, having seded the *Seate of Wales*, repairing to a Parliament which he had summoned, there to be kept after Michaelmas, caused *David* (having first had a Legall trial) before certaine Iusticiars for that cause appointed) to be severely put to death, by hanging, heading and quartering, whose head was kept at *London*, and his quarters in foure other principall Cities of *England*, to the terror of all ingratitude and disloyall persons. The Welsh line thus thrust from the Principality, King *Edward* upon *Saint Michaels* day had a soune borne unto him in *Wales* at *Carmarthen*, who also was called *Edward*, and raigned after him; and that with the birth of a new Lord, the Welsh might bee intred to new lawes, the King established (by example of *K. John* his Grandfather in *Ireland*) the English lawes and offices among them.

(16) But the King that becommeth not seeme forgetfull of his French affaires, repayed into *France*, where hee obtained sundry fauours, though they continued not long, and late in perion there with the French King in his Parliament at the City of *Paris*, as a Lord or Peer of that Realme, in respect of such lands as hee had in those parts. Nor may here be forgotten an Act of singular munificence, and charity in this renowned King, for the redemption of *Charles* Prince of *Archie*, sonne and Heire of *Charles* King of *Sicilie*, who had some years before bene taken in a battell at *Sea* before *Naples*, by the Gallies of *Sicilie*, fighting on the behalfe of the King of *Aragon*: for whose speedier enlargement, *K. Edward* disbursed thirty thousand poundes sterling, and gaue his owne Knights in hostage, till *Charles* had sent in his two sonnes, *Robert* and *Lewis*, pledges to *Afonis* King of *Aragon*: which done, King *Edward* returned into *Gasaigne*, and there rooke vpon him the Crosse, in full purpose to finish the journey which once hee had vntaken, and had in part performed against the *Saracens*.

(17) In the meane time, to purge *England* (whither hee was now returned) from such corruptions, and oppressions, as vnder which it groaned, and not neglecting therein his particular game, hee banished the lewes out of the Realme, confiscating all their goods, leaving them nothing but money to beare their charges. And whereas they by their cruelties had one waye eaten his people to the bones, & his Iusticiars (like another kind of lewes) had rained them with delays in their suites, and enriched themselves with wicked corruptions, hee (like a father of his Countrey) put all these from their offices who were found guilty (and they were almost all) and purged them otherwise in a grievous manner, being first in open Parliament committed. The particulars whereof, by reason of the most iust and commendable example, we will not thinke needesse (the order of naming them only changed) to recapitulate here. Sir *Kalph* *Hengham*, Chief Iustice of the higher Bench, 7000. marks. Sir *Iohn* *Lauch*, Iustice of the lower Bench, 1000. marks. Sir *William* *Brookton* Iustice, 6000. marks.

S. *Salomon* *Bayshier*, Chief Iustice of *Affices*, 4000. *Marks*.
S. *Richard* *Bayshier*, 4000. *Marks*.
S. *Thomas* *Sudolton*, 2000. *Marks*.
S. *Alban* de *Hopton*, 2000. *Marks*.
S. *William* *Saham*, Iustice, 3000. *Marks*.
Robert *Littell*, Clerk, 1000. *Marks*.
Roger *Lestrelher* Clerk, 1000. *Marks*.

Adam de *Strassum* (beside other vices incredible) 32000. *Marks*. But with one Sir *Thomas* *Wylford* the Kings chief Iustice, (being found belike most falsly) he dealt farre more sternely, for hee not only seised vpon all his moveable goods and Jewels (which hee had done to others) but also vpon his immovable, and banished him moreouer out of the Kingdome, At which time the King constrained all his Iustices to sweare, that from thenceforth they would take no pension fee or gift of any man, except only a breakfast, or the like present. O *omne* and still necessary necessity, partly able to breake the pernicious combination of men that vnder the pretension of law & offices of Iustice make merchandize of honest justice, law, and conscience, which cannot in the end but bring forth ruine, and confusion.

(18) That tempest now, which * *Thomas* *Erskine*, a Scottish Rimer, is said to haue obscurely prophesied, alluding to the troubles of *Scotland* by reition of King *Alexanders* death; hapned about these times; which raised to great and bloody contentions, that it had almost blowne vpon the regalitie of that kingdome by the very roots. For when, by the violent fall from his horie, King *Alexander* had most unfortunately lost his life, that Realme was woefully destitute of any apparent heire, findry persons stading in competition for the same. These things were thought to be foretold from heauen by many * fearefull prefiges, as extraordinary Meteors, Floods, Fires, and Pestilence. But King *Edward* intending to suray that affaie, and being vpon his way toward the borders, the death of his royall confort, and Queen, which he lamented while himselfe did liue, called him backe to the celebration of her funerals; as her excellent vertues did well deserue. To our Nation here was a losing mother, & (saith * one) the Column, and pillar (as it were) of the whole Realme. In her honour the King her husband (who loued her aboute al worldly Creams) caused those many famous * trophies, or crosses to be erected, wherefoer her noble corse did rest, as it was conveyed from *London* thither to buriall in *Westminster*. Nor coule any thing, but the respect to other weighty matters, now presently in hand, with-holde our pen from paying to her memory a farre more copious commendation.

(19) Those mourning offices as mournfully performed, the King repaires into *Northumberland*, whither the greatest, and sighest persons of the *Scottish* nation being come, * themselves having fought to him, *Edward* makes claime to the superiority of *Scotland*, and requires that the Competitors would quietly assent to his award, alleging that the Crowne of that Realme was held of him: for more credit to which assertion he vouched sundry * books, and acts, whereunto the *Scots* replied, * That they were ignorant, that any such superiority belonged to the King of *England*; neither could they make answer to such things without a King the head, vpon whom it lay to heare such a denunciation, and protest, that other answer they sought as then to giue, in regard of their Oath, which after the death of *Alexander* their King they had made one to the other, and the same to keepe vnder paine of excommunication. Whereupon the King deliuered to them his letters Patents, in which hee acknowledged, that the coming of those *Scots*, on this side the water of *Tweed*, should not be at any other time vrged to preiudice, for committing againe into *England*: that is, That their example should not so be directed to an argument of King *Edwards* right over them, as if they were to come againe vpon duties, so prudent it seeme were those *P*atents of their Countreys liberty.

* Polyb. li. 2. The *Wojing*.

Cromwell in *Comen. Hist.*

An. D. 1284.
* Polyb. li. 2. c. 13.

* The *Wojing* ad. d. 6.

* *Sam. Coste* de *Polyb. li. 2.*

A. D. 1285.

A. D. 1287.

A. D. 1289.

The *Wojing*.

The *Wojing* li. 2.

King *Edward* considers the lawes, and haue his indubious.
An. 1290.

An honorable way to enrich a King.
* The *Wojing*.

John *Stow* de *Adam* *Moran*, *Chron. Dougl. c. 6.*

* *Sam. de* *Adam*.

Erskine, *alluded* *to* *Scottish* *li. 2. c. 13.*

* *W. de* *Adam* *li. 2.*

A. D. 1291.

* *Wojing*.

* *de* *Charles* *Croft*, and *de* *Wales* *li. 2. c. 13.*

A. D. 1292.

* *W. de* *Adam* *li. 2.*

* *Stow* *li. 2. c. 13.*
* *Stow* *li. 2. c. 13.*
* *Stow* *li. 2. c. 13.*
* *Stow* *li. 2. c. 13.*

(30) The names of the Competitors were these, according to *Wallingham*, *Erick*, King of Norway, who appeared by his Attorneys; *Florence*, Earle of Holland; *Robert le Bru*, Lord of *Amendul*; *John de Balis*, Lord of *Calvay*; *John de Hastings*, Lord of *Abergenny*; *John Comen*, Lord of *Edenay*; *Patrick de Dunbar*, Earle of *Moray*; *John de Pefi*, on his Fathers behalf; *Nicholas de Salisburgh* de *Roffe*. These all peaceably submitted themselves, for so much as concerned their *feudal* titles to the *Scottish Crowne*, to the final award and arbitration of King *Edward*, passing thereof an authentic Instrument vnto him; who having given caution to restore the realm of *Scotland*, (within a certain prefixed time,) to that party to whom the *Crowne* thereof should be adjudged, had feilin delivred to him, the better to put the sentence in execution, or (say the writers of that nation) they giving him power to constrain the parties to stand to this sentence. The whole carriage of which weighty business, being so discreetly related and censured by the writers of both nations, (though for the present it be not material, both Kingdoms now blessedly acknowledging one absolute *Superior*) we will so trace the steps of truth in a middle way, as resolving neither to impeach the action of that glorious vmpire, nor preiudicate the right of our noble sister nation. The State of *Scotland* now was not without manifest perill; for the *Scots* denying that their Kingdom was in amie point subalterne to the *Crowne of England*, and King *Edward* either perswaded that it was so, or resolving and plotting now to make it so, would not neglect the advantage of this * *they held* or want of a known head in *Scotland*.

(31) Vpon full ventilation therefore and scanning of all rights, the maine doubt rested vpon Lord *Bru* and *Balis*, for therelike might seeme rather to affect the honour of having preceded title in blood to a *Diademe*, then to have colour to contend with either of them. Great was the adule, and deliberation (as there was cause) which King *Edward* took therein, for not trusting to his owne judgement, hee caused (saith * *Heller* *Bottum*) twelve of the best Clerks or learned men of *Scotland*, and twelve of *England* to concurre as *Assessors* with him in that great decision.

(32) While this weighty cause was in debatement, there fell out deadlie strife betwene the *English* and *Normans*, occasioned by one of them casually slain by the *English*, which mischief the King of *France* forwardly nourish, as thirsting for the duchy of *Gales*, which best he might attain by troubling the forreine affairs of King *Edward*, whom they saw now entangled at home in so weighty employments. Whereupon the *Normans* slew sundry of the *English*, and hung vp one vpon the mast of a Shippe, whom they had taken at Sea; but, ere long after, three score *English* ships encountering with two hundred fliee of *Normans*, laden with wines, after a most bloody battle (wherein many * thousands of the *French* were slain) tooke, with their whole fleet, their full revenge, and brought them into *England*.

(33) At last yet King *Edward* returning to *Berwick*, having with him the said twenty foure *Assessors*, as it were a iury of either nation, * and, with the good will and assent of the *Scottish* Lords, gave solemne judgement with *Balis*, as being descended of the eldest daughter of *David*, Earle of *Huntington*, a younger sonne of *Scotland*; whose issue (the line of the elder brother being extinct) was to inherit, without question. But the strife being betwene the descendants of the said *David*, of which the Lord *Robert Bruce* was also a principall, reasons of importance were produced, which drew many men's judgements, to incline to him, as having a nearer interest to that *Crowne*. But according to the sentence, * *Balis* was solemnly crowned King of *Scotland* vpon *S. Andrews* day, and, in *Christmas* following, repaired to King *Edward*, at *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*, and there (against the minds of many *Scots*) did homage vnto him for the

whole Kingdom of *Scotland*.

(34) Meantime the *French* King pursued the revenge of the *Normans*, demanding restitution and citing King *Edward* iudicially to appear to answer such wrongs, as were done in *Aquitaine*; who, (desirous to settle his owne affairs at home, or, as some write, * eager vpon a match for himselfe in *France*) while hee discovered either his unwillingness to appear in that kind, or to warre, suffered himselfe by a *French* designe to be meerey deceived, and put out of his possession of *Gales*, to the great mischance, and disadvantage of the *English*; whereupon King *Edward* highly incensed, called a Parliament at *London*, where *John* King of *Scotland* was present, and had the full consent of the whole *Reame*, to require that himselfe by the sword which was crafteden away by a coming to sick, * renouncing to the *French* his homage for *Aquitaine*. (*John* also was at the same time full of troubles, but the fires of rebellion, there rathly kindled, were, not long after, quenched with the blood of the Actors, and thousands of their Complices.)

(35) *Balis* having thus obtained the *Crowne* of *Scotland*, and siding his party, by the homage which he had made to King *Edward*, much embased among the *Scots*, who greatly repined thereat, for regaining their looses, * attempted a secret combination with the *French* against the *English*; which *Edward* ignorant of, and requiring him by vertue of his homage to aid him with all his powers against the King of *France*, * discovered (by *Balis*'s delays, and trauceries) the said conspiracie. Whereupon hee advanced forward against the *Scots* with a pusillane armie to *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*. The first blood which was drawne was of the *English*, of whom, the *Scots* * slew almost one thousand in a village vnder the leading of one *Robert de Res*, who had fled from King *Edward*: The City of *Carlisle* likewise was assaulted, and the County of *Cumberland* spoiled by seven Earles of *Scotland*, and their companies, which to *Edward* was not greatly displeasing, as was sad for that the first hostile acts were done by them, whom hee had a full purpose to subdue, that at last he might see *John* in *Albion*, which, had not God referred for other times, we might wonder hee effected not.

(36) King *Edward* therefore presented himselfe before the strong Towne of *Berwick* with a mighty host, there to surpise his entrance to a conquest of the *English*; and, after summons first to the Towne, abode one whole day, without offer of violence: The Townesmen refusing to render, had a victory of the *English* Mariners, who rashly entering, with twentie and foure Ships into the harbour, were repelled with the losse of foure of their vessels, which was soone reuenged by the forcible taking of *Berwick*, where * *Heller* *Bottum* saith, there was exercised great cruelty by the *English*. In the Towne, the *Flemish* Merchants (who were smothered by the *English* with fire) had a very strong house in the manner of a Tower, from whence they leuelled, at the entering of the *English*, with darts and iavelins, one of which casually slew *Richard of Cornwal*, a gallant Gentleman brother to the Earle of *Cornwal*, which in an army heated with former conuulsions, for the *Scots* vpon the slaughter and repulse which they had made of the *English* mariners, published certayne times in derision,

(* *What weays King Edward with his Longshanks, To haue weene Berwicke all our withanks?* &c.)

together with the remembrance of many fresh shrewd turnes, might stirre vp bloody effects. After the Towne was thus taken, the Castle after blood not long out, but rendered it selfe. * *Sir William Douglas*, captain thereof, was detained prisoner, and (as some write) *Sir Robert Bruce*: others were suffered to depart, vpon oath to beare no armes from thenceforth against the King of *England*. The losse of this important Towne, and Castle was very gient, for it was the key, and common Bulwark of *Scotland*.

(37) While

The Wallingham
Royal Hist.
Polygraph.

Rebroad
transl. of Wall
Polygraph.

* Wall. Hist. lib. 14.

* To Berwick call
it in his letters to
King Edward.

* Wall. Hist. lib. 14.

A. D. 1293.

A famous Sea-
victorie of the
English against
the Normans
* Town. Wallingham
Hist. 1700.

* Wall. Hist. lib. 14.

* Edward's line
of Papers and
The. P. P. P. P. P.
Judgements
given by King Ed-
ward.

lib. 14. cap. 1.

A. D. 1294.

* Wall. Hist.
transl. lib. 14.
cap. 1.

* Polygr.

A. D. 1295.

* Polygr.

A. D. 1296.

* Town. Wall.

* Hist. lib. 14.

* Town. Wall.

* The Wall.
Polygr. Hist. lib.
17. Both last are
transcripts.

A. D. 1297.

lib. 14.

* Town. Wallingham.
Berwick taken by
King Edward.

* Town.

* Town. Wall.

* Hist.

Berwick the key
of Scotland.

(27) While the English, at this place, were busie to cast a very deepe ditch, to hinder the fodeine inroades of their enemies, John King of Scotland sent two religious men to the King of England with * letters; in which, *alleging that he was by Oath bound to defend his owne kingdome, and people, he renounced his homage, and fealties, as extorted by violence, and void in itselfe, being made without assent of the three estates of his Realme.* The resignation was admitted, King Edward commanding his *Chancelor* to record the same for perpetuall memorie, as a iustification of his proceedings.

(28) The Scots hereupon, vnder the conduct of the Earles of *Raglan, Menth, Strathern, Ras, Athol, Marr,* and other of their nobility, made an incursion into England, whence with the spoiles of two religious houles, and other booties they returned: But *Patrick Earle of Dunbarre* came to King Edward submitting himselfe, and the Castle of Dunbarre (by this submission being vnder King Edwards protection) was regained by Scots: For recouerie, or iurregaining whereof, the King sent John Earle of *Surrey, and Suffox,* and William Earle of *Warwick*, who were entertained with battel by the Scottish nation, of whom the English, *after cruell fight, obtained a victory of great importance, the chace holding about eight miles, in which the slaughter was not small. The siege of Dunbarre being reinforced, King Edward had it yielded vnto him, at his coming, wherein were taken three Earles, fixe or seuen Barons, besides many knights, and Esquires, which were all sent prisoners to diuerse Castles of England, and (if some say true) not putto the sword (as *Heller* transported perhaps with hatred to Edward writes) contrary to his word, and faith given.

(29) King Edward knowing as well how to vicia victorie, as to get it, having a present spirit vpon all advantages, and torries of fortune, takes the Castle of *Backlough,* and (for a small end to this affaire) marcheth to *Edinburgh* it selfe (the Chief Towne of Scotland) which * was shortly rendered: Then tooke they Striueling alio, and drave *Balul* to the * Castle of *Farfart*: where John Comyn Lord of *Strabogie* submitted himselfe to King Edward. About this time there came to the English campe great numbers of Welsh footsiders, with whom he releued many of the English footemen, tyred with service, sending them backe into England. Thither also came the Earles of *Wylster* with bands of Irish.

(30) The King of England prospering thus, pasteth with his army oer the * Scottish Sea, where while he kept the feath of Saint John Baptist * at *Perth* (or Saint John Towne) there came messengers from *Balul*, and the Lords his factors, to sue for mercy, which was granted vpon condition, that they should render themselves to him as his subiects. * *Heller* becometh faith, that after this agreement (wherein * *Anthony* Bishop of *Durham* was viced) John Comyn brought *Balul*, void of all kingly habiliments with a whietred in his hand, to the English campe at *Montrou*, where he resigned his whole right that he either had, or might haue to the Crowne of Scotland, into King Edwards hands, and made thereof a formall Charter in French, and at the same time also for feare of life, gave his sonne Edward for hostage, and assurance of his fealties, by which final dictaine, the Lord *Braces* right might seeme now vnquestionable. But this resignation being thus made, King Edward returnes to *Berwick*, where * all the Nobles of Scotland (as a Parliament there holden) were sworne to be loyal, and true subiects to King Edward for euer after: and * hercof a soleinne instrument was sealed by the said Lord: (of whom John Comyn of *Baldmar* was first) bearing date at *Berwick* in the twentie fift yere of the reigne of their Soueraigne Lord King Edward.

(31) In the thirte King, was sent to the Tower of *London*, and there was honourably attended, hauing liberty for twenty miles about. The Scottish Lords were confined within *Trent*, oer which *River* they

might not passe toward Scotland, vpon paine of life: The custody of Scotland was committed to *Iohn de Warren*, Earle of *Surrey* and *Suffox*, and the *Treasurers* thereof to *Henry de Crispingham*, but *William de Ormesby* was ordained *Treasurer*, with this particular commandement, that hee should take the bomaiges and fealties of all such as held lands of the King. And the more to shew his purpose, vterly to dissolve the distinct Regality of Scotland, and to vnite it to the English Monarchie, as hee had done *Wales*, hee tooke out of *Edinburgh* the *Crowne, Scepter, and Cloath of Estate*, offering them vp at * Saint Edwards thirne in *Westminster*, if the Author mistake not, for at Saint Thomas at *Canterbury*, * hee offered vp *Balds Crowne* with another, and (besides many other Acts tending to the abolishment of the Scottish Name, which * *Heller* relates, as the burning their Records, abrogating their lawes, altering their forme of diuine service, and transplanting all their learned men thence vnto his Vniuersity of *Oxford*.) hee tooke out of the * Abbey of *Scorne* the * *Mable Chaire*, in which the Kings of Scotland were wont to be crowned, and sent the same to *Westminster*, for Priests to sit therein at Celebration. This Chaire is the same vpon which was engrauen the famous Propheticall Distichon:

*Ne fallat satum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Inuicent lapidem, regere teneant ibidem,*

*If Fate be right, where ere this stone is sight,
The Regall race of Scots shall rule that place.*

While by whomsoever it was written, we who now liue, finde it happily accomplished. But these great Acts of this yere brought to the Commons of England small commodity, vpon whom the charge of the warres lay heauily, and it is not often found, that the people gaine much by their Princes Conquests.

(32) The force of Scotland with a greater force being thus for the present broken, who would suppose, that he could once againe haue lifted vp the head, and that chiefly by the particular vertue of a pious man, as it after happened? which hee had the more opportunity to doe, for that the King of England was diuersly diuerted by occasion of warres in *Gascogne* for recouery of his owne, and for aid of his friends in *Flanders*, whom the French did assaile in hostile manner. The Captaine of the revolted troupe in Scotland, was one *William Wallace* (the sonne of * *Sir Andrew Wallace* of *Craig Knight*, though some * vpon heere say, write contemptuously of his counte of life, as of a publike robber) who, by the assistance of such as were outlawed, for refusing to doe their homage to King Edward, drave *William de Ormesby* (the Kings Iusticiary) out of Scotland. Which King Edward hearing, dispatched John Comyn of *Baldmar*, and the Earle of *Burgham* from their confinement, to the extent, that hee might by their endeuours, the sooner settle matters, but withall hee gave John de *Warren* Earle of *Surrey* commission to leade an Army: and the king (loath to be hindered from his other destinations) easily yielded to such requests as were propounded on the Scots behalfe for that time. The voyage which hee had in hand, was to transport from *Winchelsea* an Armie, to assist the Earle of *Flanders* his confederate.

(33) England at this time was not without great discontentments, which *Hampery* de *Edmon* Earle of *Hereford* and *Elfen* Constable of England, and *Roger Bigot* Earle of *Norfolke*, *Marshall* of England, did countenance; for present iustification whereof, the King yielded (among other things) to confirme * *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*, and that * there should no Subsidie nor taxatiue bee leuied vpon the people, without the consent of the Prelates, Priores, and people. But before this time, and while the King was absent out of the land, the Scots vnder the leading of *William Wallace*, putto * *Robert*, the Earle of *Argyll* and all the English Forces which were with him,

* The orig.

* The orig.
H. R. de L. de
F. de L.

* H. R. de L. de
F. de L. de
F. de L. de
F. de L. de

With and against
Scotland
With and against
Scotland

* The orig.
F. de L. de L.

* H. R.

* The orig.

The Balul re-
signes.

* H. R. de L. de
F. de L. de
F. de L. de

* The orig.

* Balul.

* The orig.

* H. R. de L. de
F. de L. de

* The orig.
* Comden in
the orig. v. 9.
H. R. de L. de
F. de L. de

An. 1298.

* H. R. de L. de
F. de L. de
F. de L. de
F. de L. de

* The orig.
H. R. de L. de
F. de L. de

him, taking them at advantage, as they were passing over a narrow Bridge, were vnto the Castle of *Struelon*: the slaughter of the English was not small. There *Hugh de Cruglingham* Treasurer of Scotland for King *Edward*, fell in battell, whose dead body for speciall hatred borne vnto him, the *Scots* did flie, diuiding his skinn among them. The King hearing of this ouertrowth, commands the Lordes of *England* by his letters to be ready to assult the said Earle *William* (his *Captain* or *Guardian* of *Scotland*) with their Forces, in the *Countie* of *S. Hilary at Turke*, and also to proclaime such of the Scottish Lordes as came not thither, enemies of the *Scote*; but they kept themselves within *Scotland*, and came not. Whereupon the English Captains marched to the rescue of the Castle of *Reckisburgh*, whence *William Wallace* fled vpon notice of their approach to raise his siege. But King *Edward* (aduerted of these accidents) hauing taken a truce for two yeeres with the King of *France*, by mediation of *Bonifacius* the Pope, who interposed himselfe (as *tantum in iudex*, sed *amicabilis Compositor*, saith *Wolffingham*, not as a iudge, but as a friendly Composer, made halt into *England*, where his presence was extremely wanting: but in his way home, at a Towne called *Ardeburgh*, all the *Scots* almost, which hee had brought with him to serue in the Flemish warres, forooke him, and went to *Paris*.

A.D. 1299

The Wolfe

(34) After his arrivall in *England*, hee summoned a Parliament at *Turke*, giving the *Scots* a day to appeare thereat; which they not doing, nor acknowledging that they ought to do, hee entred with a mightie Army into their Countrey, his Nauy laden with victuals coasting along; which by contrary winds being holden off for a time, put the *Scots* rather in hope of victory, by reason of the scarcity of provisions among the English; but three dayes before the *Scots* appeared, the shippes came, and plentifully refreshed the fainting soldiers. Hereupon the king led forward his people, and vpon the next morning, a terrible showe being heard from the *Scottish* host, the English ranne to armes; but the kings horse (afrighted with the sodaine tumultuous noise) as hee was putting foote in stirrup, threw him to the earth, and striking with the hinder heeles, brake two of his ribs; who neuertheless vpon the same horse proceeded in person to the battell. *William Wallace*, who had wonne to himselfe, by many his hardy enterprises a singular opinion among the Peeres, and people, having let his *Scots* in array (whose numbers far exceeded the English) vied cryes where this his short speech vnto them in stead of Orations, *I haue brought you to the King, hee pisse him*. For their more security, hee had * fixed betweene them and the English, certaine Pales or flukes, bound together with ropes, which the English Vauntguard brake downe, and came to strokes. The first which fled, were the Scottish Horsemen, leauing their Infanterie, or battels of foote, open to that great destruction which followed, the victory telling clearely to the English.

The Wolfe.
The bloody or
warthow as
Fenchie.

* Wall. Scot. 1. 14.

* Piers. Cris.
lib. 2.* The Wolfe.
The bloody or
warthow as
Fenchie.
* Piers. Cris.
lib. 2.
* Piers. Cris.
lib. 2.

(35) Out *Scottish* * Annoth writes, that by reason of emulation against *Wallace*, the *Scots* burning in mutual hatred, made the enterprise easie to their enemies; which as it may bee verie true, so certainly there was scarce anie battell betweene the two Nations, in which more *Scottish* blood was spilt then in this, for thereof * *Sebastian Marnier* seems to meane, saying, that there were flaine three score and ten thousand, which though wee take not to bee the true number, (for some haue * three score thousand, * others not so many) yet shewes it that the slaughter was vast, as it could not otherwise bee, the *Scottish* footmen valiantly * fighting as it were to the last man. Blood * worthy to haue bene shed on both sides, against another * kind of enemy, then Christians, the deformity of which * offences may easily represent to us the blessed estate of * our new felicitie. This victory was obtained

by the English vpon *Saint Mary Magdalene* day, at a place called *Fewburke*: from which *William Wallace*, opening his way with his Sword escaped. The Welshmen deferred ill of the king at this journey, for that they forewilled to charge vpon the *Wallace*, or fence of the *Scots*, in hope (the English being vanquished, which by the inequality of their numbers, they presumed would happen) that themselves might ioyntly with the *Scots*, execute vpon King *Edward* the hatred, which they bare him for the * evils hee had brought vpon their nation. After this victory the King tooke sundry places, and returned into *England* by *Carlisle*.

* The Wolfe

A.D. 1300.

(36) The two yeeres truce formerly taken betweene the English and French, was now, by the interceding of *Bonifacius* Bishoppe of *Rome*, torced to a letled peace, who (among other things) brought it about, that K. *Edward* should marry the French kings sister *Margaret*, and *Edward* the kings sonne, the same kings daughter, about which *Wolffingham* hee aduanced not the good of his Realme by this match as any point. To this amity were added the greater strengthes of a domestike quiet, for the king (whom wars had together made renewed, & aged) graciously & wisely yeilded to confirm such grants of lawes and liberties as the Earles and Barons (the pretended Conseruators of the Peoples interell.) did declare, were by his promise to bee confirmed to them at his returne from *Scotland*: and which hee accordingly did, in a Parliament holden at *London*, vpon prerogation, in *Quindena Pasche*, where for their fuller satisfaction hee * left out this Clause in the end, *Saluo iure corona nostra, saving the right of our Crowne*: and what at this time was wanting, he made vp afterward in a Parliament at *Stanford*.

The Wolfe

The Wolfe in
liberty.

(37) But that he might not seeme willing to deny the Pope any iust request, or not to know the sweetnesse of an others freedome, hee deliaered to the hands of the Popes *Nuncios*, John the late King of *Scotland*, (vpon their assuming for King *Edward* indemnity,) whom they conueyed to his inheritance in *France*, where (vpon eury side vnfortunate) he remained as vnder the note of a false seducer, and of a persud person in King *Edward*s iudgement, and with out anie part of his regall office over the Scottish nation; who found that the peace which King *Edward* made in other places, did buttorne to their more grievous affliction (for albeit they had gotten *Strinelyn* by surrender of the English, and began with an immortall desire of their ancient Liberty, to assemble again vnder *William Wallace*, yet the time was not come of their deliuerance, for King *Edward* (according as it was formerly appointed,) having accomplished his marriage with the French Kings sister at *Canterbury*, made it his whole affaire, to finish the annexation of *Scotland* to the Crowne of *England*.

* Wall. Scot. 14.

(38) Hee therefore accompanied with his foane, and a dreadfull Army, pursued the matter so close, that whereas the *Scots* had gotten together againe in exceeding great numbers, vnder their severall Captaines, (whose * *Enaie* had caused *Wallace* to give vp all such authority, as the commonwealth of *Scotland* had formerly granted vnto him, for persecution of their freedomes,) and flying before King *Edward*, whose fortune in warre had worthily made him terrible that day (in *Wolffingham* iudgement) had bene irreuerably faill to the Scottish name, if the English had bene able to haue followed them in their Armour, over their bogges and mountains, or that the Welsh had with their naturall nimblenesse supplied the same. Sure it is, that *Edward* held himselfe so fast in possession, that hee neither would grant the Scottish Lordes their *Ballio* to raigne over them, (which they requested saith *Wolffingham*) nor suffer them to redeme such lands of theirs, as hee had giuen to the English among them.

(39) Armes failing, and the *Scots* having made their way in the Court of *Rome*, procured inhibito-

The Pope in
corporation

authority for the
revelation of
the
* Per Anglim
Dm.

ry letters from the Pope, which were brought by
one *Lambertus* into *Scotland*: but the King swearing
a * terrible oath, said, that he would not desist. Neverthe-
less the *Scots*, after a few days, requested the
King to let them live in peace till they had taken
counsel of the *Peeres*, and of the King of *France*,
threatening that otherwise the Pope would take the
matter upon him. But the King with a disdainfull
smile answered: *Hanc you done homage to me (as to
the chief Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland) and now
suppose that I can be terrified with swelling lies, as if
(like one that had no power to compel) I would let the
right which I have over you to (step out of my hand)? Let
me hear no more of this for if I do, I swear by the Lord,
I will consume all Scotland from sea to sea.* On the o-
ther side, the *Scots* did boldly enough reply, *That
in this cause they would shed their blood for defence of jus-
tice, and their Countries liberty.*

The confederacy
of the
Welshmen love to the
Scottish
Prince of
Wales.

(40) About this time the King made his sonne
Edmund, (who was borne at *Caernarvon*) Prince of
Wales, and Earle of *Chester*, which so greatly con-
censed the *Welsh*, because (in regard of his birth place)
they held him as one of theirs, that when all friends
did afterward forsake him (as the following raigne
will shew) they always stucke most loyally unto
him, expressing wonderfull love and affection, and
bewailing his heavy fortunes in wofull songs, which
neither the dread of his enemies, nor length of time could
ever make them to forget.

* The V. Duff.

(41) But, in the matter of *Scotland*, the King not
to seeme altogether to neglect the Court of *Rome*, ad-
dressed rather the Earle of *Lincolne*, and the Lord
Hugh de Spenser with manifold complaints against
the *Scots*, and justification of his owne proceedings;
howbeit at the Popes request, he granted them truce
from *Hallowmas* to *Whitsontide*. This very yeere,
Cassian King of *Thibet* gloriously slew one hundredth
thousand Turkes in a battell vpon the plaine of *Da-
mafsus*, and was baptized thereupon, as acknowledging
the victory to come from the fauour of God: the voy wher-
of filled *England*, as other the partes of *Christen-
dome*.

A.D. 1302.

(42) The iustice of the English Armes against the
Scots, being now againe directly impugned by the
Papall letters, comprehending sundry arguments on
the behalfe of that Nation, King *Edward* in a Par-
liament at *Lincolne* published their contents, and by
consent of the whole representative body of the
Realeme, returned a copious defence of his whole
proceedings, with protestation, first, that hee did not
exclude any thing as a forme of judgement, or triall of
his cause, but for satisfaction of his holy Fatherhoods con-
science, and not otherwise. But whereas the Pope
had required the King to stand to his decision for
matter of claime, hee writes, that thereunto hee
would make no answer, as having left that point
to the *Earles* and *Peeres* of his land: who with one
mind directly signify, that their King was not to
answer in judgement for any rights of the Crown of
England before any Tribunal under Heauen: and that
(by sending Deputies or Attornies to such an end) hee
should not make the said truth doubtful, because it mani-
festly tended to the dishonour of the said Crown, which
with the helpe of God, they would resist, and with al-
l their force maintain as with all men. So * ceased that
Action, and the looser also, for that *Remission* had
much to doe at home, by reason of some great con-
troversies between the French and him. Meane time
Sir *Iohn Segraue*, Lord *Segraue*, a renowned Soldi-
er, was sent Gouvernour or *Captain* into *Scotland*,
with an Army, after the Truce expired, which at the
French Kings instance, King *Edward* had yielded
unto for a time; *Iohn Cumyn*, who had also bene a
Competitor for the Crown, was chosen by the *Scots*
for their Governour.

* Prolog. Prg. 66.

A.D. 1303.

(43) We may not here overpass a victory (in *Ros-
lin*) which the Writers of that nation celebrate, when
in the English were by them overcome, howbeit
there is in our Writers much variety in that relation.

* Hist. Scot. lib. 14.

A.D. 1304.

It is the saying of *Helior Bortin*, that the English were
about three for one, our ancient and later authors
say that the *Scots* had farre the * more people; he as-
sirms, that it was in the plaine field, ours that it was
* an Ambush; he that the *Scots* did put to flight, and
took the spoiles of three whole battels, in other of
which were * 10000. English, ours, that the *Scots* by
reason of their multitudes did only overtake the
Vanguard, from which the attack of the other bat-
tels was * foure miles off. All agree in this that the
Lord *Iohn Segraue* (a *Walfe* Consey laith *Helior*) who
had the point or vanguard of the English (whose Gen-
erall he also was) by diuiding his army into three
part for their better reliefe, weakened in his whole
force, that thereby, and his vnuadually forwardnes
(impatient to lay for his other power) hee gave oc-
casion to the *Scots* of such a victory. They had al-
so taken the person of the said Lord Generall, but
* Sir Robert de *Neule*, who with others was at disaine
service, hearing thereof, came with his troups of horse,
rescued *Segraue*, slew many, put many to flight, and
brought away backe the rest of the prisoners, with-
out the losse of any one man of his owne. The said
Scottish Chronicle makes no mention of *William*
Wallace, at this discomfiture of the English, but giues
the whole glory thereof to *Cumyn*, and to *Simon* *Fraser*:
whereas we attribute all to *Wallace*, and make no
mention of the other, with farre lesse wrong to the
immortall decess of *Wallace*; for hee vndoubtedly,
was the only man, who kept vp *Scotland*, till neere the
time of deliuerance.

(44) The Scottish Nation (as * *Helior* reports) had
* for their warrant in conscience, and justification of res-
tance, the Popes indgement, who vpon ripe deliberation
in their matter, perceiued (I thinke) that the *Scots* had iust
allum of battell in defence of their liberties against King
Edward: who not much esteeming the doome of that
Oracle, vpon the other side was perswaded hee
might proceed to subdue them wholly to his domini-
on: and therefore, (vpon report that the *Scots* were
not only vp in Armes) but encouraged to greater at-
tempts by this late successe, came in person with a
dreadfull host, piercing therewith * through all *Scot-
land*, from one end thereof to the other; from *Ros-
burgh* to *Catnes*, which is the farthest point in the
length of that Land, being about three hundredth
miles: whither he marched by small iournies, not an
enemie appearing with power to impeach him. For
they, vnable to make head, being continually wa-
sted, did either for their safetie beake themselves to
the woods, and Mountaines, with their *Wallays*, or
wholly submitted themselves, * swearing to be true
to King *Edward*, there being in all *Scotland* but one Cas-
tle (the Castle of *Strirling*) which stood out, and that
also (vpon King *Edward*s returne from *Catnes*) was
* absolutely surrendered to him; and therefore no
great cause, why *Helior* should call King *Edward* false
Tyrant for committing the Captaine and Garrison
of that Castle to sundry Prisoners: So that had not
God in his eternall providence, flourishing the liberty
of that people, ordained some inaccessible places, and
naturall strengths, where no Armes could march nor
be maintained, the *Scots* had in all likelihood perpetu-
ally undergone the same fortune, which we the Eng-
lish were brought into, for want of the like, by *Hir-
szum* the first, and his *Normans*:

(45) Therefore let prophane discourses (with their
* Father Epicurus and Lucrilius) blinde and trouble, as of-
ten as they shall desire to infatuate any thing against
Gods wisdom in the Fabrick of the world, as if the
* *Craggs*, and desert places, thereof, had no use in nature,
when (omitting all other reasons of their being) the con-
seruation of kingdoms, and nations was in them by them
effected. We had an * *Hereward* in the Conquerours
* time, as well as the *Scots* had a *Wallace* in this; and we
might perhaps at this hour have bene without French
mixtures, if God had provided our Country of such
* *Wallaces*, and deserts as either they or the *Welshmen* did
enjoy, in so far many hundredth of yeeres, after the ruine
of

* Thon. IV. Alf.
Alm. 10.

* Thon. Prg. lib. 1.

* Thon. Wall. 10.

* Hist. Scot. lib. 14.
cap. 6.

* Hist. Scot. lib. 14.
cap. 6.

* Hist. Scot. lib. 14.
cap. 6.

* Hist. Scot. lib. 14.
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* Hist. Scot. lib. 14.
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* Hist. Scot. lib. 14.
cap. 6.

^a of their Monarchie in Brittain, upheld, in some sort,
^b their liberty, when the English had twice by Danes, and
^c Normans, in the meantime, utterly lost it.

(46) Scotland (with *Helior*) being in this manner subdued and all the strengths of buildings, and the Nobility thereof at King *Edwards* disposition, he hazing order the affairs thereof as himselfe thought best, left the custodie thereof againe to *Seignior*, and in his triumphall returne through England from *Danfermelin* in Scotland where he kept his *brifmas*, caused the Courts of the Bench, and *Elschequer*, which had bene seuen yeare kept at *Turke* (for the more commodie of his Scottish expeditions) to be reduced to *London*, their ancient residence. Moreover he appointed *Justitars* for *Travelsmen*, who were to inquire of *Man-slaughters*, *Raffines*, *Disseifers*, *Boo-balers*, *Incendiaries*, and other perturbars of the common quiet, and them to punish, by fine, death and otherwise, which brought to the Realme much rest and to the King much riches.

(47) But, the more to secure king Edward in the Scottish kingdomes, it was not long, but that *William Wallace* (whom an Earle of *Scotland* in the beginning of his resistances had honoured (saith *Walsingham*) with the girdle of a Knight-hood) was brought vpon prisoner to *London*, being cruelly taken at *Glasgow* by "one Sir *John Monteth* (though *Polydore Vergilius* saith the *English* took him in warre) where he had publicke triall at *Westminster*, and " denying that he was a Traitor to the King of *England*, was there for other his crimes as burning of *Townes*, taking of *Cities*, killing the *English*, &c. adjudged to death, which sentence was executed vpon him, and his head and quarters set vpon in several places vnder the *Iland*, his right leg at *Perth* or *Saint John's Towne in Scotland*, and his left at *Aberdeen*. This was the end of *Wallace*, whom his *Country* had once by common consent choosen for their defender, and " *Captaine General* of the same, for his desert towards her, doth place in glory faure above the *Barres*, as the only person, by whose example, the *Scots* had their spirits kepe awake and quicke vpon all occasions, by which they might recover the Government out of the hand of the *English*, whose reigns ouer them this *Wallace* neither by faire meanes, nor by force could euer bee drawne to endure, or looke vpon with a patient eye, whom though (with *Hector* " translator) we doe not call a *Monarch*, yet must we thinke his *Country* honoured in him, wishing many the like in our owne.

(48) Let no man now make doubt to write vp King *Edward* among the greatest of our *English Monarchs*; for (besides the whole Ilands of *Britaine* and *Ireland*) hee also held *Aquitaine*, which about twenty years before the King of *France* (entangled with troubles otherwise) did restore, and the City of *Bordeaux* of the owne accord lubmited it selfe againe to the English Scepter, as that wherewith it had formerlie becom so long, and well acquainted; and to gratifie the same *Edward* the King of *France* also banished the Scots out of his dominions. Thus was King *Edward* possesed of *Scotland*, which nevertheless (*that the world may see Gods hand in translating of Kingdomes*, being at point of his procreation) was not long after plucked from his loine; and the calamities which the Scots had suffered, whelmed backe vpon the English. Which peculiar art of diuine providence you will more easily acknowledge, when you shall beholde by howe naked an instrument he raised againe the *Scottish* Common-wealth out of that dull, in which for a litle season it seemed to lie buried.

(49) *Wallace* therefore being taken out of the way, the Lord *Robert Bruce*, between whom, and the unfortunate *Baldwin* the maine strife lay for the *Diadem* beholding the state of his Country, for which *Wallace*, without interit to the Crown thereof, had stood so long, and delirious to give it a new head by making himselfe *King* (whereby *Baldwin* surrender his other right was made more payable) had for this purpose entered into a conspiracy with *Cameron*, whose

disfellow thereof (as *Sexts* doe write) brought into apparent danger the Lord *Brances* life, who was then attendant in the Court of *England*. King *Edward* vpon the first difcowy of the plot not crediting the same, *Brance*, most constantly denying it, and calling the accusation, with good probability, vpon *Cumyns* enuie, had time, and warning to escape. For an Earle (saith *Marcius*) sent vnto him twelue Stiuelling pence, and a paire of sharpe *Surres*, presently vpon his departure from the King, which he wilyly interpreted to be a *symbole of herdile flight*. According whereunto he forthwith sped from *London*, where K. *Edward* kept *Christmas*, shooting his horses backward, that he might not be followed by their prints vpon the snow, and with his owne hand thrust his sword into *Cumyns* in the Church of the *Friers Minors* at *Dunfries* in *Scotland*, whom two of *Brances* friends with other morall thrusts dispatched. *Brance* knowing now noway to answer the fact, but by open defecation, which he did resolute vpon, did thereupon procure himselfe to be crowned King of *Scotland* about our Ladies day in *March* in the *Abbey of Seane*.

(50) Such an attempt as this could not be long hidden from King Edward, who hating at the *whit-founde* next after honored Edward Prince of Wales, his eldest son, with the order of Knighthood at London, sent him against King Robert into Scotland, attended with a troupe of noble young gentlemen, *Amorie de V. eleve* Earle of Pembroke; Robert of Clifford, and Henry de Fore being gone before with an Armie, and King Edward preparing to come after, appointing the *Archebush* of his own holl to be at Carlisle. Where, in Parliament, besides proudions for the warres, fandy consultations and counsaies were entered, for repelling another kind of eunnie no lesse dangerous to the State, to wit, the Pope, and his *fill centuried extortions* in this Land whereof *precent* complaints were made in this Assembly; and both the Clergy there ex^{ce} appealed from the Popes Swell, and his Cardinal-Legats excommunications: also the Kings Council was driven to *enail* some orders for brideling their ex^{ce}traneous depilations.

(51) Meane time *Amyory de Valence* at *Perthin Scotland* had put to flight King *Robert Thome*, & perswaded him to neer, that he tooke his wife, his brother *Nigel-wal*, and others, but himselfe escaped into the westmost Iles of *Scotland*. This hanell taken at the entrance to his *Regallitie*, draue his people into such despaiire of his future better Fortunes, that there remained only two friends vnto him, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Haysh* tell, as the Earle of *Arbuth*, at *London*, (who had twise revolted) and his brother *Nigel-wal* at *Berwick*, were put to death as all others his chiefe partakers were, or else kept prisoners in *England*. In which number was King *Roberts* wife (daughter to the Earle of *Wylfer in Ireland*) and his daughter, the *Bishops of Glouster*, and *Saint Andrews*, the *Abbot of Scorne* and others. The Countesse of *Begowhan*, sister to the Earle of *Fife* (then absent in *England* at his mannor of *Whithorn* in *Leithershire*, whose office was to haue crowned the Scottish King) was also taken, and because (in her brothers absence) shee had stolne from the Earle her husband, with all his great horse, to set the *Diadem* vpon *Bruers* head, it was deuised that shee should be fet in a wooden Cage (made * *Crown-wife*) vpon the wals of *Berwick* Castle, for all to wonder at. This ridiculous reuenge was held sufficient, without taking her life, though shee was a manlike woman, and did herein but the part of a noble spirited Lady. Thus was King *Robert* (both the *Scottish* translator of *Boetius*) brought to such misery, that he was sometimes naked and hungry without meat, or drinke, save only water and roots of herbes, and his life perpetually in danger. Howbeit, her newes forsooke himselfe, but as one that had him selfe trust in God, cherished an hope in his minde, at one time or other to recover the Crowne. In which condition hee exhibited himselfe to noble a spectacle as in

* Sonnes de
franchise.

which euen the * marall *Beaune* doe teach, that the Gods themselves took pleasure how then can Christians look as? Certainly all generous spirits, whom cruell injuries oppresse, have reason to dwell in this patterne of Christian magnanimity and patience.

* *Epistola Edwardi
de 1. et de 2. et de 3.*

(12) King *Edward* also on the other side (like a Christian Prince) as hee had some yeeres before, by his speciall letter (directed to the * Archbishops of *Canterbury*), requested that publicke prayers should be made to Almighty God for him, his Realme and people, that the heavenly *Mercy* would direct his way and workes to the glory of his holy name, and advancement of the Kingdome: so now repayed hee with his Lords to Westminster, after this discomfiture of his enemies, there solemnly to render vnto God his humble thanks for the Conquest, whereof hee thus held himselfe assured. Which confidence drew him on so farre, that now (his turne being serued, as he thought against the *Sentis*) hee refused to stand to the confirmation which hee had made to his Barons, of such lawes and liberties as haue before beene mentioned, pretending that they had forced his consent: and doubtles, so great was the Kings faith thus to renounce what hee had solemnly iuror, (* though indeed it was in some necessity and enforcement) to the Popes warranting thereof (which certainly encouraged the King thereunto) so most execrable, who afterward abolished him (as other Popes had done to his Predecessors) from obseruance of that oath.

* King Edward
recaueth the
Charters of
liberty.

* *Urb. Triuit.*

A.D. 1308.
An. Reg. 37.
& vii.
Breuit fortiss
sunt fides.

(13) The miraculouse deliuerance of *Scotland* was now at hand; for the noble *Bruce*, not staying till King *Edward* were dead (who was now about threescore and eight yeeres of age) came forth out of the *Sestril* lands with such powers as hee had gotten together, taking the Castles of *Carrieke*, *Tannerne*, and many other, doing many things about the opinion of his meanes. To put an end to all which troubles, King *Edward* resolved once againe in person (notwithstanding his age,) to enter *Scotland* with a mighty host, which hee appointed to attend him at *Carlisle* in *Cumberland*, three weekes after Midwinter day: where God visiting him with his last sickness, hee commanded his Sonne the Prince to repaire with speed vnto him, vnto whom being come, hee vetered many admonitions and precepts, the summe whereof was * this.

* *The 10th
of King Edward
last exercises to
the Prince.*

(14) That he should be mercifull, iust and courteous, constant in word and deed, familiar to the good, and toward such as were in distresse alwayes pitifull. That after his death he should not haften to take the Crowne of *England*, till hee had honourably reuenged the injuries of his Father, and accomplished the present seruice. That hee should carry his Fathers bones about with him in some coffin, till hee had marched through all *Scottish* land and subdued all his enemies, for that none should bee able to overcome him while his *Steed* lasted marched with him. Moreover, hee commanded the said Prince to loue his Brethren, *Thomas* and *Edmund*, but specially to tender and respect his mother *Queen Margaret*. * That upon a paine of his malédiction, and curse, hee should not presume without common consent to repelle *Peter de Gasne*, who for alouing the tender yeeres of the Prince was seized vnto him, by common decree was hanged. That whereas himselfe, by the continual, and new attempts of *Bruce*, could not in person (according to his vow) make waite in the Holy-land, therefore hee should send his Heart thither, accompanied with fourscore Knights, and their retinues, for whose support hee had promised thirty & two thousand pounds of silver. That his Heart being by them couaned, hee did hope in God, that all things there would prosper with them. Lastly, That upon paine of eternal damnation, as the said money should not be expended upon any other use.

* Because the
care to preferre
them from enemies
would make a sonne
to be bold.

* They were his
brethren by the
Queen *Margaret*
per a second wife
of the King
* *Peter de Gasne*
among his last
wishes.

(15) With these admonitions dismissing the light young man from his presence to accomplysh to pro-

uident was hee to the very end of his late affairs) the marriage with the French Kings Daughter, which had bene formerly agreede vpon between the Parents, hee advanced next to the enemy vnto *Bergh* upon *Sands*, where his lingering *Dysentery* encreasing (for that was the sickness whereof hee died, though one maleuolently sayth, hee died suddenly, without shewe of repentance for his finnes) hee took his leave of this world, after no lesse preparation (no doubt) for his owne soules health, then careful premonition for the carriage of his sonne, and ordering of his Kingdome. Which pious Princes raigne and life, wee cannot here that vp with a nobler *Eloge*, then that wherewith our Great and Iudicious Antiquary hath already depertrayed him, as a Prince of close reuerence, whose heretike mind God proportioned (as a most worthy man) a body enseruable, so that as well in beauty and goodly presence, as in wisdom and valour, hee was faine to the height of his Regall Dignity, whose flourishing youth his Deliance did exercise with many warres and troubles of the State, so to frame and fixe him for the British Empire; which being King, hee was managed with the glory of his Welsh and Northern victories, that by due desert hee is to be reputed a close honour of Brittain.

* *Monk lousy dit
Ponaz*

* *Cambrian
Cambel.*

His Wives.

(16) *Eleanor*, the first wife of King *Edward*, was sister to *Arphalasius* King of *Cassile*, Daughter to King *Ferdinando* the third, and onlie Child of *Iuan* his second wife, Daughter and Heire of *Iohn* Earle of *Fanthelm*. Shee was married to him at *Barer* in *Spain* in the thirtieth yeere of King *Henry* his Father, 1254. shee was crowned with him the day of his Coronation, and lining his wife (involuntarily participation of all his troubles and long voyages) thirty six yeeres, died at *Herdeley* in *Lincolnshire*, November 29. after husbands raigne 19. An. Do. 1290. shee is buried in Westminster at the feet of King *Henry* the third, vnder a faire marble Tomb, adorned with her portraiture of Copper gilt; * other colly monuments of her husbands long being in euery place erected wherether Hearse reled, as it was conveyed from *Herdeley* to Westminster.

* The Castles of
Clun, *Walsley*,
Dunlough, &c.
See in *Antiqu.*

(17) *Margaret* his second wife being sister of *Philip* the fourth, surnamed the Fair, King of *France*, and eldest daughter of King *Philip* the Hardy, sonne of *S. Lewis*, was married vnto him at *Canterbury*, on Thursday, September 8. of her husbands raigne 27. An. D. 1299. after almost eight yeeres marriage, (succeeding him, shee remained a widow ten yeeres, and deceasing to. of *Edward* 2. An. D. 1317. was buried at the Gray-Friers in *London* before the Altar in the Quire which her selfe had built.

His Issue.

(18) *Iohn* the eldest sonne of King *Edward* and *Queen Eleanor* was borne at *Windsor* in the raigne of King *Henry* his Grandfather, before his Fathers voyage into *Syria*, and in his absence, was committed to the charge of *Richard* King of *Romans*, his great vncke, and others, who procured principall men of euery Hundred in each County within the Realme, to sweare their fealty to his father and him, but hee died shortly after, being a Child, & was buried at Westminster by the wall, betwixt *S. Edmunds* and *S. Bennets* Chappell, August 8. in the last yeere of King *Henry* his Grandfathers raigne; there is remaining ouer him a Tombe of Marble inlaid with his picture in an Arch ouer it.

(19) *Henry* the second sonne of King *Edward* and *Queen Eleanor*, deceased also being a Child, the newes of whose death was brought to his Father, being then in the Isle of *Sybil* in his returne from the Holy-Land, not long before the report of his owne Fathers death came to his knowledge; hee was buried

in Saint *Peters Church* at *Wefminster*, the twentieth day of *November*, in the first year of his Fathers raige, *Ann. Dom. 1272*. in the same place, and vnder the same Tombe where his brother *Iohn* lies with his picture also in the Arch above it.

(60) *Alphonse*, the third sonne of *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor* was borne at the Towne of *Caen* in *Gafagne*, as his father and mother were in their returne towards *England* from *Ierusalem*, *November 23*. in the second year of his fathers raige, 1273. hee deccased at *Windsor*, *August 4*. in the twelfth yeere of his age, 1285. and was buried at *Wefminster* in Saint *Peters Church* by Saint *Bennets* Chappell, where his body lieth vnder the Tombe of his Brothers, *Iohn* and *Henry*, his Image also there portraied with theirs.

(61) *Edward*, the fourth sonne of King *Edward*, and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne April 25. in the thirteenth yeere of his fathers raige, 1284. at *Cuernaruan* in *Northwales*, and after the death of *Lewelin ap Griffith*, in regard of the place of his Natiuitie, was by his fathers Creation, with the consents of the *Welsh* made *Prince of Wales*, the first of the sonnes and heires appariant of the Kings of *England*, that bare that Title, which afterward became ordinary to most of the rest: hee was also Earle of *Penbars* and *Cheshire*, and being made Knight by his father at *London* on *Whituesday*, in the thirty fourth yeere of his Raige, 1306. succeeded him the same year in the Kingdome of *Wales*.

(62) *Eleanor*, the eldest daughter of King *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor* was borne at *Windsor* in the fifth yeere of King *Henry* her Grandfather, shee was married with all Ceremonies of Proxie to a Deputy for *Alphonse* King of *Aragon*, sonne of King *Peter*, who deccased A.D. 1292. before the solemnization of marriage, leasing his Kingdome to his brother *James*, and his new wife to another husband, who was married at *Brifford* in the two and twentieth yeere of her fathers raige, 1293. to *Henry* the 3. Earle of *Barrie*, whose Earldome lay in the East-borders of *Champaigne* in *France*. Shee had Issue by him *Edward* Earle of *Barrie*, from whom descended the Earles and Dukes of that Country, whose inheritance by Heires general deuolued to the Kings of *Aragon*, and from them again to the Dukes of *Anjou* that were Kings of *Seail*. *Henry* another sonne of hers was Billoppee of *Troye* in *Champaigne*. *Helen* her Daughter was married to *Henry* Earle of *Deuys*, and *Iohn* to *Iohn Marres* Earle of *Surrey*, she was his wife five yeeres, and deccased 27. of her fathers raige, A.D. 1298.

(63) *Iean* the second daughter of King *Edward*, and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne in the first yeere of her fathers raige, 1272. at a City in the *Isle* land sometime named *Platanais*, commonly called *Acom* and *Akor*, where her mother remained during the warres that her father had with the *Saracens*: Shee was, at eightene yeeres of age, married to *Gilbert Clare* called the Red, Earle of *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, by whom shee had issue, Earle *Gilbert* heire in *Scotland* without issue, *Eleanor*, married first to *Hugh Spencer* (in her right, Earle of *Gloucester*, and after to *William Zouch* of *Beardes* castle. *Margaret* first married to *Peter Gamfian*, Earle of *Cornwall*, after to *Hugh Audelay* Ezz: also of *Gloucester*, and *Elizabeth* Lady of *Clare*, married first to *Iohn* son and heire to *Richard Burgh*, Earle of *Wylor* in *Ireland*, mother of *William Burgh* Earle of *Wylor*, and Grandmother of *Elizabeth*, Duchesse of *Lawence* secondly to *Theobald* Lord *Verdon*, and lastly to *Sir Roger Damery*. This *Iean* furnished her husband, and was remarried to *Sir Ralph Montemore* a Baron, father to *Margaret* the mother of *Thomas Montemore* Earle of *Salisbury*, of whom the now Viscount *Montemore* is descended; shee liued thirty eight yeeres, and deccased in the first yeere of her brother King *Edward* raige, and is buried at the Fryer *Austine* in *Clare*.

(64) *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Ed-*

ward and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at the Castle of *Windsor* in the third yeere of her fathers raige, and of our Lord, 1275. When shee was fiftene yeeres of age, shee was married at *Wefminster*, *July 9*. in the eighteenth yeere of her fathers raige, A.D. 1290. to *Iohn* the second, Duke of *Brabant*, by whom shee had issue Duke *Iohn* the third, father of *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis* of *Archie* Earle of *Flanders*, and mother of the Lady *Margaret*, the heire of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*.

(65) *Beverger* the fourth Daughter of King *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, was born the 4. of her fathers raige, *Ann. 1276*. as *Iohn* *Excester* the Monke of *S. Edmundsburie* in *Suffolke* hath recorded in his booke of *Englilh Annals*, but other mention there is none, but onely from him: whereby it is likely that shee did not liue to be married, but that shee died in her childhood.

(66) *Maria* the fifth Daughter of King *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, is by *Thomas Fitching* of the Monastery of *Whitby* (who wrote the large Genealogie of the Kings of *England* and their issue) reported to haue deccased without Issue.

(67) *Maria*, the sixt daughter of King *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at *Windsor*, *April 22*. in the eight yeere of her fathers raige, 1279. and at ten yeeres of age, A.D. 1289. September 8. shee was made a Nunne in the Monastery of *Ambresbury* in *Wiltshire*, at the influence of *Queen Eleanor* her Grandmother, who at that time liued there in the habite of the same profession, although her Parents were hardly endued to yeeld their consents to that course.

(68) *Elizabeth*, the seventh Daughter of King *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at the Castle of *Rutland* in *Lincolshire*, in the thirteenth yeere of her fathers raige, *Ann. 1284*. When shee was fourteen yeeres of age, shee was married at *London* to *Iohn* the first of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Freecaland*, who died within two yeeres after without Issue, and shee was remarried to *Hamfry Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Arche*, and high Constable of *England*, by whom shee had Issue *Iohn* and *Hamfry*, both Earles successively after their Father; *Edward*, that died in *Scotland* without issue; and *William*, who being created Earle of *Northampton*, while his Brothers liued, after their deccases, was also Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Arche* and high Constable of *England*, and father of Earle *Hamfry* the tenth of that name, and last of that house, who died without Issue male: hee had also by him two daughters, *Eleanor* married to *James Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and *Margaret* to *Hugh Courtney* the first, Earle of *Desmouline*. Shee was this Earles wife fourteene yeeres, liued thirty three, deccased in the ninth yeere of the raige of King *Edward* her brother, A.D. 1316. and was buried in the Church of *S. James*, at the Abbey of *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*.

(69) *Beatrice*, the eight daughter of King *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, bare the name of *Beatrice* Duchesse of *Britannie* her fathers sister: shee is by some Genealogists mentioned to haue liued till shee was marriageable, but yet no mention being made of her match, it seemeth shee died unmarried.

(70) *Blanche* the ninth daughter of King *Edward*, and the last of *Queene Eleanor*, is so mentioned by *Thomas Fitching*, and some others, but not at all by *Thomas Ekesham* a Monke, who made a Prodigree of the Kings of *England*, but shee is by the rest reported to haue died in her childhood.

(71) *Thomas*, the fifth sonne of King *Edward*, and the first of *Queene Margaret* his second wife, was borne at a little village in *Yorkshire* called *Tratherton*, *June 1*. in the nine and twentieth yeere of his fathers raige, *Ann. 1300*. hee was created Earle of *Norfolke*, and Earle *Marshal* of *England*, which Earldomes the last Earle *Roger Bigod*, leassing no Issue,

left to the disposition of the King his father. He had two wives, of which the first was *Alice* the daughter of *Sir Roger Hales* of *Harwich* in *Suffolk*, by whom hee had issue *Edward*, who married *Beatrice* the daughter of *Roger Mortimer* the first, Earle of *March*, but hee died before his father without issue, and two daughters, *Margaret* twice married, first to *John Lord Segreus*, by whom shee had *Elizabeth* Duchesse of *Norfolke*, wife of *John Lord Montbray* (from whom the *Montbrays* & *Howards* Dukes of *Norfolke* and Earles *Marshall* descended,) secondly, to *Sir Walter Manny* a Knight of *Cambray*, and by him had *Anne* wife of *John Hastings* the elder Earle of *Pembroke*, and mother of Earle *John* the younger, that died without issue; his youngest daughter *Alice* was married to *Sir Edward Montacute*, and had by him three daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Joan* married to *Walter* and *William* two of the *Effords*, and *Maud* that died unmarried. The second wife of this Earle *Thomas*, was *Mary* the daughter of *William Lord Rex*, and widow of *Sir Ralph Cobham*, who leaving him without issue by him, shee was married the third time to *William Lord Breoke* of *Breke*.

(72) *Edmund*, his first sonne by *Queene Margaret*, was borne at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, August 5 in the thirtieth yeare of the raigne of his Father, A. 1301. Hee was created Earle of *Kent*, and married

Margaret daughter of *John*, and sister and sole heire of *Thomas Lord Fitzwalter* of *Lyde* in the Countie of *Northampton*, by her he had issue two sonnes and one daughter: *Edmund* his eldest sonne was Earle of *Kent* after his father, and died vnder age without wife or issue: *John* the younger was Earle also after his brother, he married *Maud* the daughter of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and died likewise without issue. His daughter was *Joan*, for her beauty called the faire Maid of *Kent*, first married to *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and from him divorced, and remarried to *Sir Thomas Holland*, in her right, Earle of *Kent*, and by her, father of *Thomas*, and *John Holland* Duke of *Surrey*, and Earle of *Huntington*: and lastly, shee was the wife of *Edward of Woodstocke*, the Blacke Prince of *Wales*, and by him, mother of King *Richard* the second. This Earle *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester* the 19. of *March*, in the fourth yeere of King *Edward* his Nephew.

(73) *Eleanor* the tenth daughter & fifteenth child of King *Edward*, and the last child of *Queene Margaret* his second wife, was borne at *Winchester*, the first day of *May*, in the five and thirtieth, and last yeere of her fathers Raign, being the yeere of our Lord 1305. shee deceased in her Child-hood, and was buried in *S. Peter* Church at *Westminster*, by her brother *John*, *Henry* and *Alphonse*, vnder the monument before named with her picture ouer it.



EDWARD

Edward II.

EDVVARD THE SECOND. LORD OF
IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQLI.
TAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-EIGHTH MO-
NARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 48



CHAPTER XI.



That the *Mind* is not de-
rived from *Parents*, cer-
tainly the second *Ed-
ward* (called of *Carnar-*
non) might (if sooth-
like) abundantly shew
being of a most valiant,
wise and fortunate fa-
ther, an valike sonne;
yet not to beginne our
description of his courtes, with prejudice of his per-
son, we will so temper our stile, that by his owne
actions sincerely related, rather then by any ver-
ball censures the man may be iudged. This can-
not be denied, that whereas from the Conquest till
his time, *England* though it endured (by Gods iust
iudgements) many bitter, sad and heavy stormes
through some headstrong ambition, or other sick-
ness of mind in the Princes thereof, yet had the Men
to sway and gouerne her, and those distempers were

as the perturbations incident to vigorous disposi-
tions; whereas vnder this *Edward*, who could nei-
ther get our keepe, it learned to endure the leuities
of a Child, though his yecres, being about twenty
and three, might haue exempted him from so great
infancie of iudgement, as his taigne discovered.

(2) Neuer came Prince to the crowne with more
generall applaude then he: so great hopes of doing
well, his *Yolowus* father, *Edward* of *Wincelster*
had left vpon him, besides the right of succession,
whose last warning and terrible adirations you
haue heard: with the * vnter contempt and breach
whereof, to the destruction of himselfe, and his
friends, hee in a manner anticipated his gouerne-
ment.

(3) After that *Edward* had in his best maner pro-
vided for the * affaires of *Scotland*, where (as *Dan-*
freys) many of the *Scottish* * Lords did their homage
to him, as they had to his Father; the first task
which hee gaue of his future behauiours at home,

* *Thou do it*
*well.** *Thou do it*
*well.** *Thou do it*
well.

gave to pay for the necessities of his Court. The young Queene also tooke her selfe not to be a little wronged by this vngodly mans predomiance, & thereof sent her complaints to the king of France her father, which concerned injuries in the highest kind, as in her bed (the King being drawne by Gascon to adultery) and in her honour and maintenance. Whereupon the Peeres of the land, animated by the King of France, so confidently dealt with Edward, that his Earle now the third time did abjure the Realme: but (the King of France and his enemies making foraine parts vnfure for him to abide in) he returned in Christinas to the generall perturbation of the Kingdom, and to his owne certaine ruine, for that the Barons (his adherencies) had gotten him banished with this Proviso, * that if at any time afterward hee were taken in England, hee should be forthwith apprehended and suffer death. But an Angell from heauen could not seeme more welcome, then this most faithful friend (as that * Courcier calls him) was vnto King Edward, who * forthwith advanced him to be his principall Secretary.

(11) Vpon report of Gascons returne, the chiefe Lords, sitwell Ecclesiasticall as temporall (Walter Bishopp of Cantuery excepted, * who allowed the Kings affections towards Gascon) and procured him to breake the former agreements, which were made and sworn in the Parliament at London, consulted vpon a desperate course of reformation in this point, and made choise of Thomas Earle of Lancaster to be their leader. This Thomas was sonne of Edmund Earle of Lancaster, Leicester and Ferrers, second sonne of Henry the third King of England, and in right of his wife (after her fathers deceale, which hapned about this time) Earle of Lincoln, Salisbury, and (besides many other great Lands in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Wales) hee had the Earldom of * Artoys in Franced, so that without comparison hee was the greatest subiect of the Kingdom.

(12) The Issue of which combination before we pursue, we may not bere in our way ouerslippe a strange alteration both here in England, and in all Christendome, by the vaine fall extinguishment of the Order of the Templars, wrought about this time by the procurement of the French King, who being so gracious with Pope Clement, that formerly * hee sent Ambassadors in crasse of his holinesse with great importunity, that thence of his Predecessor Pope Boniface might be burnt as being an Heretike, so now also hee so farre prevailed with him, that in the Council at Vienna this so highly esteemed Order, was vpon cleare proofe of their generall odious finnes, and scarce credible impieties, vtterly abolished through Christendome. The French King * caused 54. of that Order, together with their Great Master to bee burnt at Paris; and though that King hoped to conuert all the Lands of that Societie to his sonnes vse, whom hee intended to make King of Ierusalem; yet the Pope and Councell annexed their possessions to the Order of the Knights Hospitallers, called commonly Knights of the Rhodes. Notwithstanding in England (where such Papall commands went not alwayes for lawes) the heires of the Dauncers, and such as had endowed the Templars here with landes, entred vpon those parts of their ancient Patrimonies after the dissolution of the Order, and (saith our * Courcier) detained them vtill not long after, they were by Parliament wholly transferred vnto the Knights of the Rhodes, * or of S. Iohn of Ierusalem.

(13) King Edward was now at York, and Earle Thomas, according to that which had bene concluded among the combined Lords, who resolved to trie all extremities, rather then any longer to endure Peirs Gascon, (as being perswaded while that King bene breathed, peace could neither be maintained in the Realme, nor the King abound in treasure, nor the Queene enioy his loue) sent humble * petitions by honorable messengers to their Soueraigne, requesting him to deliuer the man into their hands, or

to driue him from his company out of England. But the selfe-wild King * preferring the dearer life of one stranger before the loase of the whole Realme, would not condiscend.

(14) Afterward, Peirs (whom * the Estates perswaded with an Armie) being * enrutred for his life-guard to Amorie de Valence Earle of Pembroke, was left by him but one night at a Village or Manour called Dallingtoun betwene Oxford and Warwick, (being a place neither * farre enough off, nor strong enough) pretending to haue conuased him on the next day to the Castle of Wallingford, the said Amorie in the meane space departing to lodge with his Countesse, who lay hard by; but, the said Amorie conuising thereat (as our * Courcier chargeth him, who also writes, that hee tooke a solemne oath before the king to doe his best to safe-conduct Gascon, the king purposing in the meane time to labour his peace with the Lords * vpon any conditions) Gay Earle of Warwick with his people surprised him the same night, and took him to his Castle of Warwick, where in a place called Blacklow (afterward * Gascoffs) his head was stricken off at the commandement and in the presence of the Earles of Lancaster, Warwick, and Hereford, * as one of that had bene a subuerter of the lawes, and an open Traitor to the Kingdom. In which bold attempt, themselves (who yet pretended so much standing for the liberties of the land) did most vnadvisedly infringe a Capitall branch of the same Franchises, in putting to death an Earle, and so deare a friend of the Kings, * without any iudicial proceeding by trial of his Peeres, which caused a lasting hatred betwene the King and his Nobles.

(15) There wanted nothing now to King Edward but present meanes to reuenge the blood of his friend, or rather of his halfe-selfe, the lacke wherof did increase the sorrow hee tooke for his death, which being well knowne to the Lords, they resolved not to lay downe Armes, till they had provided for their security, and the performance of all such points, as concerned the temperament of the Regall power, that (vnder colour thereof) the Nobles themselves might finger some part of the Soueraigne government. The King was then at London and the Lords at Dunstable: but by the continuall interdealings of the Prelates, and of Gilbert Earle of Gloucester, who stood neutrall, the kindling displeasures were for the present allayed, vpon condition that the Lords should restore to the King all such things, once belonging to Peirs Gascon, as they had taken at Newcastle, which they accordingly did.

(16) King Edward neuertheless, as if his soule were ouercast with some blacke cloud, continued mourning, till it pleased God to enlighten the world with the birth of a young Prince, whose noble Acts did afterward redeme all the blemishes wherewith his Fathers infirmities had darkened the brightnesse of the English name, and at this present cleared the mind of the sorrowfull King his father: for vpon Saint Brices day, Isabel his Queene brought forth her first sonne at Windsor, which caused great reioycing through the Kingdom. Her French kindred and friends (which were there in good numbers of either sexe) & among them as chiefe, the Queens owne brother, Lewis the French Kings sonne, would haue had the Infant at his Baptisme named Lewis, but the English Lords would * not permit, who therefore was after his Fathers and Grandfathers name, called Edward. This was hee who afterward rayed the honour of English Chetierie to so high a point, by his famous victories in France and elsewhere.

(17) The euill will which the King bare in his mind against the Barons for their ouer-ruling his affections, and the death of Gascon, by sundry bad offices and sycophancies of the * French at Windsor was rubd so hard vpon, that it grew raw againe before it was halfe healed. Therefore in a Parliament at London the king sharply charged those pre-

* All & Mon.
pag 481. col 1.

* Payd 1772. B. 13
* Chas. 1. col. 1.
* Thos. de Mors.
The 1772.

* Thos. de Mors.

* Thos. de Mors.

* Rem. Col. 1. 2.
1. 44.

* All & Mon. p.
481.

* Thos. de Mors.
The 1772.

* Continuist
Fish. Triel.

Edward of Windsor
for better.

* Rem. Col. 1. 2.
1. 44.
1. 44.

* All & Mon.
481. col. 1.

* The 1772.

* All & Mon.
481. col. 1.
The 1772.

* All & Mon.
481. col. 1.
The 1772.

* Thos. de Mors.
* Continuist
Triel. 15.

* The 1772.

* John Dow.

* Rich. Strutt ad
an. 1707.
In hole deces
it was thought
the Pope might
be an heretike.

* Fox Martyn.
pag 470.

* Thos. de Mors.

* John Dow.
Triel. 15.

A.D. 1312.

* Thos. Wainwright.

* The Wolf.

Robert de Clifford, and besides other Lords, about fouen hundred Knights, Esquiers, and men of Armo-ries. Of the rest the slaughter could not bee but great, though much the lesse, in regard the Scots fought on foot. *Heclor* saith, that there were not slaine fewer then fifty thousand *English*, no Writer elie, that hitherto wee can meet with, exceeds the fifth part of that number; the riches gotten by spoiles and ranfomes of the *English*, were doubtlesse very great. Among the number of prisoners, the principall was *Humphrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, but recovered after ward by exchange for King *Robert*'s wife, who all this while was detained in *England*. This battell was fought at *Bannockburne* neere *Strathclyde* in *Scotland*.

* The Wolf.

* Polyd. Vir. B. 7. cap. 41.
An.D. 1314.* The Wolf.
* The Wolf.A.D. 1315.
The world state of
England under
the three players
of sword, death
and pestilence.
The de la Mare,
The Wolf.

* Geoffrey Chaucer.

A.D. 1316.

* The Wolf.

(26) From this overthrow King *Edward* cicing to *Berwick*, King *Robert* (who to his great glory, as having himselfe bene trained vp among the *English*, vied such as were taken prisoners with singular *humanity) sent thither to him the bodies of the Earle of *Glyles*, & Lord *Clifford*, that they might receiue honourable interment among their owne friends. But *Edward* (vnder whose vnfortunate lending the *English* name sustained in great dishonour and damage) withdrew to *Torke*, resolving therein onely *Franceiske* to assemble new force, and either to bee reuenged, or to die. But *all enterprises and attempts of that nature miscarried, for about twelue yeeres after, in somuch that great feare reigned among the Northern *English*, who lay open to the first bruits and violences of the Scots, out whom many faire dayes shone. And to augment the calamities of the North, many of the disloyall *English* * conspired with the enemy, and jointly spoyled the west parts of *Northumberland*, nothing being secure, but that which was defended.

(27) God, to bamble the *English*, who through long prosperities had forgotten both themselves & him, drew not backe his heavy hand so for seldom hath so terrible a famine bene heard of here, as succeeded to this overthrow: so that for moderation of prices, a *Parliament* was assembled at *London*: but (*saith Wallingham*) as if God had becne displeased at the said rate of (which not long after were repealed) things grew scarier day by day: and the death was generally such, that vpon *Saint Laurence* Eve, there was scarcely bread to be gotten for sustentation of the Kings owne family. This famine which lasted about two yeeres was accompanied with much mortality of people.

(28) But neither the dishonours taken in *Scotland*, nor innumerable afflictions and discontentments at home, made *Edward* suspend the celebration of his *Geoffrey* funerals; whose Body with great pompe he caused to bee transferred from the place of his former buriall, (which was among the *Friers Preachers* at *Oxford*) to *Kings-Langie* in *Herefordshire*, where hee in person with the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, foure Bishops, many Abbots, and principall Churchmen did honour the exequies, but few were present of the Nobility, whose great stomacks would not giue them leaue to attend. Some what also to sweeten these generally acerbities, *Leuelem* Brew and his two sonnes, were brought vp prisoners to *London*, having burnt many towns vpon the Marches, and committed some murders with their Welsh adherents.

(29) Meane-while the state of the Kingdome was miserable, there being no loue betwixt the King and the Peeres, nor any great *care in him or them of the common affaires; neuertheless they assembled at a *Parliament* in *London*, where no great matter was concluded: for the famine and pestilence encreased. The famine was growne so terrible, that horse, dogs, yemen and children were solde for food, and (which is horrible to thinke) the theues newly brought into the Gaols, were come in peeces, and eaten precisely halfe alive, by such as had been longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed, that no

corne should be consuered to Brewers uses, which Act the King (moued with compassion toward his Nation) insinuating, caused to bee executed through all the Kingdome; otherwile (*saith Wallingham*) the greater part of the people had died with penury of bread. The bloodie flux or dysenteric caused through raw and corrupt humors engendred by cold meat and diet, raged euery where, and together with other maladies brought such multitudes of the poorer sort to their end, that the lining could scarce suffice to bury the dead.

(30) The King was now in so great dislike and distrust with the Lords and Barons, that they would not appeare at *Clarendon*, where hee held a great Council. To augment this fall afection, a certaine Knight belonging to *John* Earle *Warren*, stole away from *Canford* in *Devonshire*, the wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* (chiefe of the Lords faction) not without the Kings consent (as it was said) and brought her to the said Earle *Warren* called at *Biggar*, with great pompe, and in despite of the Earle; whom one *Richard* de *Saint Clare*, a wreched, lame, and bunched backe Dwarf challenged for wife, pretending that he was formerly contracted, and had lien with her, which she (the greatest and noblest inheretrix of her time) did openly confesse, to her immortal infamie, incurring alas (*saith Wallingham*) the publike note of a most filthy trumpet. This deformed Elfe (having mighty second) durst herupon claime the Earldomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisbury* as in ber right, and in the meane time, the name and honor of *Thomas* the great Earle was baffold, as it were, by a light and wicked woman.

(31) The parts of *England* beyond *Humber*, were now more and more afflicted; for such as till then had opposed themselves against the Scots in defence of the Countrey, perceiving all things left at large, in stead of Protectors became Tyrants, *saith our Author, of defenders, destroyers; and of valiant Champions, treacherous Chapmen; so that as between the hammer and the anale, the Scots vpon the one side, and their false *English* on the other, all was lamentable and brought in a manner to nothing; and this face of things continued there about foure yeeres.

(32) Neither did the King seeme to haue any will or power to relieue the common calamities, but rather to concert his whole both wits and force vpon reuenges against the Lords, who vnder pretence of their exorced prouisions, maliciously withdrew their loues, seruice and duties from him, wherefore feeling himselfe thus weak and diffident, hee besought the spirittall assistance of Pope *John* the two and twentieth; who thereupon sent certaine Cardinals to sit all things in quiet without bloodshed. Betweene the King and Earle of *Lancaster* they established a peace, who, in a certaine plaine neere *Leicester* met, embraced and kissed each other; but when they could not worke the like with the Scots, they put that Countrey vnder Interdict.

(33) For they (as it is the manner of prosperity) after the victory at *Bannockburne*, which cleerly got them *Scotland*, did beginne to bethinke themselves of gaining new Empire in *Ireland*. Thither *Edward* Bruce Brother of King *Robert* had passed with an Army, procuring *himselfe to be crowned King thereof by fauour of some of the Irish Nobility, whom acquerthelike about three yeeres from his first entrance, the *English* vnder the conduct of the Archbishops of *Armagh*, and of *John* Lord *Birmingham* Iusticiar of *Ireland*, valiantly encountered, where, together with his late viurped Kingdome, hee lost his life. There were slaine in that battell many honourable Scots, besides the new King *Edward*, and about *six thousand others: his head was cut off *at *Dundalk* (*saith P. Wallingham*) but *Malcolme* Rector writes that he was slaine in the battell in Kille. Thus did God temper one with another, and the iust reioycement which the Scots had conceived of their

An.D. 1317.

* The Wolf.

* Thede la Mare.

An.D. 1318
Edward Bruce
king of Ireland
conquered by
the English and
Scots.* Related, from
the 14. cap. 11.
The Wolf.
* Thede la Mare.
* Polyd. Vir. B. 7. cap. 41.* The Wolf.
* Thede la Mare.
* Polyd. Vir. B. 7. cap. 41.

so happy victory over the English at *Bannockburne*, was lowered with this loss.

(34) But King *Robert* (as a most expert and vigilane Prince) did not suffer this joy to continue long to the English, far by practise with one * *Peter Spalding* to whom King *Edward* had entrusted the keeping of *Berwick*, he recovered it from the English, first * *Harding*, by treatie, with *Peace*, *Spalding*, and *treason*; after it had remained twenty years in their possession; which when King *Edward* thought to have wonne againe, the Scots directed him from the siege, with incursions and slaughters of his people in other parts of *England*, not failing much of surprizing the Queene in a village not farre from *York*, where he solourned during the siege at *Berwick*, the plot being laid, and drawne between the Scots and some perfidious English, whom King *Robert* had moved for that purpose. But *Spalding* after the treason done had the reward of a Traitor, for King *Robert* put him to death.

(35) To give some breathings after these manifold troubles, a truce was agreed vpon and confirmed between the two Kings of *England* and of *Scotland*, for the space of two yeeres, which brought forth confusion and not refreshment. For thus it hapned; The King vpon the commendation of the * *Lords* themselves, had made *Hugh de Spencer* Lord *Chamberlaine*, who being at the feast of equall insolence, vices, and ambition to *Gaufrin*, so wrought that hee succeeded in short time to all the graces of familiarity and power which euer *Gaufrin* enjoyed, as in like sort to all his hatred and enuie. *Hugh* his father an ancient Knight, the better to strengthen his sonnes courtes, was likewise imployed, and grew in speciall fauour with the King, who afterward also created him Earle of *Gloucester*, but the father in manners unlike to the sonne, was ruined rather by a naturall tenderness, then any malicious will. The sonne, as hee was of shape most lovely, so the verie spirit is selfe of pride and rapine, carried him to all sorts of inrolkable behauiours and oppressions, that *Gaufrin* might with good reason seeme to be wished for againe. Against these two, who wholly swayd the vnfortunate King, *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, and in a manner all the Barons of the Kingdome, (who meant the King should lose none but with their leave) did swell with such impatience, that (not contented with the waite of their lands) they neuer rested till by the terror of ciuill Armies those two fauourites (father and sonne) were banished; they thus reuenging vnder publike prettices both publike injuries and * their owne.

(36) In all contentions which hapned between the King and his Lords, Queene *Isabel* had euer therto bene a maker of Peace, doing therein worthy offices, but the rull statutes of the Earles of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* would not suffer her to continue any longer so: for the Queene being denied lodging one night at the Castle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, which belonged to the Lord of *Bathmore* (one of the Earles faction) the withdrew her good conceits, and was an author to the King of presently reuenging that dishonour, who vpon her complaint, came in person with many thousand Souldiers before the Castle, rooke the * *Captaine*, and put both him and all the men therein to shamefull death. Moreouer, longing to bee righted against the Lords for their late insolencies, marched on to *Cirencester* taking many *Calibres*, and believing others: The Lords (who little suspected any such ioudaie assault) providing in the meane time for their defence.

(37) T bither repaired to him (at his commandement) *Hugh Spencer* the sonne, who had houiored vpon the Sea, expecting from thence the successe of things vpon the land. The Lords, who had false from their Soveraignes good conceits, and waning now their wanted Mediatix the Queene, lay open to all the mischief which enemies could work them by the King, who (as taking his regall power and au-

thority to be in danger) resolved wisely and manfully, to die in the quarrell, or to bring the Lords to be at his commandement. Meane time the iudgement giuen against the *Spencers* was reuerfed as erroneous, and their reuocation decreed at *London* by the Arch-bishoppe of *Canterburie* and his Suffragans.

(38) The Lords not all of a like temper began to misdoubt, and many of them forsooke their Chief, (the Earle of *Lancaster*) and rendered themselves to the King, or were apprehended; among which were the two *Eggers* *Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London* and others to *Wallingford* Castle. The faction weakened by this defection made head in the North, vnder the Earle of *Lancaster*, who now was to fight for his life. Thither the King marched, and with the onely few of his Armie, made the Earle to flee from *Burton* vpon *Trent*, whose forces in their retreat or flight behaued themselves outrageously.

(39) But Gods heauie displeasure, and the Arme of the Kings power left them nocio: for at *Burrowbrigg*, *Hamfray de Bohun* was slaine by a *Wylliam*, who thrust him into the body with a Speare from vnder the Bridge, and the Earle of *Lancaster* himselfe with other principall men, Barons and knights, to the number of about * fourescore and ten were taken prisoners, by a man of small fortance, *Andrew de Heretley* Captaine of the City of *Carlisle*, and *Sir Simon Ward*, * Captaine of *Tork*, who with great forces out of those parts, stopp their further passage at *Burrowbrigg*, as the Kings forces tooke all sieged from them behind.

(40) The third day after their apprehension, the * King in person being set in iudgement at *Pontefract*, and with him *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, a younger Earle of *Pembroke*, *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, and among * others, the Lord *Hugh de Spencer* the Father, as also * *Hugh Spencer* his sonne; the Earle of *Lancaster* was brought before them, and had sentence pronounced against him * by the said *Andrew de Heretley* (created afterward Earle of *Carlisle*) and the Kings Iustices, the * Lord *Beaufort*, as against an Arch-Traitor; neuertheless, for reuerence of his blood (being the Kings neere Kinsman) drawing and hanging were remitted vnto him, but his head was stricken off the same day without the Towne of *Pontefract*.

(41) Not satisfied herewith, the King gaue full way to reuenge, putting to shameful death, by drawing, hanging, and (as some write) * quartering in sundry places, all the Barons (the Lord *Eger d'Amorie* onely excepted, who died of his naturall death) with sundry Barons and Knights taken at *Burrowbrigg* and elsewhere. The Lord *Bathmore* (at whole house this tragical fire beganne) was executed at *Canterburie*. And that to great and mighty a man as *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, should not seeme to die without a bloodie complement futable to his conditions there were hanged and quartered vpon the same day at *Pontefract* * line or sixe Barons, and the next day at *Tork* were hanged on yron chaines, the Lords *Clifford*, *Montbray*, *De-mill*; and others afterward in other places, to the number in all (though all of them not Barons) of * twenty and two, the chiefest Captaines of the Realme suffered death for their disloyalties. Therefore and twelve Knights more were disperfed into sundry prisons, who (said *De la Moore*) vpon fines paid had afterward their Liberties.

(42) As for the said *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, there are so many reasons why he cannot reasonably be iudged either a good subject or a good man, that we may worthily wonder why some at that time should repute him a Saint. Certainly, the wise and discreet old Writers are not so opinionated of him; but note his priuate life for * vicious, himselfe to be nothing * valorous, and of the publike * not well deservng, omitting his countemselous behauiours toward the King his Soveraign Lord in his discom-

* *Heller*, *Rest*, *Is*,
The *Wall*,
Put *Wing*, *Is*,
* *Cap* 124

* *Is*, *True*,
Harding 125,
The beginning
of ciuill war.

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*

The *Spencer* be-
lieued.

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*,
A.D. 1321.

* *Heller*, *Rest*, *Is*,
The *Wall*,
Put *Wing*, *Is*,
* *Cap* 124

* *Heller*, *Rest*, *Is*,
The *Wall*,
Put *Wing*, *Is*,
* *Cap* 124

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*.

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*.

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*.

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*.

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*.

* *Heller*, *Rest*, *Is*,
The *Wall*,
Put *Wing*, *Is*,
* *Cap* 124

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*.

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*.

* *Heller*, *Rest*, *Is*,
The *Wall*,
Put *Wing*, *Is*,
* *Cap* 124

* *Th*, *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*,
The *de* *la* *Morre*.

The valley of
Earle *Thomas* de-
scribed.

* *Heller*, *Rest*, *Is*,
The *Wall*,
Put *Wing*, *Is*,
* *Cap* 124

forts, which as *Walsingham* forgets not to relate, so thinks he that the like was worthily vied toward that Earle himselfe, who, when he was brought prisoner to *Pamfrist* (his owne Castle but then surrendered) the whole multitude derided, and called him in scorn King *Arthur*: by which name he was designed (as some write) in the *Southey* Cypher intercepted, proving a conspiracy with *Scots*: but the very shoppes, where his and the other *Barons* original Treasons were forged, was the Parliament house, wherein from time to time, they forced on the King presumptuous and treasonous Ordinations, where-by the Peeres challenged, not onely to reforme the Kings house and Councell, and to place and displace all great Officers at their pleasure, but even a ioint interest in the Regiment of the Kingdome together with the King, which *William Inge* (a Iudge of the Common-Law) with other like flucklers, traiterously perswading them to be according to Law.

(41) Of his ill desertings toward the common-Weale (who for the good thereof could not digest any indignity) let this be a kind of demonstration: for when King *Edward* having by Strait siege brought *Barnet* neere to termes of yeelding, chanced once to breake forth (after his vaine manner) into these words: *The Lord Hugh Spencer shall be captain of the Castle, when it is taken*: the Earle forthwith with others of his affection abandoned the service: by reason of which departure, it was thought that *Barnet* was not as then obtained,* and that the enemy thereby had great advantage in all their attempts. The names of such Barons (besides Barncerts, and some few others of speciall note) as perished by hatchet and halber for this businesse, as out of so great variety of Writers we could now gather them were,

Thomas Earle of Lancaster.
The Lord Warren Cole.
The Lord William Tachet.
The Lord Thomas Montacute.
The Lord Henry de Bradbourne.
The Lord Willm Fitz-Willm the younger.
The Lord William Chyngy.

The Lord Roger Clifford, son of that Robert Lord Clifford, who was slaine by the Scots with Gilbert Earle of Glouster, at the battell of Rossethorne in the service of this King.
The Lord John Montrey.
The Lord Isidore Deynule.

At York.

At Glouster.

At London.

At Windsor.

At Canterbury.

The L. Bartholomew de Radlestone.
The L. Bartholomew de Ashbourne.

Nener did *English* earth at one time drinke so much blood of her Nobles in so vile manner shed as at this, which, whatsoever could be pretended (as doubtlesse their offence was capitally yet all was taken to be done as in the quarrell of the *Spaners* onely, nor was it unreuenged as will appeare: in the mean space their enemies not contented with their blood, procured also the confiscation of their citizes and inheritances.

(44) King *Edward* thinking that this exploit had made him terrible awfull to the *Scots*, as it had done to the *English*, marcheth with a mighty host into *Scotland*, from whence not long after (for want of victuals) hee was compelled to returne without the honor of any achievement, and being upon his returne, was suddenly by *Scots* assailed in the night, very narrowly escaping in his owne person, and with a few saved himself by flight, leaving his treasure &

furniture for pillage, and so came sorrowfull to *York*. *John de Brittain* Earle of *Richmond*, was taken prisoner by the enemy, and the rest of the Country defaced with destructions as farre as to the walls of that City.

(45) Thus * passed this yeere, to the *English* full of losse, reproach, and lamentation, by reason of their intestine discord and the flames of their Nobles to the King infamous, and hateful also for his unfortunate journey into the Northern parts, &c. But these bloody and tempestuous winds blew some to profit; for * during the space of about five yeeres after, the fortune of the *Spaners* hugely encreased, and the *Queenes* decreased, who (for her relating toward the Lords, & expressing some dislikes of their rankly-growing weeds) was grown to beare a share in the persecution. And that these with such like violent men working upon the Kings inclination, were the onely Authors of that sharpe reuenge taken upon the Lords, for their particular and inglorious enrichment (for what else can we call the same, since that they bestride thereby their Soeraignes Crown and Life to speedie destruction) let it be by this in part appeare, and move the world the rather to pity the seduced.

(46) Among them who were condemned for rising with the Earle of *Lancaster*, there was one of a meane Familie, for whose life neuertheless, because hee had once served in Court, and was pleasing to some of the Grands, or Potent favourites therein, many interceded, and pressed the king so farre on his behalfe, that he brake out into their most vehement words: *A plague upon you for cursed whisperers, malicious backbiters, wicked counsellors, envenomers, you for the life of a most notorious knave, who would not speak one word for the life of my neere Kinsman, that most noble Knight Earle Thomas? Had hee lived, wee and our whole Realme should have had speciall need and use of him. This fellow the longer hee lives, the more villanies hee will commit, as having already filled my Kingdome with his desperate outrages. By the soule of God hee shall therefore die the death he hath deserved.*

(47) By this then it is evident, that these tragedies against the Lords were exploited by others in which it is plaine that this King (otherwise so devout to God, so good and so full of naturall good propensions) was fatally over-wrought by wicked counsell; though hee therein hee inexcusable, for good nature (as we call it) cannot suffice for publicke errors. But the condemned man was forthwith put to death accordingly; the King being most highlie offended, that none had entreated him on the Earles behalfe, whom (saith *Walsingham*) hee did in wardlie love. Neuertheless, hee had not long before created the elder *Spaner* Earle of *Winchester*, and deckt the plume of his fortunes with a toppe-feather taken out of the sad late Earle of *Lancaster*es crosse, that is to say, with the Castle and honour of * *Devonshire*, parcel of the Earldome of *Lincolne*. Having thus farre shewed the originall of the mischief, we will hasten now to the last Act or Catastrophe of our *Edwards* tragedie, onely wee will first remember some inter-curring matters.

(48) You have heard before, how that the Cardinals sent from the Pope, had (in favour of the *English*) put *Scotland* vnder Interdict; wherefore King *Robert* now at last dispatched the Bishop of *Glouster*, and *Thomas Randolph* Earle of *Murray* to *Rome*, for obtaining release and absolution, but they returned without effecting it. Whereupon King *Robert* moved to haue a truce for thirteene yeeres, which King *Edward* accordingly granted, and the Pope * then absolved the *Scots*. The matters of *Scotland* seemed thus to be sufficiently provided for during that time, and the rather for that somewhat before the morion for truce, the King had caused the newly created Earle of *Archie* *Andrew de Herkley* to be degraded, hanged, drawne and quartered for treason, which hee was constrained to haue entred into with the

* The Act de Mort.

* Fabian.

A.D. 1321.

King Edward most brutally repressed the Earle of Lancaster's death.

* Walsingham calls them wicked whisperers.

* The PP. Valse.

* PP. Valse.

Scots

*The Wolf.

*The Wolf.

*Cham. Desfl.
epud John Spier.

A. D. 1324.
An. Reg. 17.
The King
of France
was at the Tower
*The de la Tour.

*The Wolf.

*The de la Tour.

Sent, vpon * whom he had before done speciall services, as hauing for that cause the Caille and Cite of Carle committed to his government. The truce with Scotland being thus confirmed, the King makes his progresse through the * Counties of *York* and *Lancaster* and the *Marches of Wales*, from whence the late Iudicious had their nourishments, taking wife & cheerful courtes for mitigation of Iulther there, and prevention of like inconueniences, by punishing their Authors severely. And Iustices * void of all corruption, were appointed else-where.

(49) In the meane space, the new King of France Charles the fifth, a most carnell enemy to the English mens possessions there, sought occasions of quarrell with King Edward, who while hee consulted at home how to order that affaie, the young *La Roye Mortimer*, one whom the Duell faith out * Courtier referred to kindle new diffention with, and to stirre vp a most miserable ciuill warre, hauing corrupted his Keepers, or (as some others write) hauing poisoned them with a slepy drinke, escaped out of the Tower of London, getting ouer cleirely without any empachment into France.

(50) The *Spensers* both father and sonne, the one thus created Earle of *Winchester*, and the other Earle of *Gloster*, aspiring to the fullnesse of command, and desirous to leaue nothing in their eye, which abridged her meanes of maintenance, (while themselves abounded in all riches and magnificence) as thee complained * That the daughter and sole heire of the king of France was married to a gripple miser, and that being promised to be a Queene, shee was become no better then a waiting woman, liuing vpon a pension from the *Spensers*.

(51) Thus was the matter, and as it were, the Embriue, of their common destruction laid, and begun in the impotencie of a womans will, to helpe out the which with shrewd drifts and directions, they encrease her side with *Adam* Bishoppe of *Houeford*, by stripping him out of all his Temporalities as a Traiour, for that hee had supported the *Mortimers* in the Barons quarrell. This *Adam* (saith our Knight) was a man of most subtile witte, and in all worldly policies profound, daring to doe great things and fadious withall, who for this cause conceiuing deepe hate, and therefore easily growing deate to the Queene, made a great secret party. To which *Thomas* Burgh Bishoppe of *Lincoln*, who (for like causes) had beene kept from his temporalities (about two yeeres) ioyned himselfe. Neither would the *Spenser* auarice suffer them to weaken the multitudes of their enemies, for they told the Kings gracious fauour to such as had beene in the Barons quarrell, at so great rates that they by granting away lands and Manours to the said Lords *Spensers* for their pardons &c. verie many of the Nobles were empowenished. To be short, the royall power being in the hands of the *Spensers* and *Roger* *Baldock* Chancelour, or of their Creatures and Fauourites, this other faction had the generall discontentments of the Realme to worke vpon their advantage.

(52) The King thus guiding himselfe, and hauing sent his Brother *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* (vpon notice of the first troubles) with Forces into *Gascogne*, who gaue some little stay for a time to the French proceedings, till they might otherwise be provided for, it came to this point at last: that whereas the King had a purpose to haue gone in person into France, the *Spenser* who were afraid to bee seuered from his person, the onely reuerence whereof they knew to be their life-gard, and yet not daring to attend him thither, or stay behind, * persuaded the King contrary to the minds of all the rest, that the Queene (who sought it) should goe

and negotiate her husbands affaie in France. Shee did so; and whereas before her departure, things were in great extremity betweene the two Nations, inso much that all the French were banished out of England, not they who were attendant on the Queen herselfe in neere place being spared, all matters by her negotiation and suite were quietted, vpon condition that King Edward should giue to his sonne Edward of Windsor (afterward King) the Duchy of *Aquitaine*, and Earldome of *Peintre*, for which the king of France was pleased to accept his said young *Nephew* homage.

(53) This was done, and the Prince sent ouer for that purpose to his mother, to the vtter vndoeing of the King his Father, and of all his fauourites. For the heire of England being in foraine parts, among the contrary faction, all the consufation was (vnder colour of ruining the *Spensers*) to accomplish further matters. The Prince, hauing (as *Boys de France*) done his homage for that Duchy and Countie to his vnckle Charles de *Nauais* King of France, (as also the Queene his mother) sent for backe by the King about *Michaelmas*, but the Queenes conspiracie being not yet ripe, shee deferred to obey, detaining her sonne still.

(54) There went ouer with the young Prince, among many others, *Walter* *Stapleton*, Bishoppe of *Exeter*, who perceiuing into what familiarity the Lord *Roger Mortimer* was growne with the Queene, which * seemed greater then either good with her honour or dutie, and seeing both him and other of the Kings enemies and fugitiues enioy that prauise in counsell, which was assigned to himselfe, who was now (as being none of theirs) * excluded, returned secretly (though valent for) into England, faithfully (as it became a good man) declaring his knowledge.

(55) The King now clearely beholding his error in his dangers * solicited the King of France to send home his wife and sonne, but that not succeeding, hee caused them * openly in London to be proclaimed enemies of the Kingdome, banishing them with all their adherents out of the same. For his more assurance altho hee caused the Ports to be most narrowly watcht. Finally, to draw all his dangers to a short dispatch, there was (as was supposed) a pilot laid for * making away the Queene and Prince, but Gods will was to frustrate it.

(56) The Queen, on the other side, fearing that the *Spenser* gold had laid traines to blow her whole proceedings vp in France, kept herselfe out of the way, till with the Prince, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and other their adherents, they were safely gotten into *Hennault*: There might be some other reason also and necessary to moue Queene *Isabel* to depart out of France, beside the doubt of that kind of corruption in the Peeres thereof: as to turne off a warre from thence being her native Countrey, which for her cause was afflicted in the Sea-breeches thereof; for Sir *John* *Sturmius*, Sir *Nicholas* *de* *Reved*, and Sir *John* *de* *Felton*, with the Naue of the Ports and of other places, had by commission from the King bestowed the narrow Seas, that they within a short time brought into England as lawfull prize, * an hundred and twenty *Normans* shippes of vessels. Moreover, whereas those two Bishopps which the Pope had sent, were returned forrowfull out of England, not onely without doing any good on her behalfe, but also without hope of doing any, they might easily be persuaded that the sword must doe it, or nothing.

(57) But in *Hennault* shee found most honourable and louing welcome of the Earle, where, therefore (without the consent or aduise of the Peeres of England) shee ensured (saith our * Author) that delight and terror of the whole world, her sonne, being then about foureteene yeeres old, to *Philippa* the said Ewies daughter, and with the money of her portion winged fouldiers out of *Hennault* and *Germany* to transport

*The Wolf.

*The Wolf.

*The de la Tour.

*The Wolf.

*The Wolf.

*The Wolf.

The English
source the same
source.

*The Wolf.

An. D. 1326.
A. reg. 19.

*The de la Tour.

An. D. 1325.

*The Wolf.

sport into England. These her friends expected her arrivall dayly, of which the Bishoppes of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* were not meanest: Her men and Naue being now ready, shee with her sonne the Prince, the Lord *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* his vnkle, * *Almerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Iohn* of *Hennels*, the Earle of *Hennels* brother (a valiant Gentleman) the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and many other English-men of name and note, with aboute two thousand and seven hundred *Hennages* and *German*, vnder the leading of the said Lord *Iohn*, arrived at *Oswell* in *Stafforde* vpon the Friday before *Saint Michaels* day.

(58) Her arrivall being reported to the King (who was, poore Prince, not onely destitute of friends and meanes, but as it seemes, of courage, and counsell also) it did not at first seeme credible. The truth appearing, he demanded assistance of the City of *London*, whose answere was, *That they would honour with all dutie, the King, the Queene, and Prince, but would shut their gates against forreiners, and traitors to the Realme, and with all their powers withstand them.* In this answere the King and his few friends reposing no assurance, he committed an errour worse then that former of sending his sonne out of *England*, by retiring himselfe into the *Welsh*, with his inseparable fauourites the *Spaners*, *Baldock* and others there, to raise force against the Queene: but before hee went, hee left his other sonne, the Lord *Iohn* (called of *Eltham*) in the Tower of *London* with the Countesse of *Gloucester*, the Kings Niece, wife to the younger *Spaner* Earle of *Gloucester* committing the Tower it selfe to *Sir Iohn de Welfon*, who was well provided of men and victuals. Hee commanded all men also to destroy and kill the Queenes partakers, none excepted but her selfe, her sonne, and *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, the Kings brother by the Father, and that none, vpon paine of death, and losse of all that they might leefe, should aid or assist them: and that hee should haue a thousand pound, who did bring the Lord *Mortimer* head. Thus took hee his last leaue of *London*, and in a manner also of his Rule or Domination.

(59) On the contrary part, there repaired to the Queene the Earle *Marshall* and *Henry* Earle of *Lincolne*, the Bishoppes of *Lincolne*, *Hereford*, *Ely*, and of *Batons*, Knights, and armed Souldiers no small multitude, whom aswell to retain, as to draw more, letters and rumors flew about, declaring (though falsly) that the King of *France* had in the aide of his sister sent fo many *Dukes*, *Eazles*, and others, that *England* could scarce suffice to feed them. This, for such whom the opinion of warlike strength would winne: but those whom shew of Religion might moue, it was as cunningly, and as falsly spread, that the Pope had excommunicated all such as did take armes against the Queene, and (the more to countenance the fiction) that two Cardinals employed about the Premises, were seen in the Queens Campe. Then was it proclaimed that the causes of her coming were to deliuer the Realme from the misleaders of the King, which were named to be the *Spaners*, *Roger Baldock* Bishoppe of *Norwich*, Lord Chancellor and their Followers; all others to be safe, and that nothing should bee taken from any other subiect without true payment; but finally, that he who brought the younger *Spaners* head should haue two thousand pounds. The things first thus ordered, the Queen with her sonne and whole power pursues the King (as it had bene agreede by the Councell of warre) taking first her way to *Oxford*: where the "whole Vniuersity being called together, In the presence of the Queene, the Prince, *Roger Mortimer* and the rest of that troope, the Bishop of *Hereford* (the Queenes bosome Counsellor) preaching to them on this Text, *My head, my head ake*, deliuered to them the reasons of the Queens coming with her Army, concluding (more like a Butcher then a Diuine) I haue aking & lirk head of a kingdom, was

of necessary to be taken off, and not to be tampered with by any other physlike.

(60) The *Londoners* in fauour of the Queene, and hatred of the *Spaners* committed sundry outrages, besides bloody sacrifice in cutting off the Bishop of *Excesters* head, and some others (whom the King had made Guardian of *London*) in their popular fury, among the which one of them was a Citizen of their owne *Iohn de Marshal*, who had bene of the younger *Spaners* acquaintance. The Tower of *London* they get into their possession, placing and displacing the Garrison and Officers therein at their pleasure, vnder the name of the Lord *Iohn* of *Eltham*, the Kings second sonne, whom they proclaimed *Captayn* of the City, and of the Land. They also set at liberty all prisoners, which by the popular Queens commandement was done through the whole Realme: and all banished men and fugitiues were rrouked; who all * flocking vnto *London*, brought no small increase to her forces.

(61) Whither in the meane space doth wofull *Edward* flie? what force, what course, what way takes hee poore Prince? O fearful condition of lo great a Monarches State, when a Wife, a Sonne, a Kingdome are not trusted, and those onely are trusted who had nothing strong, but a will to liue and die with him. The Queene passing from *Oxford* to *Gloucester* (onward to the siege of *Bristol* Castle) grew all the while in her strengths: like a rowled snow-ball, or as a River which spreads still broader from the fountaine to the Ocean, * vnto acquirit cunode. For thither repaired to her (for the lone of the young Prince) the Lord *Perey*, the Lord *Wake*, and others aswell out of the North, as Marches of *Wales*. But *Edward* (hauing left the Earle of *Winchester*, the elder Lord *Spaner*, in the Castell of *Bristol* for the keeping thereof) meditates flight with a few into the Isle of *Lande* in *Seuerne* Sea, or into *Ireland*, & while hee wandreth about not finding where to rest safe, his roiall credite, name, and power, (like a Cliff which falling from the toppe of some huge rocke, breakes into the more pieces, the farther it tolles) are daylie more and more diminiſhe as they ſcatter, till now at last they are come vnto a very nothing. After a weeke therefore spent vnto the Sea, *Sir Thomas Blant* forsaking him, and committing to the Queene, he came on shore in *Glamorganſhire*, where with his few friends hee entrusted himselfe to God, and the faith of the *PP*ſſ (who indeed ill loued him) lying hidden among them in the Abbey of *Neath*.

(62) Now had the Queene and her sonne (for his name was abſent all ſorts of turne-ſeruings) taken the elder Lord *Spaner* at the Castell of *Bristol*, who (without any forme of trial) was cruelly cut vp aliue and quartered (ſaith de la More our Knight) being * first at the clamours of the people, drawne and hanged in his proper Armeries vpon the common Gallows without the City: but his grandchild *Hugh* stood fo valiantly in defence of himself within the Castell of *Kerſſ*, that hee had his life and the liues of all his assistants ſaued.

(63) The King not appearing, Proclamations were every day made in the Queens Armie, declaring, * That it was the common consent of the realm that hee should returne, and * receiue the gouernement thereof, so as he would conformance himselfe to his people. This (whether Stratagem or Truth) not prevailing, *Henry* Earle of *Leicester* the late Earles Brother, *Sir William de Zouch*, and *Robert de Harwell* a *Welſhman*, who all of them had Lands in those parts where the King concealed himselfe, were sent with coine and forces to discover and take him. The Queene and her people lay in the City of *Hereford*, the Episcopall See of that great Arch-plottor of her coaries *Adam de Orleton*, where by aduise and consent of the Lords, her sonne the Duke of *Aquitaine* was made *High-Keeper* of *England*, and they as to the *Caſſar* of the time, did ſwear him ſtately. And he uelſo the Bishoppe of *Norwich* was made Chancellor

The Londoners for the Queene.

* Ex Nid and Arut, diction, MS

* Perg. arm. 3

* Tyd. Henr. The de la More.

The elder Spaner put to death.

* The VDell, William que Henri diction MS.

Proclamations recalling the Imp. * The. Henr. * MS. G. Henr. 3. 465. 264.

* Tyd. Ar de More calls him, Omeum multi archidictum, but the Adm was douches Re Mortimer. The French Caſſar or high keeper of England.

Marshall. 126.

The Kings proceedings about the Queene arrivall.

Them de la More.

Tyd. Henr.

* The de la More.

* Henr. 4. p. 59

of the Realme, and the Bishophe of Winchester Treasurer.

(65) What will not money, diligence and faire words doe; with corrupt dispositions, even to enervating, of all bands of either religious or civill duties? By lach means therefore the desolate, sad, and unfortunate King, * came into the colde of Lancaster hands, and with him the younger Lord Spencer Earle of Gloucester, Robert Baldock Lord Chancelour and Simon de Reding, there being no regard had to the detention of any other. The King was conveyed by the Earle from the place of his surname to *Mannouth*, to *Ledwiche*, and so to the Castell of *Kentworth* belonging to the Earle of Leicester, who was appointed to attend him, that is, to keepe him safe. The other three, Spencer, Baldock and Reding were strongly guarded to Hereford, there to be disposed of at the pleasure of their most capital enemies.

(66) Before whose coming to furnish Roger Mortimer, the Lord Edmund barke of Arundel, and two Gentlemen Daniel and Michelme were beheaded at Hereford: The Lord Mortimer was so high in the Queens favour, that he could doe no less (as we may suppose) then gratifie him with a few hated heedes. But (*Mortimer*) there will bee a time, when the cry of this, and other blood sacrificed to thy private revenge (while thou abusest the publike trust) will never give over the pursuit, till it hath defraiedly drawne thine in lien thereof.

(67) The Lord Spencer and the rest, * on whom *William Trassill* the lodge gave sentence of death, being now drawne to Hereford, the said Lord being clad in his coat-armour, was most despitely dragged to the place of execution, where being first hung upon a gallows fifty foot high, hee was afterward headed, and cut into quarters: they who brought him to the Quene, having the promised summe of two thousand pounds distributed among them for reward. His head was set up at London, and his quarters in foure parts of the Kingdom. Simon de Reding was hanged ten foot lower then hee in the same place.

(68) This Execution (saith *Maltingham*) was done upon a Munday in revenge of the death of *Thomas Earle of Lancaster*, whose blood was likewise shed upon a Munday. Robert Baldock late Lord Chancelor was committed to the keeping of the Bishop of Hereford, who after a time caused him to bee brought up to Hereford-hall in London, where the ravenous people (not without the Bishopps of Herefords secret approvement as was said) tooke him violently away, and (though he were a Priest) thrust him into *Newgate*, where they vied him so vandoily, that albeit they had no accusation, but onely for being faithfull to his Sovereigne, wherewith to charge him, he was not long after died in prison to whom (saith *De la Moire*) might be applied that of *Quintilian*, *Turquebanus vocat quinquaginta occidit*.

(69) The mournfull King being at *Kentworth* Castle, there repaired thither the Bishops of * Winchester, Hereford, and Lincoln, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, * two Iudges, three Knights for every County, and for London, and other principall places (chiefly for the fine Ports) a certaine chosen number, selected by the Parliament, which then the Quene and her Sonne held at London. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln (as it was agreeed upon) came thither before any of the rest, willing to give the King to understand what kind of Embassage was approaching, as to prepare him by the best Arguments they could to forsake the desire, and expectation of their new moulded common-weale, which could onely be by resignation of the Crowne, that his Sonne (whom the body of the then conspired Seare had elected) might reign in his stead.

(70) When they were admitted to his presence, (the Earle of Leicester being by) they together wrought him, partly with shewing a necessity, partly

with other reasons drawne out of common places, thoroughly studied for that purpose, that (though not without many sobs and teares) hee finally did not dissent, if his answer were truly reported (which * som doubt of) unto the Parliament. For they tolde him that the Common-weale had conceived to be reconciliable dislikes of his government, the particulars whereof had beene opened in the general assembly at London, that it was resolved neere to endure him as King any longer. That notwithstanding, those dislikes had not extended themselves so farre, as for his sake to exclude his issue, but that with vniuersall applause, and joy, the Common-weale had in Parliament elected his eldest Sonne the Lord Edward for King. That it would be a very acceptable thing to God, willingly to give over an earthly Kingdom for the common-good and quiet of his Countrey, which they said could not otherwise bee secured. That yet his honour should be no less after the resignation, then it was before, onely him the common-weale would neuer suffer to reigne any longer. They finally durst tell him, that vniuersally hee did of him selfe renounce his Crowne and Scepter, the people would neither endure him, nor any of his Children, neither should they, but disclaiming all homage and fealty, would elect some other for King, who should not bee of the blood.

(71) The whole Company sent by the body of State (if it may be called a Body which then had no Head) thence from London, where it attended their returne, being placed by the Bishopps of Hereford, according to their degrees, in the Presence Chamber at *Kentworth* Castle, the King gowned in blacke came forth at last out of an inward roome, and presented himselfe to his vassals, where (as being Pruiue to their errand) sorrow strooke such a chaine into him, that hee fell to the earth, lying stretched forth in a deadly swoone; The Earle of Leicester, and the Bishopps of Winchester beholding this, rane vnto him, and with much labour recovered the half-dead King, setting him vpon his feet. As soft as heeny as this sight was, were not yet of any adoe or effects of compassion expressed towards him at this present, so settled (as it seemed) was the hatred and asperion. The King being now (we cannot say) come to himselfe, but to the sense of his misery, the Bishopps of Hereford declares the cause of their present Embassage, and running over the former points, concludes as before, saying, (as in the person of the common-weale) That the King must resigne his Dukedome to his eldest Sonne, or after the refusal suffer them to elect such a person as themselves should iudge to be most fit and able to defend the Kingdom.

(72) The dolorous King having heard this speech, brake forth into sighes and teares, and being (saith his most fauourable reporter) more ready to sacrifice his body for Christs cause, then once to behold the dissolution of his honours, or (through his occasion) the perpetual disturbance of the Kingdom, (as knowing, saith he, that a good shepherd should give his life for his flocke,) made at the last his answer to this effect, * That hee knew that for his many sinnes hee was false into this calamity, and therefore had the lesse cause to take it grievously. That much hee sorrowed for * this that the people of the Kingdom were so exasperated against him, as that they could vterly abhorre his any longer rule and souerainety: and therefore hee besought all that were there present to * forgive and spare him being so afflicted. That nevertheless he was so greatly to his good pleasure and liking, (seeing it) could none other be on his behalfe, that his eldest Sonne was so gracious in their sight and therefore hee gave them * thanks for choosing him to be their King.

(73) This being said, there was forthwith a proceeding to the short ceremonies of his resignation, which principally consisted in the surrender of his

* Cal. Dec. 13.

The younger Spencer put to death.
* Cal. Mich.
Thom. 13.

De. Pen.
Art. & Obit. p.
465. edit.

* Th. de la Moire

* Whatsoever is held by innocent, must counte the Tyrannous.

An. D. 1327.
An. Reg. 20.
& vlt.

King Edward would not resigne his Crowne.
* E. Th. de la Moire
* Th. Wyl.
* Poliph. lib. 2. c. 43.

Richardus non per-
suaadeo his resig-
nationem.

* Hist. troit MS.
* Th. de la Moire

* Poliph. lib. 2. c. 43

* Th. de la Moire

* E. Th. de la Moire
his last
words.

* Poliph. lib. 2. c. 43

* Th. Wyl.
Thom. de la
Moire.

* Th. Wyl.
Poliph. lib. 2. c. 43
Th. de la Moire
Th. Wyl.
Poliph. lib. 2. c. 43

*This is More.

*Disarm and Ensignes of Majesty, to the vic of his son the new King. Thereupon * Sir William Trussel (as being a Judge who could fit them with quills of law to colour so lawlesse and treasonable a fact) on the behalfe of the whole Realme renounced all homage, and allegiance to the Lord Edward of Carrmaris late King.*

*This is More.

(74) The forme of that renunciation, as being obsolete, you shall have in the like * obsolete words of *Trewe*, which was this: *I William Trussel, in name of all men of the land of England, and of all the Parliament Proceutors, refigne to thee Edward, the homage that was made to thee sometime; and from thee time forward, now following, I desie thee, and proue thee of all royal power, so I shall never be bound to thee as for King after this time.* Which being done, *Sir Thomas Blunt Knight, Secward of the household*, by breaking his staffe, resigned his office, and declared that the late Kings family was discharged.

*This is More.

(75) *Edward* being thus dekinged, the Embassie rode joyfully backe to London to the Parliament, with the resigned * Ensignes, and dispatch of their employment. Here (for that this seems the last houre of his raigne and kingly state) wee will make a stop, referring on for the rest to the next Kings life, vnder whose name and abused authority they were acted.

*This is More.

(76) Notwithstanding, wee may not forget in all these doings to call to mind, who it was that sat at the helme of State, overlooking, and overruling Queene, Prince and all; to wit, the most ambitious and vindictive man living, *Roger Lord Mortimer of Wigmore*: for, as for the * Queene, when shee was (God knows how farre guilty,) aduertised of her husbands dethronization, shee outwardly expressed so great extremity of passion (notwithstanding that at the same time shee was tolde of her sonnes surrogation) as if shee had bene distraught in her wittes: which the Prince her sonne (then about fifteen yeeres of age) beholding, hee made an oath, neuer to accept of the Crowne against his fathers good will; and thereupon it was (saith *Walsingham* a Writer wortheie of belief) that the said Embassie was sent to *Kewenarth Castle*, (where the now no more a King remained) to worke his assent, *whose answer therunto* (saith * another) *was by those Messengers related at full, and fuller then in truth it was sent by the King*; but the Peeres then in Parliament made their vic thereof, in procuring such a Prince to take the rule of the, whom they hoped, by reason of his tender yeeres, themselves should be able to rule and overmaster.

*This is More.

His Wife.

(77) *Isabel*, daughter to *Philip the Faire*, King of *France* (sister to *Lodowicke Hutin*, *Philip the Long*, and *Charles the Faire*, all Kings of *France*) was married to *Edward* the second, at twelue yeeres of age, in our Lady Church of *Boulogne*, the 21. of January, 1308.

Shee was his wife twenty yeeres, and his widow thirty, and lived threescore and three yeeres. Shee died at *Wallingford* in *London*, the two & twentieth of August 1357, and was buried in the middle of the *Gray-Friers* in *London*, the 27. of September following.

His Issue.

(78) *Edward* (surnamed of *FFindfor*) the eldest son of *K. Edward* and Queene *Isabel* his wife, was borne at the Castle of *FFindfor*, the thirteenth of October, the yeere of Christ, 1312, and the first of his fathers raigne: hee was created Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Aquitaine*, in a Parliament holden at *Turke*, Anno 1322. and in the troubles of the Realme and absence of his Father, in an assembly of Lords met at *Hereford*, and in presence of the Queene, was made *L. FFindfor* of *England* by a common decree: vnto whom all the Lords made their fealty, in receiving an Oath of Allegiance to be faithfull and loyall vnto him as to the Lord Warden of the Realm: and shortly after, the Father deposed, hee was crowned King of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the third.

(79) *Isabel* (surnamed of *Eltham*) the second sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Isabel* his wife, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the 15. of August, and yeere of Christ, 1315, and at twelue yeeres of age was created Earle of *Cornwall* in a Parliament, Anno 1327. and third yeere of the raign of King *Edward* his brother: hee died in *Scotland* unmarried, in the flower of his youth, the tenth of his brothers raigne, and yeere of Christ, 1334.

(80) *Joan* the eldest daughter, and third child of King *Edward* and Queene *Isabel*, was borne in the Tower of *London*: shee was married being a child at *Barnes* the eighteenth day of July, in the fourth yeere of the Raign of King *Edward* her brother, 1329, to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, sonne and heire apparent of King *Robert Bruce*, whom hee succeeded with in one yeere after in the kingdome, being but seven yeeres of age, and was the second King of *Scotland* of the name of *David*; shee was his wife twenty and eight yeeres, and being come into *England* to visite her brother, shee decaied here without Issue, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his Raigne, 1357, and was buried at the *Gray-Friers* in *London*.

(81) *Eleanor*, the second and youngest daughter, & fourth child of King *Edward* and Queene *Isabel*, was the second wife of *Reginald* the second, Earle of *Gloucester*, married vnto him with a portion of fifteen thousand pounds 1332. being the sixt yeere of the raign of King *Edward* her brother, who being the Vicar generall of the Empire, the Emperour *Lewis* of *Warre*, created him first Duke of *Golden*: shee had Issue by him *Arnold* and *Edward* both Dukes successiue after their Father without Issue: the later of them leaving his Duchie and his wife to his Nephew *William* Duke of *Gold* his halfe sisters sonne.





Edward III.

EDVVARD THE THIRD, KING OF
ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD
OF IRELAND, & THE FORTIE-NINTH MO-
NARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSUE.

Monarch 49



CHAPTER XII.

The happy
change under
King Edward.



He sickneſſe and wounds
which the commonwealth
ſuſtained by the raigne of
the late depoeſed king, vpon
the change of her
Leach and Phyſitian, re-
couered not onely health
and ſtrength, but beautie
alſo and ornament; and
the elements themſelues,

which in the former times ſeemed to ſuffer and ſympathize with the publike grieuances of the Engliſh, grew gracious and propitious to the vie of man, the Aire becomming more healthfull, the earth more fruitfull, as if Nature herſelf were prouide to the worth of the ſucceeding Prince. But this his worth did not diſplay it ſelfe, vntill hee had plucked the ſway of things out of the hands of the Queene his mother, and of that aſpiring danger and tempeſt of England, Roger Mortimer who wholly poſſeſſed her.

(2) This Edward of windſor, being not fifteene yeres of age, when (without any guilty thought in him) his throne was thus eſtabliſhed vpon his Fathers ruine, tooke the beginning of his raig by publike ſanction at the twentieth day of Ianuarie, and by direſtion of ſuch as ſought to colour their traſons againſt their depoeſed Soueraigne, proclaimed his peace in theſe words. Edward by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to N.N. our Sheriffe of S. Greeting. Becauſe the Lord Edward our Father, late King of England, by the common Councell and Aſſent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other the chiefe men, and the whole Communitie of the Kingdom, did voluntarily remove himſelfe from the government thereof, willing and granting that we as his eldeſt ſonne and heire, ſhould take vpon vs the rule and regimēt of the ſame, and we with the counſel & aduiſe of the Prelates, Earls & Barons before ſaid, yielding therein to our fathers good plea-

the King.

Henry 6. c. 1.
Thom. 1. 1. 1.

ſure

"sure, and will, have taken vpon vs the gouernance of the said Kingdome, and as the manner is, haue receiued the Fealties and Homages of the said Prelates and Peeres. Wee therefore desire that our peace for the quiet and calme estate of our people should bee inuolubly obserued, do will and commaund you, that presently vpon sight of these presents, you cause our Peace to bee openly proclaimed through your whole Bailly-wicks, forbidding all and every one on our behalf, vnder paine and perill of disheritour, and losse of life and limmes, not to presume to violate or infringe our said peace, but that every one pursue or follow his actions, and complaints without any manner of outrage, according to the lawes & customes of our Kingdome: for wee are ready & alwayes wilbe, so admitter full right to all & singular copinants, as well poor as rich in our Courts of Iustice. Witness our selfe, &c. in the Calends of February vpon fiftenth daye Candlemas Eue.

(1) Vpon the Candlemas daye it selfe, the young King receiuing the Order of Knighthood, by the hands of the Earle of Lancaster, and vpon the same day the Crowne of England at Westminster, Walter Archbishoppe of Cantuarbie performing the offices accustomed therein, iudged nothing to bee sooner thought vpon then to recover the honour of his Nation vpon the Northerne enemies, whom his vnto experience youth, and their former happinesse had emboldened; in which preparation while hee was busied, the Queene his mother, and her Mortimer, forgot not other things tending to their owne brucie and assurance.

(2) First therefore there was procured for the Queene mother so greata Dowry, that the young King had carce a third part of the Kingdome left for his maintenance; which exorbitant estate, in tide the Queene, in the vie was Mortimer, and from this treasonable defalcation and weakening of the roiall maner, hee snatched his owne deuices with authority and riches; so that his hatred against Spenser was not on behalfe of the Common-wealth, but for that any one should abuse it for his private but himselfe. Lastly, when they had certaine intelligence, that sundry great persons and others, as the whole order of Priests-preachers, tooke party of the late Kings captivity, and seemed to consule for his deliuerance, they knowing that by recovery of his former estate, their iust confusion must follow, they resolved to strengthen (as men supposed) their other impieties with murder.

(3) For albeit the Queene in her outward gestures pretended nothing but sorrow for her Lord & husbands distresse, yet in stead of bringing to him her person (which the deposed Prince did wonderfullie) shee onely sent vnto him a fine apparell & kind letters, but contrary to the lawes of God and man, withdrew her selfe from nuptiall duties, bellowing them as the game went, which will blasphemous as freely as of meaner Dames vpon the bloody Adulterer Mortimer, fathering her absence vpon the state, which (she faigned) would not suffer her to come vnto him. The deolate Prince was hereupon taken from Kenilworth Castle, by expresse order from the young King at their procurement, for that the Earle of Lancaster (Lord of that peece) was suspected to pity too much his calamitie. Hee was deliuered by Indenture, to Sir Thomas de Courmay the elder, and Sir Iohn Maitland, two mercenarie and most vnworthy Knights.

(4) These two Instruments of the Dinell, hauing conducted him first to the Castle of Corf, then to Bristol, and lastly in great secrecie, and with more villanous disguise, then it became either Knights, or the lowdest varlets in the world, came out of Sir Thomas de la More, you may read at large in the collections of Iohn Stew to the Caille of Barkley, where after many vile deuices, executed vpon him in wine, they more then barbarously murdered him.

(5) Neuer was the fallacie of pointings, or Ambiguities of Phrase more multiceously vied to the destruction of a King, or defence of the Contrary, then in this famous Parricide, for it is said that a bloody Sophisme conceined in these words was sent;

"*Adus ar dum occides a nolite timere bonum est*

*Tested King Edwards hand
Refuse to feare I count is good.*

Where the Comma or pause being put after *Nolite*, bid them not to make him away, but after *timere*, insinuates a plaine encouragement to the fact.

(6) The 'physic' which is said to be the Author of this ambiguous Riddle, sent by the Lord Mortimer, was Adam de Trevelan, who vterly denied any such intention, when the Murderers for their owne iustificacion, produced the writing it selfe vnder Queene Isabels Seale, and the seales of the other Conspirators, and therefore the said Bishoppe Adam was the cause, why Gernay and Maitland were with terrible menaces shaken vp, pursued and outlawed, who more pursued with the memory and conscience of so iustious a Tragedie, fled out of England. Gernay after three yeeres banishment, being discovered at Massels in France, and apprehended, was conuicted backe, but had his head taken off at Sea, in his passage, lest he should reuale too much at his arrival, but Maitland lay hidden in Germany a long time, doing penance.

(7) This Parricide was committed about 5. Mathers day and (that you may note what confidence they had in their Art of secret murder, as also an ordinary mockage of the people in like cases) the noble body was laid forth, and many Abbots, Priors, Knights, and Burgesses of Bristol and Gloucester were sent for to see the same; vpon which, although there appeared no manifest outward sign of violent death, but the skinnie all ouer whole and vnbroken, yet the cry of murder could not so be smothered, but the meanes and manner came to light. This happinesse certainly the poore Prince had, that after his imprisonment hee reformed his life in so pious & Christian sort, that it gaue occasion when hee was dead of disposition, whether hee were not to be reputed a Saint, euens (by our Authors) there was the like Question concerning Thomas Earle of Lancaster, though beheaded for apparat Treason. His body without any funeral pompe was buried among the *beundells* in their Abbey at Gloucester, and so (saith our passionate author) the stately height of the Angels Kingdome receiued this Scholler, and Disciple of Christ, thus rest and spoiled of his English Kingdome.

(8) The young King was now vpon the borders of Scotland with a puissant Armie, where also the Queene mother, and Mortimer, with many other Nobles were present, and hauing enuironed the Scots (who had pierced into England with inuasive arms) in the woods of Wyndesore and Stanhope Parke, made sure account of certaine victorie; but by the treason of the said Lord Mortimer (as afterward was laid to his charge) they were suffered to escape out of that mischief, and the young King with griefe returned inglorious after an huge waste of treasure, and perill of his owne person.

(9) For while the English heult thus held the Scots, as it were besieged Sir Iames Douglas in the dead of night, with about two hundred swift horse assailed the Kings owne Pauson, and missed so little of killing him, that a Priest his Chaplaine a stout and loyal man was slain in his defence, and Sir Iames escaped backe without hurt, but not without honor for his bold attempt. In the Scots Campe a notable, that the English found five hundred great Owes and Kine ready killed, a thousand furs full of flesh, ready to be roasted, five hundred Cawdrons made of beastes skins, full of flesh, ouer the fire seething, and about

A bloudy history
or Sophisme.

"*The de la More
Iohn Stew.*

The Authors sent
to like the
Country.
"Lancaster,
Grafton,
Foliot,
Iohn de la More.

"*The de la More
Iohn Stew.*

The northern
Edward's body
had no more.

"*Walsingham.*

"*Remedy Col-
The Telling
Foliot.*

"*Foliot's Eng. 18*

"*The de la More.*

The Scots
round, escape.

"*Iohn Mortimer's
Bristol,
Iohn de la More.*

"*Walsingham,
Iohn Stew.*

"*See in Acts &
Iohn.*

* Foliot.

King Edward
provided for
water with
Scotland.

Mortimer's high
practices.
"Iohn Stew.

"*The de la More
Iohn Stew.*

"*Grafton.*

"*Grafton.
"The de la More.*

The late King
Edward
was there.

* *Adams.*

"*Walsingham &
Iohn Stew.*

* *Mail Stop*

about * ten thousand pair of raw-leather shoes, the
hairs still upon them. In King *Edward de Arme* were
(as * some write) thirty thousand Archers, and five
hundred good men of Arms, which perhaps is one
of the greatest hosts that you shall lightly read to
have been of our Nation, and the reason was, for
that the world conceived such hope of the young
King, that many more went * voluntary then con-
strained. All which puiſſance was notwithstanding
thus eluded.

A.D. 1128.

The *Wallace*
I saw;
Wallace,
where that King
Robert died.
Jan. A.D. 1719.
An. reg. 44. where
was hung the
region to believe

The poet with
Scotland at the
Parliament of
Northampton.

The. 20. 17.
* All. & 18. 17.
* Gov. Fisher,
Mell. 18. 17.

* *Fr.*
Fabius.
Grayson.

M.S. Bib. 7. num.
no catavado, de colun
gafim, Bril,

* *granda*
malisto.

*Tahiti

(12) About this time died drunken with leiprie, *Robert Bruce King*, and recoverer of *Scotland*, and the most approved Warriour of the world in that age, by whose losse it was loone found, how much the vertue and fortune of one man are worth in any Nation. But before hee died, that peace was made with the *Saxs* by the meanes of the *Queene* and the *Lord Mortimer*, which is so much dispraised by our Writers, and in the end proved capitall to the principall Actor *Mortimer*.

(13) For this treaty it was that the King (then in his Minority) fealed Charters to the *Scots* & *Normans*, whose contents were contrary by the *Queene*, the *Card* *Mortimer*, and *Sir James Douglas*, without the priuety of the *English*. There was also directed to them that famous Euidence called the * *Baynes Hill*, and the King acquired them of all * claime and pretence of right to the Superiority of *Scotland*, rendering backe fundrie Jewels taken by the *English* from the *Scots*, among the which was one speciall, called the *Blacke Croffe* of *Scotland*. There was it also granted, that * all *Englishmen* should leaue their lands in *scotland*, vntill they would inhabite vpon them, and become *Liege-men* to the King thereof, besides many other things to the high discontentation (as was the humor of those times) of the *English* Subjects. Moreover, vnder the specious colour of refection of damages, King *Robert* was to pay to King *Edward* thirty thousand Marks sterling, with which (as the meed of treasor) the *Lord Mortimer* was afterward publicly charged, and for the same, and other his crimes was executed as a Traitor. Finally, vpon the twentieth of Iuly, *David Bruce Prince of Scotland*, a child of seuen or eight yeeres old, and sonne and heire to King *Robert*, married *Jane*, sister to *K. Edward at Bernheke*: by which peace the *English* were made obnoxious to some reproache, the *Scottish* Nation in force, calling the *late Lady*, *Jane Maile-Peace*.

(14) And therefore saith one of this part of King Edwards raigne: that drawne aside with euill aduise, by reason of his age, he committed many foule errors in State, at the beginning of his Government: which is also the generall opinion of all our Writers, whereto this verse is by some applied;

Vapuri terra, sapientie fontibz garræ,

*Where Children Rulers are,
There oft is woe and war.*

(11) The said likewise about this time *Charles the Fair, King of France*, (to whom *King Edward* had not long before done homage for his Dutchie of *Gafingnes*) the third and last sonne of *Philip the Faire, King of France*, by whose deathe the Crowne of that noble Kingdome, deuolued to this our *Edward King of England* in right of his mother *Queene Isabel*: And because vpon this Title *King Edward* did afterward claime the said Crowne, we will bereaue for all infidels you in the iudice thereof.

(16) Three sonnethere were of King Philip the Fair, (to wit, Lewis Hurin, Philip le long, and Charles the Fair) who all successively reigned in France once after the other and none of them leaving any Issue, at such time as King Edward made his claime, the whole right seemed to be in Isabel the onely Child of the said Philip which had any issue, for an other sister which thoe had died an Infane.

(17) This tale thus seeming plaine, was not for
such accepted by the French, who received to the
Crownne *Philip of Valois*, whose father *Charles of
Valois* was younger Brother to *Philip the Fair*, advancing
the Brothers house before the daughters sonne,
not following the propinquity or descent of blood,
but the melody of love, vpon which ground they
had also firethly put by *Isam* daughter of *Lewis Hutin*,
preferring *Philip le long* her vncle. The French in
barre to her unwill, pretended a fundamentall law
or estate, by which *no woman was inheritable to the
Crown of France*, and in defence of that opinion with
blood *King Edward* afterward with so much toyle and
clamour, though that very law made *Edmonds* title
the stronger (as himselfe truly pleaded) hee being
the *Male*, albeit his right defended by the *Female*.

(18) This Title to so glorious a Monarchy though it accrued to the English, by this match with Queen Isabell, yet doth *willingham* * freely pronounce, *That neither that affinity, nor any other contrivall; with the French, was ever enabled or brought any benefit to England:* which opinion as it may seeme strange, so will it be answere a wide Readers paine in the fruse, to observe through the course of our stories, whether the said Graue Writer had iustt occasion to so speake or no. Another conceit there was of this *Edward*'s marriage with *Philippa* the Earle of *Holland*'s daughter, which about that time was consummed, though *Philip de Valois* (king of France by intirall as our *Annales* report him) was her vnder, her mother being his owne sister.

(19) Their blood now at home against the stream of the Queen, and her Lord *Mortimer* absolute way, some great personages, who did not wholly allow their doings, among which was the Kings vncle, *Edmond Earle of Kent*, whose death they thorly procured. Meane-while the more to despise and dare their outdookes, *Roger Mortimer* was created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*, at a Parliament holden at *Salisbury*: at which time also *Iohn of Bitham* the Kings Brother was made Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Lord *Raier* of *Ireland* Earle of *Ormond*. From whence the Lord *Henry Earle of Lancaster* and sundry other of the Peeres, feeling the King's troden (as it seemed to them) vnder foot, did absent themselves, meditating ciuill armes for redresse, who notwithstanding (by the labour of *Simon de Mopham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) was reconciled: This Archbishopspe very worthily also excommunicated all such as had any hand in the sacrilegious parricide of that noble and loiall Prebte *Walter Bishop of Excester*, for any waies vollied him, their aiders, complices or abettors whatsoever. But after the Coronation of *Philip* the yong Queene, in another Parliament at *Winchester*, the said *Earle Edmond* was condemned for conspiring to deliuer his brother, late King of *Scotland*, whom (likely inough by *Mortimer's* practise) he was drawne into an absurd beleefe to bee full alive. Thus, for deuiling to set a dead-man at liberty, this noble *Earle Edmond* the kings bial vncle had his head stricken off, though from * Noone till six at heaht, bee blood at the place of death without the Gallies-gates, none being found to behead him, till a base wretch of the Martriall-sea was fent, and did it so little conscience did the malice and ambition of his potent aduersaries make of shedding the Roiall blood, which by Gods iustler iudgement was not long venged,

(20) To supply which loffe to the regal ſtemme, with a very large amends, the young Queene *Philippa* in *Woodſtrech* in *Oxfordſhire*, upon 15. June, being Friday, brought forth her firſt begotten ſonne, the amiable and famous *Edward*, by-named (not of his colour, but of his dreaded Acts in battell) the *Blacke Prince*. King *Edward* not long after with a ſmall compaignie went into *France*, and did homage to *Philip le Valois* for his Duchie of *Gueldres*.

(21) *News*, or rather Gods vengeance with swift
Y v v v p a c

⁴ *See Saliva*, which law, & their greatest Lawyers find acknowledge, not while concerneth the French Crown, *parlementum Pragmaticum* cap. 8.
⁵ *Chart. Original.* Ed. 5. de consuet. in Reg. Gul.
⁶ *Treat North* & in *Edm. 2.*

King Edward
marries Philippa
the Earl of
Norfolk's daughter.

The 3rd Edition
in fine Edn 20

* This worthy
Fellow founded
Exeter College,
and will
Marshall in
Oxford.

Edmund Burke and
Kant: the Kings
were put to
death by guillotine

* The South
Harbor.

An.D.1.19.
The Black
Prince's son.
Adam Martin.

The fall of Mortimer.

* Bedford Gauch
Adam Mortimer
Bedford Gauch
Bedford Gauch
Bedford Gauch
Bedford Gauch

* Adam Mortimer.
Tud. North.
Mortimer.

The manner of Mortimer's capture at Batcombe.

Wife to Edward
Mortimer.

* Tud. North.

pace did now approach and summon Mortimer to a bloodie account; for the young King adding himselfe to ferious thoughts, and putting on the Maie before his yeeres required, easily saw his owne peccell in the others potentia. The Queene his mother (to the common dishonour and griefe of the Kingdome) being generally bruted to be with child by Mortimer, hee vpon this aduise suddenly and aduenturously surprisid the proud man at Parliament holden in Nottingham with whom were the L. Geoffrey Mortimer his sonne, and Sir Simon de Bedford, who all three were fene prisoners to the Tower of London, vnder a strong guard. Which done, the king by common consent of the Parliament tooke into his hands his mothers excessive Dower, & put her to a narrow penison of one thousand pounds by yeer, circumscribing her within as narrow * limits for her abode, but doing her yearly the honour and comfort of once or twice visiting her, though otherwise scarce thinking her worthy of life, in regard of her priuacie with Mortimer, and his many heinous practices.

(22) Oh, what enchantment are Honour and Power to the minds of men! how suddenly, and how strangely doe they blow vp the flame with the contempt of others, and forgetfulness of themselves! Certainly the frail estate of mans constitution is clearely seene in this high Lord, who drunken with felicitie, and fearing neither God nor man, fell into vtter confusion when leath hee feared. The probable manner whereof is worthy the relating. There was in the Castle of Nottingham (and at this day is) a certain secret way or Mine cut through a rocke, vpon which the said Castle is built, one issue whereof openeth toward the river of Trent, which runnes vnder it, and the other vttereth it selfe fane within vpon the surface, and is (at this present) called Mortimer's hole; through this, the young King well armed, and strongly seconded, was conducted with drawne swordes, by some his trallie and (sworne seruants, (among which was that braue Monticote, whom his vertues vnder this King raised to the Earldome of Salisbury, &c.) vp to the Queenes Chamber, whose doore (so fearlesly he blinded affliction) was vnlocked, and with her was Mortimer (the kings Malice as the rumour spread him) readie to go to bed, whom with the slaughter of a Knight, and one or two that resisted) they laid hold vpon. This was not reputed a slender enterprize, in regard that in Mortimer's retinue were not fewer (they say) then one hundred and fourescore Knights, besides Esquires and Gentlemen.

(23) The cause for which hee was condemned in open Parliament at Westminister, these ragged * verses following comprehend, which without any disparagement to their makers iudgement, might verie well haue bene in Prose, but for deuotie and change wee haue here inserted them.

- Five heinous crimes against him some were had,
1 First that he caused the King to yield the Scot
(To make a peace) treason that were from him got.
And therein shall the Charter called Magna,
2 That of the Scots hee had broked priuy game,
3 That through his means Sir Edward of Carnaruen,
In Berkeley Castle most traitorously was slaine.
4 That with his Princes mother hee had leue,
5 And finally with pulling at his pleasure,
Hee robbed the King and Commons of their treasure.

But the most barbarous murder of the kings father, and specialle the dishonourable peace and contract with the then professed enemies of England, were principallie insisted vpon as heinous treason. Hee was after sentence ignominiously drawne to Tyburne, the common place of execution, then called the Elms, and there vpon the common Gallows was as ignominiously executed, hanging (by the kings commandement) two daies and two nights, a publike & glad some spectacle. There died with him Sir Si-

mon de Bedford Knight, & John Deuere Esquier, as well for expiation of the late King Edwards death, as in complement, as it were of so great a mans fall, whose liars doe seldom, or neuer perish single.

(24) Now came Scotland turne about to suffer againe most grievous losses and afflictions, an ordinarie effect of Childrens gouernment, whether Children in age, or in discretion: for the Lord Edward Balliol hearing of King Roberts death, and the tenderage of King David his son and heire of that Balliol, to whom king Edward the first had aduised the Scots crown, with such voluntaries as hee could raise (though his Father the Lord John had * released his claime to king Robert, and though King John was in fauour of his sister Iuan Queene of Scotland, would not openly at first support him) embark his life in Yorkshire, and invaded that Realme, where, vpon his landing, he slew Alexander Seton at Kingor and about nine hundred others, putting the rest to flight. Not long after (that no mischief might come alone) neere to the water of Ery, at a place called Dupplin, where the Earles of Mar and Arerch, with two puissant armies of Scots, for the defence of their young King David lay encamped, the said Lord Edward (whose small numbers, not exceeding three thousand English, the Earles as securely and as fatally condemned, as the English vnder Edward the second had condemned the Bruce and his Scots) obtained of them a wonderfull victorie. Balliol (who neere, or rarely, leaues any otherthow purely to the manhood of the English) will needs haue this discomfite effected by a Camoflage, the Balliol and his English with others passing the water of Ery by a Flood in the night, when the enemy little suspected it.

(25) The slaughter euen by his report was miserable: for there were slaine (saith he) the Earles of Marre and Carricke, and three thousand of the Noble, beside Commons. Our * Writers agree that this Flood was passed in the night, but that the fight endured from Sunne-rising till three of the Clocke afternoone, and that, besides the Earles of Marre, and Carricke, three other Earles, Monteth, Athol, and Murray, twelve Barons, eight hundred knights and men of Armes, beside about thirtene thousand other, lost there their liues. Of the English there were onely slaine thirty and three * Esquires: so that not without cause this victory was attributed rather to power diuine then humane.

(26) Yet this was but the beginning of farther calamities to the Scottish Nation, which was in it selfe diuided into factions, the one for Bruce, the other for Balliol. The Lord Edward making vse of his good fortune, got himselfe to be crowned King of Scotland at * Inverness. But king David Bruce with his Queen fled into France to Philip de Valois, who reigned there, & entertained them with much compassion and honor, giuing them Castle Calard for the place of their abode, till fairer fortune shone. Meane-time the Scots sustained new damages; for a prime man among them, the Lord William Douglas, was taken prisoner by the English, not without losse of many his men. Before which time by * no honourable means the new King of Scotland was driuen to seek his safety by flight into England.

(27) King Edward considering those foiles which his father had endured, and the opportunity of the time, neither holding himselfe lyable in honour to that contract made on his behalf by the predominant sway of his mother and her Parauour Mortimer, as wherein hee tooke both himselfe, and the rights of his Crowne to haue bene wronged in his minority, which in point of gouernment hee was more bound to respect then his Sifters estate, and for that hee was informed that the Towne and Castle of Berwick belonged to the Crowne of his Realme, hee raised his power, and hauing with him Edward the new-crowned of Scotland, hee laid siege to that Towne and Castle in May. But before hee did this, there is who writes, that hee summoned his

The Balliol two
victories against
the Scots.

The great loss
of Scots in
Dupplin on the
water of Ery.
* Adam Mortimer.
Tud. North.

* English.

The Balliol
crowned King of
Scotland.

Edw. Part.
Gough. B. 1.

* Adam Mortimer.
The Scots.

Berwick besieged
by the English.

Rich. Gough.

brother in law King David to doe homage and fealty vnto him, which when David would not yield to doe, nor confesse hee ought, no more then his father King Robert, hee made that a ground for the iudice of his warre, as repuing the Acts and releases at Northampton void.

(28) To the refuges of Berwick, Archibald Douglas Earle of Angus, Gouernour of Scotland for King David, came with a puissant Army, and gaue King Edward battell at Halidon-hill, where with a lamentable slaughter of his people he was vanquished and slaine. This battell deured in a manner all the remainders of the Scottish Nobles which preferred it selfe at Dupline by retreat, or by absence from that field. There perished besides Archibald, the Earles of Rut, Sutherland, and Carrick, three sonnes of the Lord Walter Stewart, whose issue afterward reigned in Scotland, when warre and death had made way to that line, by extirpation of the Male-Competitors in the races of Bruce and Balliol, and at least foureteen thousand others, with the losse (say large) of one Knight, and ten other Englishmen. Our Writers affirm that the Scots were at this battell, threethou thousand strong, and that there were slaine eight Earles, 1500. horsemen, and of the common Souldiers sixe and thirty thousand; which is not improbable, for so much as Hector confesseth they were stopp'd in their flight, and put to the sword vpon all sides without mercy.

(29) Hereupon Berwick was rendered, which the King of England detained as a supposed parcell of his Patrimony, and distilld the Balliol to the gouernment of the Scottish Kingdome, with sundrie Lords and others of the English. And now the blood-tialties and cruell scores seemed cene betweene the two puissant (though then ynkind) neighbours, and Edward thoroughly redeemed the dishonour sustained at Bannockburn by his late father, deliuering his younger yeeres from that contempt, in which his enemies might otherwise haue holden him, as they had done at the entrance of his reign, playing vpon the English with Truffles and Rounds, of which this one is euerie where noted;

Long beard's heart's selfe, painted hoods mistleffe,
Gay coates graue mistleffe, make England the mistleffe.

(30) As for the fabrication of poisoning Earle Thomas Randal, and the hanging of Sir Alexander setons two sonnes, contrarie to faith and law of Armes, at Berwick with the like staines which one would haue leaue vpon this victorious Prince, were haue found no colour of warrant but his owne liberty of snooching, which therefore our freedome of not believing him shall as easily take away and cancell. Neither would wee so farre haue touched this iarring string of discord betweene these two Nations, but that each out of their owne harms of old, may haue the more true sense of their felicity, by their new harmonical concordance.

(31) After that the Nobles of Scotland had unanimously confirmed Balliol in the kingdome thereof, and sworn vnto him faith and allegiance at Perth, hee returned to the King of England at Newcastle vpon Tyne, where hee (submitted to Edward King of England, as his Father had done to Edward the first, and with the like successe; for by occasion of such his submission, our Writers say, the Scots (as before they had done) fell off againe, which auersion, or defection was augmented vpon private quarrels, and titles of inheritance to lands of great value, betweene powerfull Competitors, and by other particular reuenger, to which a people so continually exercised in fight and batteles were not slowe prone.

(32) Notwithstanding all which (the Balliols party hauing once had all the Holds of Scotland at their commandement, fine onely excepted, Dunbartaine, Longleish, Kildrummie, Pruthi, and the

pile of London) Edward king of England hauing with him the Balliol, and a sufficient Army, persuaded so much, that there was no apparance of rebellion; whereupon hee rooke backe with him the Lord Edward Balliol late crowned king of Scotland (of whole stedfastnes hee was (with Hector) iawraies zealous, & returned, leauing David Comus Earle of Athol, gouernour for the parts beyond the Scottish Sea, with sufficient force and authority (as was judged) to take in such strengthes as yet stood out, but needed not his royall power or presence for their expugnation.

(33) The King of England hoping now that all was well there, had newes brought vnto him not long after, at the Parliament at London, that the Scots were out in Armes againe; whereupon hee obtained aid of money from his Subjects for correcting their attempts, promising to goe against them in person. The Lord Robert Stewart, sonne of the Lady Marianne Bruce, daughter of King Robert (vpon whole line the remainder of the Crown of Scotland had bene elated) was the man that first lifted vp the head of his Country in this dangerous, sad, and desolate condition (though put into action vpon a priuate incurie done vnto him by the Earle of Athol) to whom diuers did adhere, though the quarrel seemed properly to be the said L. Robert, for that if the Bruce were cut off, his hopes perished in them. The Earle of Murray and hee were then chosen gouernours for King David's party, but by reason of the diligence and yert of David Earle of Athol, they were not ablees yett to comene, or effect any thing against the English. uerthelesse it was not long before they slew the said Earle David, at this Parliament the King of England purposed to goe vpon his owne charge into the Holy-Land, and to send the Archbisshoppe of Canterbury to deale with Philip de Valois King of France, for appointing a certaine time, wherein they two with their vaied forces, might take their voyage thither, from which the desire of obtaining the Crowne of France, vpon the fore-mentioned title, did quickly diuert him.

(34) Meane-while, in accomplishment of the Parliaments expectation, King Edward after Michaelmas landed againe into Scotland with an Arme, and sent his Nauie to the Forth The Sea-Force where of, spoyled the Coasts on both sides of the Forth, or Scottish Sea, and putting on land in Saint Colme, they spoyled the Abbey; which Sacrilege, Hector notes was severely punished, the whole Fleet being battered with tempest, and some of the ships perishing. At another time also the like sacrilege being perpetrated there, (hee saith) that the ships wherein the valswall prize was, sunke sodainly to the Sea-ground without any tempest. The King himselfe comming to Perth, to order the Scottish affaires, whiles hee abode there, the Earle of Murray one of the Gouernours was taken Prisoner, who was after deliuered vpon Exchange for the Earle of Namur, (who the Scots by like Art had taken) or as Hector will haue it, for the Earle of Salisbury.

(35) By the mediation of the French, the Scots had a short truce granted them. But about the end of May, the King lent his cousin the Lord Henry, sonneto Henry Earle of Lancaster, with a great Arme to the aid and seruice of the Lord Edward Balliol King of Scotland, which waisted all the Countries about Perth, where, while they lay, the King with a very small Company came sodainly vnto them, and from thence pierced farther one way then euer his Grandfather Edward had done, suffering first by death (the common furies of warre) to worke vpon all that might suffer destruction to establish a Conquest. Hee marcht vp as farre as Elgie and Bugaban, and in his returne to Narre, burnt the Towne of Aberdeen, in reuenge for Sir Thomas Rastoun, a Knight, whom the Towne-men thereof had slaine. The Lord Robert Stewart had great landes in those parts, for Murray and Bugaban were his, which also might

King Edwards
vi. Gory as Italy-
dies dill.

* Hector Ier.

* Adam Merin,
proffession
* Tynd. 1. 1. 1.

Berwick rendered

Fablen.

* Hall, Dou.

An. D. 1333.
* Hall, Dou.

* Adam Merin,
Tynd. 1. 1. 1.

* Hall, Dou.

Edward King of
England agone to
Scotland with
no Armes.
* Hall, Dou.

* Adam Merin.

The Lord Robert
Stewart against
his Balliol.

* Hall, Dou.

* Adam Merin.

King Edwards
concourse for the
Holy Land.

The King of
England once
came with an
Arme in
Scotland.
* Tynd. 1. 1. 1.

* Lib. 1. 1. 1.
Sacrilege punished.

* Hall, Dou.

* Fabien one of
the French
Souldiers.
Gyngon.

A.D. 1334.
King Edward the
fourth came to
Scotland with no
Armes.

* Adam Merin,
* Hall, Dou.
* Adam Merin.

Balliol, transf.
of Balliol,
lib. 1. 1. 1.

might the rather move this severe proceeding: which done, King Edward having repaired sundry Castles there, and leaving Scotland to the new King thereof with forces competent, came back into England. But at this and other times, the *Bailie*, in requital of this aide and friendship, granted to King Edward and his Successors sundry Castles, as *Edinburgh*, *Hedderburg*, *Peebles*, and two thousand pounds yearly rent for the Fee-farm of *Blackburgh*, *Edinburgh*, and other places; last of all, his whole interest in amplest manner, referring only to himself, a certain yearly pension from the King of England.

(16) Who to enlarge the magnificence of his royal estate and amplitude, as meditating farre greater matters than those vnpromisable warres (the bodies and treasure which were employed and spent therein, being able to compensate farre more noble achievements) created Prince Edward his eldest son Earle of *Chester*, and Duke of *Cornwall*, and at the same solemnity fix other Earles, & twenty knights, one of which Knights was *Thomas de la Mure*, whose name hath beene often cited as an Author.

(17) There was in speciall credite with King Edward, one Sir *Robert de Artois*, who being banished by the French King out of those parts, and made (by King Edward) Earle of *Richmond*, laboured earnestly (vpon hatred to the French King for his private discontentments) to draw him to claime the Crown of France as his most lawfull right, and as that which would indeed enrich his people with spoiles, and rebelle his owne greatness by the Conquest: The motion though by reason of the highnesse and difficultie of the enterprise, it did not at first prevaille; yet at last by the enill fate of France wrought out to himselfe a wonderfull allowance. Many consultations pulling of the matter, it could not be so concealed, but that the smoake thereof discovered the breeding fire. This in the present was very happy for the state of Scotland, which (saith *Heitor*) was in appearance so enriched, that if the King of England had continued his warres it should have come without any hope of reliefe to utter ruine. It was also a cause, why the French (who hitherto had supported the Scots, but not as if so neerely concerned themselves) put in the more fully and roundly, seeking by all means to weaken and annoy the English, alwell in Scotland, as in *Gascogne*, and where else fouler.

(18) That we may with the lesse confusion, and fewer interruptions, deliuer our selues of the French warre which now approached, we will here in one view tender vnto you the Scottish affaires, from this time for ten or eight yeeres, till about the siege of *Calis* by King Edward, who was laste alighted in England from the former expedition, but the Bruce party (vnder their chiefe leader *Andrew Murray*) issued from the Loughes, Mountaines, and other their places of retreat and fastnesse, to reuendace their cause. King Edward once or twice sent Armies, vnder valiant Generalls to support the *Baileis* possession against their violence, whose successe was variable till the death of *Murray*. After whom the *L. Stewart* tooke charge for the Bruce side, and (vpon the advantage of King Edwards slacknesse, to finish his Scottish affaires, the matter of France so far preponderating it) endeauoured to prepare a quiet entrance for King *David*. The aide of the Lord *William Douglas* to that purpose was very available, howbeit not alwayes fortunate, being ouerthrowne in a set battell by Sir *Thomas Berkeley* at *Blackbourne*, hauing there with him King Edwards power. To the vpper part, and as it were deciding stroke of these late miseries, there arrived great store of munition out of France, at such time as the Lord *Robert Stewart* hauing lien ten weeks at the siege of *Perth*, was almost ready to haue abandoned the same in despair. *Perth* being rendered, the *Bailie* (whose the quarrell was) betooke himselfe into England, hauing small strength of his owne in the hearts and affections of the Scots,

who reuolued dayly from him. Vpon sure intelligence of all these matters, King *David*, his Queene, and many honourable French, and Scots, returne, and till the quarrell of *Philip de Valois* put him into vnfortunate Armes against the English, the afflicted Realme of Scotland enioyed a kind of rest and quiet.

(19) It was not now the iustice of his Tide to the Crowne of France, which only made King Edward vnderneath his conquering sword against the French; for *Philip de Valois* king of France iniuriously withheld sundry Townes and places in *Gascogne*. To remedy which violent wrongs the king of England had addrest Ambassadors, though without any good successe.

(40) But, that the world might take true notice of his iust proceedings, the main causes for iustificatio of his design vpon France (whereby the common cause against the Turke was neglected) himselfe in a copious Epistle, directed to the Colledge of Cardinals, doth publicly declare to be these;

1 His Tide to the Crowne of France, which *Philip de Valois* unjustly detained, for that himselfe of any Male lining, was the neerest in blood to the late king *Charles his uncle*.

2 That his Agents and Ambassadors desiring to put the cause to ciuill triall, were not onely not admitted to bee heard, but were driven away with feare of their liues.

3 That the Court of the *Tutius Petri*, in giving the Crowne from him, (who was then under age,) did therein leaue the office of Iudges, and were no better then robbers. And therefore their proceesse made to his prouidence during his minority, was by all lawes void and frustrate.

4 That *Philip de Valois* invaded the Duchie of *Aquitaine*, which belonged to the Crowne of England, and added such places and lands as hee had so wrongfully gotten to those which hee had so wrongfully withheld, detaining all alike.

5 That hee had aided and assisted the Scots in their risings against him, when as by reason of neare kindred he should rather haue holpen him; and finally declared by his doings, that his honour, power and life it selfe, were hated of him.

(41) King Edward neuertheless (knowing that words were little worth in such a case) to strengthen his quarrell with friends, by the aduise of his counsell, and of his Father in law, the Lord *William Earle of Hereford* sought to confederate and write vnto him the *Nigh and Low Dutch*, Princes and people, which lay most commodiously for his vses. But the better to hold them together, hee was aduised to seeke the amity of the Emperour *Lewis of Bawars*, with whom hee made (as by the euent was manifest) but an vnpromisable confederation, though for the present it seemed to serue his vses with the countenance: more to his aduantage were the singular endeouours of some other his priuate instruments, as chiefly of *Jacques de Arteau*, a wealthy Burger of *Gans*, one of a rare dexterity of witte, and so popularly acceptable among the *Flemings*, that he seemed to sway *Flanders* more by far then the Earle thereof, whom they had expelled. By the speciall diligence of this *Jacques van Arteau*, and of one *Siger de Courtray* a Noblemans of *Flanders*, there was prepared among the Artizans of those parts (whose chiefe enrichments depended vpon the handling of English wool, as Cloth-workers, Weavers, and the like) a mighty party for the English against the French. This amity with England (as most profitable for the common benefite, and weale of his Country) the said *Jacques* most constantly supported to the death.

(42) Meane while King Edward (the life of this high affaire) proceeded in all things with ripe deliberation and iudgement. Therefore to let the *Flemings* know the want of his friendship, hee had for some yeeres before inhibited the transportation of his Wools; which, and for that the English were

The first proceeding, - the French officers. Remay. cop.

* Adam Maris, The V. of Valois, in Edw. 3. and Thos. 1. The grounds of King Edwards iustificatio for making warre.

* In that Epistle hee doth acknowledge the weakness of weapons from Soveraignity vs France, and sheweth claime to the auncient Male.

* Grouse.

* Thos. 1.

* Ja. 1.

The league with the Flemings in

* Notes of record taken by Sir Robert Calum laughe.

Creation of Scots.

* Adam Maris.

* Halstead.

The French was in that yoke, chere of Enchous.

Freiland, Grouse.

* Ed. 3.

The marches of Scotland by 7 or 8 yeeres formerly in down.

The L. Robert Stewart.

Thos. 1. Grouse, Thos. 1.

in a manner become all one with them, by king Edward's marriage with the Lady Philip, not a little advanced the practise of James on his behalf; which was sped at last, by occasion of * an overthrow given to the French-Flemings, who under the conduct of Guy the Ballard of Flanders, brother to the Earle (both of them being wholly French) were placed in the life of Calais to emperch the arrival of the English, who tooke the said Guy, and slew the most part of his people. This victory was achieved in the quarrell of the king of England by the Earle of Derby, the Lord Beauchamp, the Lord Reynald Cobham, the Lord Walter de Mauny (an Henne-way) and other of the English Captaines: Of the fame and lucky fortune whereof the said Dr. Aris- totel, and other of the kings friends, made so wise and sensible use, by letting them see the English were able to protect them, that the Flemings (with- out any great stay) became his firme confederates, in presence of the Earle of Gelder at Gennet, notwith- standing that at the same time the great K. of France, and their own naturall Lord, the Earle, laboured all they could to the contrary.

(43) But as king Edward was (in the mean space) wholly intent, vpon furnishing himselfe with all convenient things fite for his warre, (having Cap- taines and Souldiers, such as his owne soole heart could wish,) so when hee found that the industri- ous Dutch by their manual labours, grew to so great strength and opulence, that their friendshipp bred riualltie in puissant Monarches, hee, like a fa- ther, regarding the publike weale of his Country, ordered that all Clothworkers, who would repaire hi- ther out of forraigne parts, and exercise their trades, should haue free accesse and sundry priuiledges. By which inuitation as very many were drawne, so was it the principall cause of aduancing that honest, best and most beneficial Trade in the Kingdome, to the great enrichment, strength, and honor thereof. The English Nation was very desirous to set forward this warre, and therefore contributed plentifully, and the King made bold with Lombards, and the moue- able goods of such Priories in England, as were Cels to Monasteries in France, thereby to make his coffers fuller.

(44) The warre which all this while seemed but to be talked of, did now beginne to blaze (and in- deed a blazing sturre of 30. dayes continuance, was supposed by some to forerhew it) whole first torch was lighted by the * French at Southampton, which they almost wholly consumed to ashes, but they with losse of their Capitaine, (a younger sonne to the Sicilian King) and about three hundred others, * were driuen away the next morrow. The French had sundry shippes of warre or Gallies, which vnder colour of passing to the Holy-Land, the king of France had (with purpose to affaile our Coasts) assembled, as the * king of England charged him: which losse, yet was not long vanquished, either Nation grieuing o- ther with mutual mischiefs.

(45) To appease and extinguish this deadly quar- rel, there came from Pope Benedict the 22. two Cardinals hither; but one of them in a speech to the Clergie, seeming to fauour the French faction, John Archbishopp of Canterbury immediately stood vp, and protested, that the Cardinals Arguments were vaine and frivolous: whereupon they soone after departed, and it was euerie where published through England, that the King had right to the Crown of France, which also he meant by honorable force to prosecute. Norwithstanding, King Edward for avoiding Christi- an blood-shed, gaue instructions to the Cardinals, that vpon certain equal conditions, hee was wil- ling to make an euertlasting peace with the French, & would haue bene verie glad (the hazards of warre considered) to haue taken any honest or propor- tionable offers, on impediments whereof was this, that the French would include the Scots within the Treatie, whom King Edward would not admit that

into, as purposing (when hee had singled them from supplies) to make a full and absolute annexation of their obediences to the English scepter: for the la- bout and hopes of the Cardinals proved vaine.

(46) Philip de Valois in possession King of France, had sundry great and high motives to embolden his standing-off. First, the regard of honour, and pro- fite, and the abundant meanes which hee had, hauing the whole puissance of France (the fairest kingdome vnder heauen) at his commandment. Then a con- fidence which hee reasonably conceiued (so to direct, or distrust the English forces, by the assured aid of the Scots, as that it should finally ruine the whole en- terprize, if not also the principall Actor Edward himselfe. Again, considering the valnes of the enterprize, hee judged King Edwards wealth not to bee proportionable, but did well hope, that a shorr dalliance would consume his treasures. Moreover, hee judged perhaps, that the very thought of selfe of conquering France, was no better in Edward then a young mans dreame, considering the Realm of Eng- land was farre inferior in bignesse, and multitudes of Subjects, and that there was a Sea between, the crossing whereof must double the charge. Lastly, for the friends which King Edward had procured in Dutchland with wonderful largesse, hee knew, would not be held together but with infinite cost and ex- pence, and that by some good meanes or other, hee should make them in whole, or in part vnpro- fitable.

(47) For iustificacion of his cause hee had no slender colours, or reasons. As the before alledged law or custome of France, which they called the *Escheq*, by the which the French exclude * *Gynocritacie*, or *FFemmes Government* in chiefe. Then an Act of the whole French State, by which his right was acknow- ledged and established. Thirdly, King Edwards birth place, by which hee seemed to them a stranger, and for that cause was farre the lesse capable, or rather was directly incapable of popular goodwill among the French. Lastly, for that King Edward in the * beginning of his raigne (though when hee was as yet vnder age,) did in his owne person, both doe his homage to this very Philip de Valois, as to the king of France, for his Duchie of Aquitaine, and also * by his Letters-Patents vnder seale did tell us as much. This homage (the more to be remembered becaus * some attribute much of K. Edwards discontent to the hauty manner of Philip in taking the same) was performed at Amiens in Picardie. It troubled King Edward greatly, to see himselfe making submissiua to the viceroy of that Souerainetie, which hee thought beluged to himselfe, but to let the French see what kind of Prince hee was, hee came in so royall manner appointed, as if hee meant to haue stricken them with feare or admiration: Earles, Ba- rons, and 1000. horse hee had in his retinue. At the day, his robe was of crimson veluet, powdered with golden Leopards, his crowne on his head, a sword by his side, and golden spurs on his heeles. To receiue this Duke for the Duchie of Guyen and Earldome of Ponthieu, Philip de Valois sat crowned in violet veluet, semined with golden lillies, with all the other Ensignes of royall maiesty, but the ho- mage was done only by word (if * one say true) and not in that full manner which *Storres* mentioneth. Probable it is, that the houghty carriage of Philip did greatly incense the Spirit of King Edward, being one of the most gallant in the world.

(48) There is among Writers much time, and labour spent in description of King Edwards iourney, stay and contracts of amity made in Dutchland; but in regard that no greater matter was effected there- by, then the purchase of an opinion of magnifi- cence & noblenesse among the Queenes Country- men and Dutch-landers, few lines shall serue to com- prehend the narration. The King (having sate in * Parliament provided for the gouernance of his Kingdome) with the Queen (then great with Child)

The French keep reuoluntarie resistance.

Argument for subducion of his resistance.

* *Sadine Rep.*

* A.D. 1339. and An. reg. 3. *Adam. Vermondi*

* *Pre. Hist. de Mon. p. 275. Iou de Stroz Inuentaire de Francois 30. R.*

* *Freib. Hist.*

* *His. de France. Burg. Wallis.*

* *Prefford. 30. 26. 10. The Wal. figh.*

King Edwards care for the common good, as well as for the warre.

Clothmaking.

The French burne Southampton.

A.D. 1337.

* *The PP. of St. Edward, and Tyn. Hist.*

* *Job. Strm.*

* *In Strm. (in ad. Edward's case. 205.*

An D. 1338

Job. Strm.

the young Prince *Edward*, many Earles and great Captaynes, with a gallant Company of men of war, failed to *Antwerp*, whom *Lewis* the Emperour met at the City of *Colein*, where amity was confirmed, and King *Edward* was constituted his Lieutenant, with full authority to gouerne in his name on this side *Colein*. By reason of which Vicegerencie King *Edward* made out his commandements, and did many things to his advantage and profit. Howsoever it neither lasted long for *Lewis* within a while dishonourably reuoked it, and did vndoubtedly scarce quit the cost for the brainery of that meeting was so exceeding great, as *Edward* easily won the general opinion of a very noble & puissant king. *Polydor* writes, that *Edward* refused not the office, yet would not exercise the same, because he would not displease Pope *Benedict*, whose enemy the *Barbarians* was.

(42) This Emperour (whom belike the Pope hated, for being as proud as himselfe) took it ill, (as it port went) that the King of *England* humbled not himselfe (at their meeting) to the kisse of his foot. But it was answered; that the King of *England* was a King anointed, and had life and member in his power, and therefore ought not to inhume himselfe, so much as an other King that was not anointed. After his returne to *Antwerp* with his

new power, hee seriously prosecuted his affaire of confederation with the Lords and people of *Dutchland*, among whom (with great loose and fauour) he and his royall family abode above an whole yeere. The principall Nobles which entered into this league against the French were these. The Archbishops of *Colein* Prince Electors; The Duke of *Brabant*, The Duke of *Guelderland*, (who had married the Lady *Isabel* King *Edwards* eldest sister, and about this season was of an Earle created a Duke); The Marquis of *Salick*, &c. And finally, the *Hanse* townes.

(43) The Flemings, being the most necessary part of this association, in regard of their neerenes to the French, would not engage themselves in an offensive warre against the Crowne of *France*, unless King *Edward* would first assume the Title and Armories of that Realme, as the only lawfull King thereof. This Proposition was thoroughly debated, and the law of Armes allowing it, hee with the common assent of the Flemings and others, took the Seale and quartered the Flower de Lize with the Leopard, or Lions of *England*, as here we see annexed, albeit wee see his former Seale also adorned with two Lize or Lillies; whether in token of his mothers French descent, or as a covert note of his own right to the French crown it is vncertaine.

* Polyd. lib. 10. An. D. 1338.

The first quartering of the French Armories with the English.

* Adam del. m. The first; in Edward 3. 1301. 1302.

* In lay.

* Fabian

* Bysler lib. 12.

The King of England's previous arms. The Wafton.



* Jo. Gual. lib. 3.

(44) *Polydor* Virgil must have a warlike and fashionable Reader, or hee will bee thought to bee of opinion that *William the Conqueror* bare his Leopards quartered, then which nothing is more vntrue, nor more unlikely. Others againe may suppose, that we haue not here described them according to their right bearing, as certainly according to their present bearing we haue not; but the truth is, the golden Lillies of *France*, which now are borne in triangle, were in those dayes borne, and aduanced *Semi*.

(45) And whereas the Armories of *France* are placed here in the dexter and more honorable quarter, yet there are probabilities, that it was not so at this their first conjunction For in the Seale of Queen *Isabel* (this King *Edwards* mother) the Armories of *England*, as being the Armories of the husbands line (and therefore to haue precedence) were marshalled where now the Flower de Luce line. But whether to gratifie the French, or because that was the more ancient and greater Monarchie, they were in this Kings reigne disposed as here we see.

(46) When King *Edward* had thus assumed the Title and Armes of that Realme, hee published the same vnder his seale, securing the name of *England* first, and sent his Letters Patents to the frontiers of the enemies Dominions, fixing them vpon the doores of Churches, as well to declare the right and reason of his doings, as to exempt such from the danger of the coming storme, who vpon this notice would

acknowledge him their Lord and rightfull Soueraigne. These proclamations or admonishments thus diuulged, he burnt and spoiled the North parts of *France* vp as farre as *Tourne*, though the time of the yeere were very vnseasonable, and contenting himselfe therewith for a beginning, gave place to the sharpensse of Winter, returning to the Queen his wife at *Antwerp* where hee kept a roiall Christmas. In which City this yeere was *London* (afterward Duke of *Clarence*) borne.

(47) His affaires growing ripe in those parts, he leaues his Queene and Children in *Brabant*, as an assured pledge of his returne, and about Candlemas shippes himselfe for *England*, where in a Parliament at *Westminster*, he obtained liberrall aids for impetration of his intended Conquest. In lieu of which louing assistances, hee granted a general large pardon both for trespasses, and of all *Aides* for making his sonne Knight, and for marriage of his daughter during all his time; forgiving also all arrears of Farmers and Accountants till the tenth yeere of his Reigne, and all old debts due to any of his Predecessors. Finally, hee confirmed that famous *Magna Charta*, and of the *Forest* with some other.

(48) There was no talke now hut of conquering *France*; Mullers taken throughout the Kingdom, Armourers and trades of warre (to be cherished even in the securest peace) were full of employment, and the desire of battell waxt feruent every where. Meane

* Adam del. m. The 1st Wafton.

King Edwards previous and present arms of the Subjects contraband.

The Arms of England set before the King of France at the battle of Sluys. See Robert Cotton hath both a Seal of Queen.

Meane while to hold the world in suspence of the successe. God distributed the fortune of attempts diuerly. *Bordeaux* (the capital City of *Aquitaine*, and then *Englishe*) gave an excellent testimony of her loyalty, not lesse of martiall witte and valour. For the French Armie coming before her, she to abuse their hope, set open her gates, and displayed vpon her Towers the golden Lillies, as if shee were theirs; but the French which secretly entered, found little good hospitality. Sir *Oliver de laucham* was Captain and Lord Warden there for King *Edward*, who with his Garrison-Souldiers, and aide of the inhabitants, slew of them great multitudes, and preferred *Bordeaux*. But in the opposite parts, *William Montacute Earle of Salisbury*, and *Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolk*, after many honourable deedes performed for aduancement of King *Edward's* affaire, were by the French taken Prisoners, while presuming too much vpon their courages and fortune, they ran too far into their danger, at the Towne of *Lille in Flanders*.

(16) But King *Edward* being ready now to repulse the Seas, had certaine intelligence that the French lay in wait about *Sluice in Flanders*, to intercept him with a mighty Naue of 400. shippes, who therefore prepared accordingly, intending to open his way by force. He set saile from *Hornwich* vpon Saint *John Baptists* Eue., toward the Coast where his enemies attended, strengthening himselfe with the Northern Naue of *England*, which the *L. Robert Marley* brought vnto him, so as hee had in all about two or three hundred saile. His battels hauing the advantages of windey and sunne, hee set on the French with incredible furie and force, in the very mouth of the Haue of *Sluice* vpon Midsummer day, where beganne a most bloody and terrible fight, the end whereof set the Garland vpon King *Edward's* head. Himselfe was wounded in that fight and lost foure valiant Knights (*Montbrun, Laitner, Beller, Peyngers*) with sundrie other of his English faime therein. But the slaughters of the French party were lamentable, for thirty thousand are confesse to haue perished, not halfe of their shippes escaped vtaken or vnscue. A greater glory then this, the English are scarce found to haue achieved at any battell sea.

(17) The Cronic of *France* seemed already to bee placed vpon King *Edward's* Temple, so much was attributed to this great victory, but such a Conquest was not the worke of one day. Which King *Edward* well vnderstanding, refreshed his victorious Armie, and augmenting it with his Confederates forces (which repaired to him on all sides) marched forth, hauing one of the most puissant hosts that euer any King of *England* led, as wherein were nere an hundred thousand Souldiers English, and Dutch. Hee had also in his Company the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Guelder*, and many other potent members of the Empire, and (as some write) the imperiall Eagles displayed in the head of his Armie, as hee that was Viceperent of the sacred Roman Empire. In this wise hee approached the Northern parts of *France*, where expoling all to spoile & fire, hee fite downe with his whole Forces about *Tourney*, meaning to take in the fimey as well to bee a state of Warre, as place of sure retreat and refuge.

(18) *Philip*, though iustly grieved with his wofull losse sustained at Sea, yet to encounter, and crush so great an euill in the first approaches thereof, had provided such an Armie, as hee deemed the Maiestie and greatesse of that renowned Kingdom. With this speake of an hundred thousand fighting men assembled vnder his command, and that besides Princes, Dukes, Earles, and other illustrious Persons, there was the valiant old King of *Bohemia*, and *Lewis* King of *Nauarre*. King *Edward* hearing the same, drew forth his people into the open field with purpose to giue battell.

(19) It may seeme a thing greatly tending to

King *Edward's* glory, to remember the offer which he lent to King *Philip* before hee laid his siege to *Tourney*. In which, without filuting him by any other title then of *Philip of Faleys*, hee challengeth him, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, to fight with him hand to hand in single battell; or (if that misliked) then each to bring an hundred to the field, and trie the event with so small an hazard; or otherwise, within ten dayes to ioyne full battell with all their forces nere to *Tourney*. Whereunto *Philip* made no direct answer, neither with his honour could, alledging that the letters were not sent to him, the King of *France*, but barely to *Philip of Faleis*. Near the selfe, hee gaue him to vnderstand, that his meaning was to beat him out of *France*, hauing hope in Christ (from whom hee deriued his power) to doe so.

(20) The honour of the warre in those ages cannot bee enough commended, in which the noble old formes of hostility were put in practise, by defiances, Heraldes, and publick assignations of day and place of fight, and not by stalking surprises and vnder-hand dealthes, more nerey resembling high-way robberies, then lawfull battell.

(21) These two huge hostes (which had they bene vnted for the good of Christendome, might haue worthily made the Turke looke pale) being now in sight, and the cloud of warre ready in a manner to disioine it selfe into showers of blood, doe neuerthelesse without one stroke fall off, and retorne to their severall Countries, not without the wonder and reioicement of peaceable men, but not of the English and German Souldiers, who propounded to themselves death with glory, or riches by Conquest and victory, who now had scarce their wages.

(22) It is not meet that the name of that person who did performe to himselfe an office, should be concealed. It was a woman of honour (but at that time professed a Nunne in the Abbey of *Faversham*) the Lady *Lane of Faleys*, sister to this *Philip*, widow of *William* late Earle of *Hereford*, and mother to King *Edward's* wife; her charitable endeavors were strongly holpen by two Cardinals, who solicited peace together with her. Great interest of mediation she had in either respect, here a brother, there a sonne in law, and shee failed not to pite them both. The Truce was concluded; the rather for that King *Philip* was aduised from all parts, not to let his whole fortunes vpon the Die and chance of a Battell. And *Edward* (on the other side) meaning nothing lesse, then not to haue profected the war vpon the encouragement of his late Sea-victorie, was so destitute of money through the fault of his Officers in *England*, as hee was the sooner drawne, if not enforced to embrace so honest a colour of returning from the siege of *Tourney*; which neuerthelesse did but deferre the miseries of *France*, not determine them: & whereas that glory, which the vpper hand in this Iourney would haue brought, could not haue bene pure and meere vnto him, because the Dutch (whose aide hee vied) would haue claimed no small share therein, the English Cheualrie only had the name and burthen of such great Acts as after followed.

(23) The chiefe Articles of the truce were; That it should endure till Midsummer day; then next ensuing, and that the Prisoners should bee set at liberty without any ranome on both sides, vpon condition to render themselves againe, or pay their severall ranomes, if peace were not in the meane time concluded. By vertue of this treaty and truce, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke* were deliuered. Here it troubled our *W. Vfford*, that King *Edward* should bee left so destitute, and need by the avarice or fraud of his officers at home, as for that respect to giue over so faire an opportunity, by which hee might as it were by a continued line, and hyndisling and pressing vpon the shippes of his late success.

A Straggling of the loyals.

The 12th of July.

Captain, Servant.

The 12th of July.

A very great victory at Sea obtained by King Edward.

Some say, that the Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Vfford, were the chief of the English forces.

Some say,

The 12th of July.

The 12th of July.

Some say,

The 12th of July.

The chief points of the Truce.

The 12th of July.

celle haue happily proceeded, when as yet his friends were vncorrupted, and in presence; and therefore becomes the vnworthinesse thereof towards lo worthy a Prince, adding; *"T hat if in very deed they had scanned and exactly weighed with themselves the Acts of all the English Kings past from the very first Monarch, they would not haue found that euer this Island brought forth a Prince of such excellency, as so" corrupted yeeres.*

(64) King Edward greatly disconcerted with such of his officers, through whose default he was thus in a manner constrained to let slip the present prosecution of his designe, returned with his Queen into England, to take reuenge of their misdemeanors, where hee committed some to prison, put others from their places, and so belittled himselfe, that by occasion thereof much displeasure grew betweene the King and John Archbishoppe of Canterbury, who complained of manifest violence done against the Liberties of the Church and English Nation, comprehended in Magna Charta. And whereas the King did openly charge the Archbishoppe to haue bene a principall perliuader of his entering into league with the Almains against the French, willing him to take no care for treason, because himselfe would for him abundantly furnish from England, out of the lease of granted subsidies, and profits of the Crown: and thus through defect of the Archbishoppes performance, hee was not onely constrained to gaze ouer his hood for the present, but also to embogge himselfe in the Bankers and Viuers bookes, the Archbishoppe thereunto made answer: *"That hee desired in open Parliament it might appeare, through whose default the City of Tournay was not taken, and directly laid the whole blame from himselfe and from his, upon such as were daily Courtiers, (whom Walsingham calls Antichreyst, Englishmen for the King) who serving their owne turnes with the generall abuse, would expose him and his vnwisely to the enuy of their fact."* Yea, some there are, who, more then so, will haue the Archbishopp seeme to practise against the Kings further good fortunes in France; which, if it be true, it is no hard matter to find out the principall motive thereunto.

(65) For certainly the Pope (Bonifize 12.) was nothing pleased with the successes of Edward, at least wile with the war it selfe, as pretending it was pernicious to Christendome; the blame whereof the French charged vpon the English, as vnlawfully claiming, as the English did vpon the French for vnlawfully detaining. This Pope therefore interposed himselfe, and puts *"Flanders vnder interditt,"* as hauing disloyally let it their own Earle, and their chiefe Lord Philip, King of France, committre to their Oath and Allegiance; but they for their defence and iustificati- on answered, that Edward was the onely lawfull King of France, and Philip (to whom they had sworn) a meeke usurper, and therefore notwithstanding that Interditt, or the Papall decision of the controversie, they persisted still in their adherence.

(66) But the more to draine and weaken the mighty frame of the English suppositions, Lewis of Bearer the Emperours Jodainely (by such practices as were vied on behalfe of the French) recalled his Vicar-shippe or delegation, which hee had made to Edward, to exercise imperiall power in lower Germany, offering his best helpe notwithstanding, (as hauing power from Philip to that purpose,) to procure him honorable conditions as a Mediator betweene them. The pretence of his falling from King Edward, and concluding amitie with his enemy, was for that King Edward without his priuie, had consented to a Truce at the City of Tournay with Philip.

(67) To these reuocatorie lines King Edward made this wile and noble answer: That the Emperours zeale to make attoneement hee could not but greatly commend, wishing, that at the instance of so potent a Mediator, an honorable Peace (if that were possible) might bee made; but his Title being cleare enough, hee meant not to make doubt-

full by putting it to any arbitration. That it could not but bee admired, why he should now enter amitie with Philip de Falsy, the wrong-doer, lieth, hauing scene his apparent right, hee had entered with him into league against the said Philip: That it was also agreed, that he might conclude any temporary Truce (though not a final accord) without his consent, it need should be, as in this case at 7 yeeres it was. That this reuocation seemed to bee made somewhat abortiuely, for so much as the Imperialis had promised the Vicar-shippe should stand good till hee had conquered France, or the greater portion thereof. Dated thus *Londini, Anno regni nostri France, 2. Regni vero nostri Anglie, 25.* But Lewis of Bearer to Edward thus inconsistent, and faith-breaking, continued toward Philip steadfast, without either amending Philips fortunes thereby, or himselfe increasing in Iustice or honesty, that it might easily bee scene hee was endued with qualities, which ill became the Imperiall height.

(68) You haue heard a part of great King Edwards victorious fortunes in battell, both by land and sea; bee not ignorant of his Pietie (the soueraigne ornament and safety of Soueraigne Princes,) whereof in one act of his wee will tender vnto you in the stile of that age an Essay and rable. Hee hauing a purpose to pursue his enterprise for France, after sundry Christian and holy considerations of Gods iudgements, and of his owne estate and rightfull cause, hee comes his speech to his Bishoppes in these words. *Cum istius agnitionis sitis, &c.* Seeing therefore you are ordained of God on the behalfe of men, that you should offer gifts and sacrifices for sinne, liken wee heereby you to the premisses, and not to our onely, but to the publike dangers, powring forth prayers to the most high for our happy successe, supplying the place of Moses, so that wee and ours may preuaile against aduersaries, in the lifting of your hands to heauen; and that God would bee the rather pleased to enlarge his fauour towards vs, (the number of Intercessors being multiplied,) cause preachings and processions and other officers of appealing his displeasure, to be mercifully exercised through our Cities and Diocesses, that the God of mercies would extend vnto vs, and our Armes the hand of his Benediction, and so direct our Acts in his good pleasure, that they may redound to his glory and our profite, and to the commoditie and quiet of all our faithful Subjects. This Edward, was indeed to beginne at the right end, for euen the Heathen taught, *"to bequeene with Gods, and thy following successes declared that thy prayers were acceptable.*

(69) And now once againe the French and English powers were at point to trie their fortunes by battell, vpon siding with others Claimers, as erit they had done for their owne. The quarrell was founded vpon a title to the Duchie of little Britaine. Arthur Duke thereof had two wines; by Beatrix his first wife, hee had two sonnes, John (afterward Duke) & Guy; and by Isabel his second wife, hee had John of Monfort, Duke John liuing without issue, assured to Iane (daughter of his brother Guy who died before him) the Ducall Crowne of little Britaine: vpon which entaile, Charles of Blois (Nephew to Philip King of France) marrieth the Lady Iane, who in the life time of Duke John, was (by agreement) put into full possession; but Duke John being once dead, John of Monfort traileth warre as the pursuing heire male. Philip King of France tooke part with Charles of Blois, and Edward king of England with the Lord John of Monfort.

(70) Great and bloudie mischiefs sprang out of these truly supported fictions, which had now drawne King Edward thither in person; and little Britaine (which may well in a fort bee called Wales in France, the Britons chiefly the Britons Britumet, or ruder Britons, declaring at this present by their language, and sundry locall Names, as *Lamen, Triguier, &c.*

Act. Merin. in 240. 3.

"Tud. M. 100.

Publike intercessions required of the Bishoppes by the King.

"At this point peace.

A kind of Wales in France.

"Walsh.

"A. Durum.

Penitence of officers due had should the King in his treason.

"Ab. Anglie.

The Archbishop of Canterbury as courtier the Courtiers.

Flanders interdicted due hauing left the Earle and the French.

"Tud. M. 100.

The Viceroy of the Emperours taken from King Edward. A.D. 1342.

King Edward's success in Lewis Emperours.

&c. That their kinsmen are in *Wales* and *Cornwall*) was become the field of *Mars* and martiall furies. But the powers of those two mighty Kings being vpon point, before the City of *Nantes* in high *Britaine*, to cut out their diuers haies in fortunes Patri-mony, with the edge of the sword, loe againe God inclined their hearts (as if he would faile haue done nothing but then his vengeance in the scabbard) by the careful diligence of two Cardinals, to accept of a truce, which was concluded January the 9. at the Priory of *Maistre*, vpon laudry points, whereof these (as to the purpose of our Story) are the principal.

(71) That the two Kings of *England* and *France* should find certaine of their blood royall to the Court of *Rome* (by a day certaine) there to argue their leuall titles, and rights to the French Monarchy, not as before a *Judge*, but as a friend * indifferent to both, and that the King of *Scots*, and the Earle of *Hennault*, should likewise send to giue their assent for so much as concerned them.

(72) That eithers friends, adherents, and sequels, should be comprehended in the truce, and that the truce should extend it selfe to the titlers in *Britaine* and their sides; and that the Cardinals should doe their best to obtaine absolution from the sentence of Interdict executed vpon the Countrey of *Flanders*.

(73) That the truce should continue for three yeeres; that prisoners or mouables taken on either side should be mutually discharged; that traffique and passages should be open; and that all other things should stand as they did at the time of the truce made: which being fauily engrossed in an Instrument, two great Peeres of each part, took oathes vpon perill of the soules of their Kings, to obserue the contents sincerely.

(74) The possession of the City of *Fumes* in base *Brittain*, the Englishmen still kept, that if settled peace followed not vpon this truce, they might haue some hold and certaine footing-place, from whence to make head againe, and march into the heart of *France*. In this warre *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, a principall instigator of King *Edward*, died of a wound, and *John of Monford* did not long after lose this truce after whose death most part of *Brittain* came into the hands of * *Charles of Navarre*.

(75) King *Edward* returning home after the Truce, neglected not his domestick affaires, but enacted the *Statute of Praemun*, vpon this occasion. Pope *Benedict* being dead, *Clement* the 6. succeeded, a man of singular learning, but * extremely profuse in giuing, who, by way of *Praemun*, had bestowed sundry choice Benefices in *England* vpon Forreiners. For preuention whereof (as of a thing which the King and Peeres would not endure,) it was made *high Treason* by law, for any to bring such Papall pro-uisions into the Kingdome. And for insatisfaction of his so doing, he directed that letter vnto the Pope which was so * excellently pend, as did not onely moue admiration, but astonishment; and indeed this printed age affords few so graue and solide. In which Parliament also the Lord *Edward*, the Kings eldest sonne, was created Prince of *Wales*. He was so renowned a Gentleman, (why doe we say he was, as if he could at any time cease to be, whom fame hath made immortal!) that the high praise before giuen by *Walsingham* to his father, as * exceeding all the Princes which went before him, may be paralleled in the *Scenes* surpassing in martiall deeds, all the Princes that haues lined after him.

(76) His noble father King *Edward* (who had still his eye fixed vpon *France* as the merke of his Conquest) having notice among other things, by a messenger from the Pope, that *Lewis* of *Barre* had wholly submitted himselfe, and was fully absolved from all censures, with confirmation vnto him of the Imperiall diademe: the King, (that you may by

his courage know him worthe of such a sonne,) brake irrefraile forth into these words. Though *Lewis* take the French kings part, I will fight with them both. And whether he were insatied with the fame of King *Arbore* Table, and the Knights aduenterous thereof, or for that he knew honourable Company and exercise in Armes, to be the naturall parents of excellent souldiers, it is agreed, that he erected a building at his Castle of *Windsore*, which should be called the *Round Table*, whose circumference was fixe hundred foot, where Knights and men of warre should haue their entertainment of diet, at his charge by one hundred pounds by the weeke, though afterward through occasion of his warres be abated that sum to twenty pounds weekly. In emulation whereof, *Philip de Palays* (knowing that all this tended but to preparations against him,) erected the like in his Court, to inuite the Knights and men at Armes of *Almaine* and of *Italie* from repairing to King *Edward*. One thing *Philip* did firewily and polinckly, in giuing lease to his subjects to fell downe his woods freely for building of ships, whereby his Naue was greatly augmented, and the rather wrought much mischiefe afterward. About this time one of the chiefe flares in the firmamente of the English Chivalry fell into the Graue, *William Montacute* King of *Morace* and marshall of *England* of * whose noble acts to write worthe were a commendable matter.

(77) But the French King, perceiving that a terrible tempest was likely to fall vpon him from forth of *England*, waxed cruel in his isle selfe, and * put sundry principall men of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Gascon* to death, for no other crime, but that they were English in affection; among whom are reckoned *Sir Oliver de Clisson*, * *Robert de Fosse*, and *Geoffrey of Malesherbe*, Knights of the best note; *Sir Geoffrey of Harcourt* brother to the Earle of *Hereford* being also summoned to *Paris*, appeared in *England*, whither he fled, and became a speciall firebrand in the approaching combustion.

(78) It was not Pope *Clement*s mediation, or diligence in discussing the Titles and Pretences of these two puissant Monarques, which could prevent the fatal punishment of *France*, yet according to the Articles of the treatise at *Melfres*, either Prince sent his particular Orators, where the difficulties tole so thicke and intricate, as *Clement* * despairing to cleare them, put over their farther view till another time. But King *Edward* affirming the truce to be manifestly broken, * by the beheading & persecuting of his friends in *Normandy* & elsewhere, signified so much to the Pope, that Barre and not *Patience* should determine his right, and title. His provisions of men, of ships, of weapon, of victuals, of treasure, of all things, needfull to be braue and daring an enterprize, were worthy of the greatnesse, courage, strength, riches, and mainly of a King of *England*. Into *Gascogne* he sends that valiant great Lord *Henry of Lan-caster*, Earle of *Derby*, with a gallant company of leaders and troups of souldiers, where he achieved many great things, for the defence and enlargement of that Dutchie, taking Cities, Castles and Townes of which *John* the French Kings eldest sonne recouered diuers not long after; and discomfired the enemy in battell. The *Scots* attempting against the West Marches of *England*, by the vigilancy and pro-uisse of such as were in trust for those parts, as the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Lords *Perce*, *Warwicke*, and *Ladw*, very valiant gentlemen, were forced to a retire into *Scotland*. It was the practise of either Prince to di-vert, and distract eithers puissance, w^{ch} *Philip* in *Gascogne*, and hee ours, by his perpetual, and constant confederates, the *Scots*. Our *Edward* notwithstanding could doe it the lesse, for that his constant friend *Jacques van Artevelde* (who was become as it were the popular Tribune of *Flanders*) was * slaine in a mutiny by such as were of the French faction.

(79) *Edward* not being able to recall his slaine

A.D. 1344

* *Ynd. Henr.*

Round Tables erected for men in armes.

* *Ynd. Henr.*

* *Serv.*

* *Ynd. Henr.* 14. 15.

King *Edward* does the truce with *France* bene-lice.

* *Ynd. Henr.*

* *The. PP. Henr.*

* *Ynd. Henr.*

* *Henr. Henr.*

* How was he in-different, who inuoluntarily Flatters for Selling with Edward

A.D. 1343. * *Ynd. Henr.* 14. 15.

* *Falio.*

An.D. 1343 A. reg. 17. The source of Praemun. priuile. * *Henr. Henr.*

Treason to bring in any Papall Provisions. * *Henr. Henr.* 14. 15.

Edward created Prince of Wales.

* *Ynd. Henr.*

The most noble
order of the
Garter instituted

fixed to life, gave life notwithstanding about this time to an institution, which as for the present it served (he having so great view thereof for his French enterprises) as a vehement incentive to martial valor, and a golden band of virtue, so the same is continued with likelihood of perpetuity, and multiplication of splendor in these our daies. It was the foundation of the *English* order, worthily called the most noble order of the *Garter*. The causes why our *Edward* erected it, are not evident, though there could none be greater or better, then those before recited; Honor expressed by external and illustrious ensignes, devided by a victorious Author, and appropriated to a fellow shipp of most exemplar and eminent persons, being in nature like a flame, so kindle in the apt and worthy all heroicke affections. The vulgar opinion is, that whatsoever the remoter causes were which moved to this foundation, the neerer cause, or the occasion was, a Garter of his owne Queene (ot as *Flume* say) of the *Lady Joan*, Countesse of *Salisburie* (wonder of that age for shape and beaurie) which slipping off in a dance, king *Edward* flooped and tooke vp. Such of the Nobles as were present, smiling, and playing in sport with the action of the Kings, as amorous, hee frostily said, it should not be long before there should *Sovereigne honour be done to that fiken tie*. Whereupon hee afterward added the *French* Motto, or Symbolicall word *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*, as well in complement of the whole invention, as in reproof or checke of his Courtiers sinister suspicion. *Polydore* Virgil troubleth himselfe to make an Apologie for the countenell of this Originall, if (without murie) an office of honorable looe is so renowned a Monarch, may vndergoe the uoce of countenell; but the same *Polydore* among his other defenses thereof truly saith,

Nobilitas sub amari ciet.

There was not some who countenell that hee instituted it the Order of the Garter, for that in a bottell wherein he was victorious, hee had given the word Garter, for the word or signe. But if credite may be attributed to the originall¹ Booke of the Institution, the invention is deduced from times more ancient, and that when *Richard* the first King of *England*, set forward against the *Turks* and *Sarazens* to *Cyprus* and *Acon*, and wasd wearie of longer delay, while the siege of *Acon* was with wonderfull care prosecuted, courage at the length (by the coming of *S. George* among them as it was thought) quikning in him, it came into his mind to tie about the legs of certaine his choise Knights, a Garter or small thong of leather, the onely fluffe fute for such a purpose, which hee had then at hand, to the intent that they (as it were by joint content) being mindfull of future glory, if they were victorious, might bee stirred vp, to demean themselves nobly after the example of the *Romans*, with whom that varietie of Crownes or Garlands given for sundry causes as honorable Enignes to the Soldier was in vye to the intent, that by such increments, they might shake off sloath, and the spirit of courage might rife, and break forth the more frequently.

(80) And into this opinion of stirring vp vertue thereby, the² Author of the *Britannia* seemeth to passe, where hee saith, that King *Edward* the third founded this Order, to³ adorn *Martiall* vertue with honor, rewards and splendor.

(81) There was in the Castle of *Windsor* (the ordained seat of the Order now first to be consummated) before King *Edward* did accomplish his intention, in honour of God, our Lady, and *S. George*, a⁴ Chappell erected by King *Henry* the first, and other Progenitors of *Edward*, with an allowance for eight Canons, to whose Colledge this Prince added a Deane, fiftene Canons more, and twenty and foure poore impotent Knights, with other officers

and seruants, as appeareth by his Charter. These were to pray for the good estate of the *Sovereigne* and Brethren of the most noble Order. The *Sovereigne* and Knights themselves had their particular lawes and constitutions, which they were by solemn oath bound to observe, of which one⁵ was, That they should defend and assist one the other: which afterward made *Alphonse* Duke of *Calabria* receive the habite of that Order with so exceeding reverence at *Naples*, as eromiously thinking himself secured thereby from the *French*, who claimed that Kingdom. But that custome of mutual assistance (saith *Polydore*) was then worn out of vfe, and discontinued euery where; for those *Italian* *Patricians* who (within the memory of *Polydore*) being driven forth of their Country, and imploring aid of those orders, whereof themselves were companions, found no supporture, either from the *French* or *Burgundians*, who had formerly elected them. Besides laws and Officers, King *Edward* also deuised particular Ceremonies & distinctive habites and enlighenments, whereof the principall was the azure Garter, wherein the *French* Motto of the Order was wrought in letters of gold, and the Garter it selfe fastned a little vnder the left knee with a buckle of gold, in⁶ token of Concord. There are speciall Manuscript Bookes of the Constitutions and other things peculiar to this Order, to which (this place being not aptly capable of their recapitulation) we must referre the curious. *Saint George* the esteemed patronne of Christian fortitude, is intituled to the Patronage of this Order, & the beaurous Chappell in *Windsor* Castle (where his⁷ day is yeerely celebrated) consecrated by King *Edward* to his memory. The fortune of this institution hath bene such, that the most mighty Princes of the Christian world haue thought themselves most highly honoured, in being chosen thereunto, so that there haue bene about two and twenty forraine Emperors and Kings (besides many others of most noble quality) since the first institution thereof, elected and admitted Companions of the Garter. The Kings of *England* are in their severall times *Soueraignes* of the Order, and the whole number of Knights is circumscribed in twenty and six, whereof the *Soueraigne* is one. The names of the first twenty and six (who are also byed Founders of the Order) you shall finde intabed in our Mappe of *Burke*.

(82) Our *Edward*⁸ having thus honored *S. George* memory, assigned to his Image mounted in Armour vpon Horsebacke a silver Shield with a cross Gules (⁹ the deare remembrance of his dying Lord) and¹⁰ appointed his Souldiers to wear white coats or lackets, with a red Crosse before and behind ouer their Armor, that it was not onely a comely, but a stately sight to behold the *English* battels, like the rising Sunne to glitter faire off in that pure beu; when the Souldies of other Nations in their bawle weedes could not bee discerned. The glory therefore of this Order seemed such to one, no¹¹ vnlearned Poet, that in an Apollrophe to *Windsor*, speaking of the Garter, hee breaks forth into these scarce Hyperbolicall verses.

Cappadocia quamquam sit clera *Georgi*
Militia, &c.

Far spread thy fame, wherewith S. Georges knights
Hath made thee glorious; where rich-ruled Peeres,
Whose many leg; the golden garter dignes,
Counte that light which through all lands appears,
That now Burgundians scorne their Fleece of Gold;
The French, th' Escalope Collar for with grace;
Their Croffed weeds, Rhodes, Elbas, Alcals, hold
As worthless; all march with thy George, are bafe.

(83) Let vs not dwell too long in the lesser things: It was the moneth of *Julie*, and King *Edward* was now vpon the Sea with about a thousand Saile,

AD. 1350.
An. Reg. 14.
The Prince of the foundation
borne date is.
Reg. Edw. 3.
John Lane, who
remembred
place the first
thrust at
this place.
* Camd. Brit. 2.
An. 1350.

* Joseph Hall
An. 1350.
Lip. Edw. 3.

* Polyd. Virg.
Edw. 3.

* Hist. Angl. 2.
Edw. 3.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* An. Convent.
An. 1350.
Camd.

* *Serra*

King Edward in
France with
bounty colours.
Frisland.

* *Glen. Villain.*

* *Serra.*

* *Paid. Purg. &
manet.*

* *Serra.*

The great band
of Crispe.

Seven Gales but
dooms.

* *Saile.* No man is said to know whether he bent his course, so well he could trust himself, and so wisely free his Councils from the possibility of discovery. He went not to war by rote, but by book; *wisdom* was Hirbenger and marshall of his valor; who shall say he knew not how to conquer? It was not long but he came to anchor in the Haven of *Hey Saint Vast*, in *Constantine*, a great cape of land or penile in *Normandy*. His land forces did muster twenty and five hundred horse; and thirty thousand foot, most of which were Archers. The lights, and glories of his Armie, were the *Prince of Wales* (then about sixteen years old, who was then by his father knighted) many brave Earles, Lords, Knights, and expert Cheifs; the English going cheerfullie, as having gotten such a King as answered their warlike dispositions. The Earle of *Huntington* had charge of his Navy: himselfe takes severe revenge for the blood of his friends vpon the Norman Townes and people, proceitling he sacrificed them * to *Clifton, Bore, Perce,* and therest. Their heads were set vpon the chiefe Gate of *Carintine*, for which cause hee flew all that could be found therein, and turning the whole town into Cinders gaue it to their funeral. He tooke the populous and rich City of *Caen*, & with his dreadfull hoit burning and spoiling round about, marched vp almost as farre as the very walles of *Paris*, brauing King *Philip* to neere.

(74) Who had not slept all this while, but was purcuied one of the fullest armies which ever were scene in *France*. King *Edward* people rich with spoile seemed not vnwilling to return. They were now in the enemies Countrey between the two good rivers of *Seine* and *Sonne*, for they had passed the *Seine* at *Pessie*, whose Bridge (as all other between *Norm* and *Paris*) had beene broken downe by the *French*, and now (notwithstanding any opposition) in a short space repaired. It was thought fit to seek a passage out of these straights, which could not be by Bridges, for they were broken by the *French*. This search for passage, was by the enemy interpreted a kind of flight, and *Edward* could not but be willing to nourish their temerity, to draw them on securely to destruction by such a seeming frace.

(81) The river of *Sonne*, betweene *Abbeville* and the Sea, at a low water hath a passable and granellie foord, knowne by the name of *Blanch Taque*; this was discovered to him by one *Gabeau* prisoner. But the *French King* (being acquainted in his owne Countrey to empench this passage, had before sent thither a *Norman* Baron of speciall note, one *Gedmar du Fay*, and a 1000. thousand horse with at least 6000. foot; but *Edward*, (whom as obstacles made impetuous, so nothing could dismay,) enters himselfe into the foord, * crying, *He that loves me let him follow me*, as one that resolved either to passe, or die. Who can tell the efficacy of such a *Generals* spirit, but they, who have had the happinesse to follow vnder the conduct? The passage was, and *Du Fay* declared in a manner, before he was almost fought with, (the incomparable courage of his enemies appalling him,) he brought to King *Philip* fewer by a pair of thousands, then he carried forth, besides terror, and an euill signe of that which followed. The English, who knew not what it meant to run away, but were before resolved to line & die with such a *Sovereigne*, had reason now much more to resolve the same.

(86) King *Edward* was nere to *Crispe* in the Countrey *Panthies*, lying between the rivers of *Sonne* and *Authy* (which unquestionably belonged vnto him in right of his mother,) there most vigilantly provides he for his defence. King *Philip*, set on fire with this disaster, precipitates to battell for accomplishment of Gods anger against *France*; being rather drawne, by the vnely vanity of his huge multitudes, (for by what other words doe * an hundred or six-score thousand men deserve to be called?) who neuer left ouer-taking one the other, till the view of the English banners and battels put

them to stand. We protest that the nature of our vndertakings will not brooke descriptions at large; you shall haueit as we may, that is, as remembering, that innumerable great achievements left behind, somewhat impatiently attending their relation.

(87) Therefore, the holy name of God first ritely invocated, King *Edward*, without shewing the least signe of perturbation, but full of an Heroick affurednesse, had ordered his people to three battels, with their wings and succours. The *Forward* disposed into the forme of an Hearle, where the Archers stood in front, and the men of armes in the bottome, was vnder the young Lord of *Wales*, Prince *Edward*, and with him many of the prime and greatest Captaines: *Beauchamp Earle of Warwick*, *Godfrey of Harcourt*, *The Lords, Stafford, Leuare, Bourchier, Clifford, Cobham, Holland, &c.* In the second battell were, *The Earles of Northampton, and Arundell; The Lords, Kellie, Willoughby, Bassett, Saint Albane, Manton, &c.* The third and last battell was commanded in cheife by King *Edward* himselfe, with the residue of his Nobles and people. In euery one of these battels, beside the wings, were a vast proportion of men at armes and Archers, but nothing so thinn and few as some of our * writers alledge, who mention not above 9000. all together, who were at least thrice as many in their whole numbers, and not without need.

(88) King *Edward* closed his battels at their back, (as if he meant to barricado them from flying,) by selling and plashing of Trees, placing his carriages there and other impediments whatsoever, having commanded * all men to put from them their horses, which were left among the carriages. Thus all waies of safety by flight being prevented, the necessity did vndoubtedly double their courages. Thus placeto the best advantage, King *Edward* visiteth the ranches in person, riding vpon a pleasant * Hobby, (hauing onely a white rod in his hand, as if he would challenge fortune,) betweene the two marshalls of his field; whose very presence, with a few reasonable and vnforced words on behalfe of God and his right, in need of long Orations, did inspire the faintest hearts among them with fresh vigour and alacritie.

(89) Our writers describe not vnto vs the quality or face of the ground of *Crispy* where this battell was determined (though verie much doth depend vpon choise of place,) neither the exact figures, or severall numbers of euery severall battell, their distances, wings or other warlike formes, nor finally what *Pallisade*, trench, or other device was in this or that quarter vsed, to keepe-off and breake the furious charge of men of Armes, before they came at the Archers, principall workemen at this bloody iourney. But thus lamely are things commended to Posterity, where the Actors themselves take no care to see the particulars orderly and according to the truth delineated; but either are vnlearned, or give themselves to the bodily fruition of their passed trauels, rather then to exercise their minds in profiting themselves and others by such relations as are made with life and art. Thus we find, that the place of the Englishmens battels was the Towne of *Crispe*, and Forest, and therefore apt with small labour to be made inaccessible, or at least difficult for horse to enter vpon; that also the English battels were marshalled to the most advantage for giuing succour one vnto the other; and that there were * Shields or Pavises to shelter our Archers from the Genowais shot.

(90) By this time King *Philip* (whose countenance is * said to haue changed threat,) was in sight of the English. Hee had with him the two Kings of *Boheme* and *Moravia*, and almost innumerable other great Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons and Gentlemen of inferior rank bearing armes; nor those onely of *France*, but very many of them *Almaine* and *Dutch*, lest you should suppose, he had drawne away *Leopold*

The English put
into battell.

Frisland.

Welsh.
Geoffrey.

* *Grosven*

Not an English-
man on horse-
back in this
battell.
* *Grosven*.

* *Prigland*.

The culpable ig-
norance and
negligence of
Grosset.

* *Poly. Poly. 4b.*
11.

* *Grosven*.

the Emperor from the friendship of K. Edward, to little purpose. The night before the battell, there alighted in the French host, with intention to lop off one branch of Laurell from the tree of victorie (though it fell out to be Cyprus and Texu) Arrie Earle of Savoy, with a thousand men of Armes so that all things seemed to concur to no small fury for a lodaine raine. We need not describe the order of the French, where disorder was a principall Actor: The King of Bohem, and Charles Earle of Alencon, King Philip's brother German, had charge of the point or vanguard, King Philip himselfe was in the maine battell, and the Earle of Savoy had chiefe command in the Rere.

(92) That is almost ridiculous, which one writes of the etymologie of the *Coules* (as he calls it) advanced at this battell, as a signe of taking none to merce, no more (as he faith) then *Oile* doth vie to extinguish fire, when indeed it was a hallow'd Banner of red silke, whereof the French had a wonderfull high conceit, as of that which was sent from heauen, and called *Oryflant* or *Auriflamme*. King Edward on the contrary side, is reported for signe of like rigour, to have erected there his vnconquered Standard of the *Dragon Gules*. Lewis of Luxemburg, the most valiant old King of Bohemia, being either blind or verie badly sighted, hearing in that goodly order the English like Iobert Spanier soldiers jettred the charge, said plainlie (contrary to their over-weening iudgements who had giuen out of their flight,) *Here will the English end their daies or conquer*. And even as the first wounds were ready in a manner to bee giuen and taken, behold, God, to let them know he was awake, and that there was one aboue to whom so many thousands should within a few minutes appeare, to giue an account of their whole line till that present; hee caused the blacke cloudes to poure down vpon them store of flaming teares, enarching the ayre with a spacious * Raine-bow, and discharging sundry tire and peales of thunder: the Sunne also, at the same time drawing nere to set, would gladly haue hid his face, by shrouding it vnder a partill * Eclipsis: but God (who meant good to the English) would not suffer him to withdraw his more necessary office, so that freed from that temporary shadow, he shone directly into the Frenchmans eyes. At the same time also * sholes and cloudes of ballesall Rarens, and other birdes of prey and tawin, as fore-shewing the haruch of carcasses at hand, came flying over the French host.

(93) The signe of battell being giuen by King Philip, and entertained with shouts and clamors, all things shewing the horror of war, Drums & Trumpets sounding to a charge, Banners flying in the winds, and every where shining weapons, menacing braue extremities, reason herselfe acknowledged it only safe to leaue them to their brnte faculties, passion and furie, and the euentic selfe to God. The French calamities began at their *Generayes*, who vnder * Carolo Grimaldi, and Antonio Doria their Coronets, being all of them Crosse-bowmen, were to open a way for the French horse with their shot. This was the looser of their seruice: Their Crosse-bow strings wet with the late raine, their bodies wearie with a long march, their ranks (after the English had intercepted vpon * targets their first voloe) filled with innumerable gappes, or outshorne with home-drawne arrows, were lastly most outspaciously fencerred by Charles Earle of Armaun, at whose commandement (derived from K. * Philip himselfe) his horse gaue in among the, to drive them by plaine murder from the honour of gaining the point, vpon onely pretence that they hindered their race. This hate young Count (contrary to good discipline) had also otherwise vniuilly discontented and disgraced them, even when they were ready to iole in battell, whose bodies (being as most write about twelve thousand) by bearing the first brunt might haue

been of great vie, if in nothing else, but in giuing as buttes and quivers, to take into them the chiefe first shornes of the English arrows. Whereas now they themselves were not onely thus most miserably troden vnder foot, and put to the sword, but many of the French Gallants by that occasion mingled among them, were overthrown by the English arrows, who equally pleased the destruction both of French and Genowayes, shooting thickest where the tumult and confusion were greatest. Some * ralsals also following the English Armes, as they saw opportunity, stept in among them, and helpe to cut throates, sparing neither Lord nor lordell.

(94) The French men of Armes halfe out of breath with headlong halts, and terribly disordered with the perpetuall shornes of flying arrows, were now at hand-brookes with the Princes battell; neither was it long, but that the shining Battell axes, (swords, lances, and other weapons of our nation had lost their splendor, being covered with humane gore, which hausting thirstily dranke out of enemies wounds, they fell in bloody teares. The fight was sharpe and fierce: but to what purpose serues writing, if the high resolution of the king of Bohemia should be vnremembered! he (as onely seeking an honourable grane for his old age) put himselfe into the first rank of his owne horiemen, and with full randome charging the English, was slaine with sword in hand, the troupe of his faithfull followers with their slaughterd bodies covering him euen in death. There lay this Trophoe of the English Cheualrie, by whose fall (rudely leene in the ruine of the Bohemian Standard,) his noble sonne, the Lord Charles of Bohemia (lately elected Emperor, whilst Lewis was as yet alive) was wisely warned to provide for himselfe, the matter appearing desperate. For now was Philip himselfe in perill, with the full power of his Armes, come to the rescue of his brother and friends, who were hard at worke (while they had breath) about their dreamed victorie, but finding the mettill infinitely more tough which they had to deale vpon, then they could possibly haue supposed, were beaten to the earth in great numbers. The young Prince neuertheless was not without danger, though now the second battell of the English, for perseruacion of their Prince, dashing in among the enemies, fought most courageously.

(95) Therefore King Edward himselfe was sent vnto, whose battell honored like a tempest in a cloud, over which, vpon the hillocke of a Windmill, with his helmet on, (which neuer came off till all was done) he iudiciously watcht, beholding the whole field, and ready to enter into the conflict when ills necessity should inuite. You that heare a most noble answer: The messenger dispatched from the Earle of Northampton and others, vpon a tender respect to their young Princes safety, hauing declared to the King, that the Lords required his presence, for that his sonne was in danger, he bad him return and say: *Let them find no more to mee for any adventure that may befall, while my sonne is alive; but let him either vanquish or die, because the honour of this house shal bee his, if God suffer him to survive*.

(96) The Messenger returned, and though hee brought not men to their succours, hee brought such accession of courage and spirit, as hee that should say that King Edward failed them at their need, should neither vnderstand what belongs to magnanimity, nor the effect of such a checke from so excellent a General: who neuertheless, was maturely watchfull ower the good of his childe and people: on the other side King Philip (whose quartell it was) did not forsake the duty of a noble chiefe; but so long contended in his owne person, till his horse was slaine vnder him with arrows, himselfe twice dismounted, and wounded both in the necke and thigh: but then the Lord John of Hendlis, Earle

The 10th confusion of this army

* English

The French horse charge the English battell.

The king of Bohemia is slain resolution and death.

* English

King Edward refresheth to see his sonne the Prince.

* Paul Armes in Philip's Armes. His most noble sonne is slain.

King Philip person being engaged in the fight.

of

* French

* English

The Armes of France, and Dragon of England.

* French

* English

* English

* English

The Countesses defense.

* English

The Duke of Armaun's fall.

* French

Some foolish that
King Edward
came as it to
the battle, and
with his com-
pany made an
end thereof. The
barren words
left to his name
(which see also
in *Perce*) influ-
ence nothing left.

of Beaumont, (who had long since quit King Edwards service) lets him againe on horsebacke; and the French (out of a loyall desire to his preservation) cried to retire him out of the fight, who rather seemed willing to end his dayes in so noble companie: which voice was as it were the vp-shot and last Gaspe of that most cruell conflict, where none as yet were taken to mercy vpon any termes.

After their king had preferred himself, the whole power of the *Fremel-gate* away, and sought to rise itself by flight, whom the *Egypt*, wares fighting upon the defender, and loath to hazard such a victory, by breaking their ranks to pursue the enemy too far in the night time, (which now was come upon them), suffered them to be holden in chase by their own wilt fear, contented to make good their ground, by landing still upon their guard according to true discipline. For they lay not as yet the bottom of their danger, and knew that there were so many escaped, as might well serve to overcome their Army with their multitudes.

197) King Edward seeing the coast for the present
cleare of all his enemies, aduanceth with his vi-
coucher barrell towards his victorious sonne, & most
affectionately embracing and kissing him, *Said Faire
Sonne, God send you good performance to y^e professed
braguardes; you haue nobly acquit your selfe, and are
well worthy to haue the Governance of a Kingdome en-
trusted vnto you for your valour.* To which the most
chearfull of young Princes replied in silence, most
humbly filling on his knees, before his triumphant
father.

(58) Here there may be some controversy, whether the exemplary manhood of the *English*, or their singular piety, were more to be commended: but who will not infinitely prefer the latter, chiefly in Souldiers, among whom it is usually most wanting? Great was the victory, great was their prowess, & great the glory; but like true Christian knights and Souldiers, forbore all boast, referring the whole thanks and honour of their preferation to God the true Author thereof. The night was so very dark, as if it had mourned for the day times blood-shed, therefore they made 4 fires of fens, lighted torches, and candles, carefully tending their wounded companions, and modestly rejoicing in their own safe deliverance.

(99) But the next morning presented new work, for in a half hour began to spread the earth, that they could scarce be hard at hand, yet were *new swarms of French* abroad, who came from sundry Castles and good towns, as *Ram, Beaumont*, &c. to have loyned with King *Philip* in the deluged spoils of the *English*; these being mettre with by King *Edward's* people, were in sundry places overthrowne and slain, and multitudes of such as had lost their way in the last flight, were kenerly put to the sword, as the *English* chanced upon them, * where they lay lurking in hedges, bushes, and by-ways: The Earle of *Northampton*, * *suifelle* and *Norfolke*, had the execution of the *French* which fled from this last overthrow, for the space of about nine miles *English* from the ground where they encountered.

(100) There was leasure now to take an account of the flames, which vpon the enemies side amounted, not only in the number to very many, but in their quality to very great. For search hereof, King Edward caused certain principall commanders, and three Heraldes, (who by the Coat-Armours might iudge of the persons, it being then a thing perpetuall and solemne not to fight without those signes of Noblesse,) to take an exact view of the field, who about supper time returning, made report to the King, that they found the dead bodies of eleven great Princes, and of Barons, Knights, and men of Armes, above one thousand, and five hundred. Among the owners of liue bodies as were beate on the Earth vpon the first day, they are worthily reckoned chiefe: The King of Bohemia, the King

of *Maires*, * *Charles* Earle of *Alençon*, brother-German to *King Philip*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, * the Duke of *Barben*, the * Earle of *Flanders*, the * Earle of *Sauoy* (both great Princes), * the *Duchess* of *Flemm*, *Jonne* to *Himbert*, the Earle of *Sancerre*, and *Marceant* (whose brother *Gadfrey* in pety of his house, his two Nephewes bring slaine with their father, forsooke the King of *England* after his battell, and returned into *Nearce* with the *French*), the * Earles of *Amuel*, *Nearce*, &c. like Earles of *Almaine*; beside othem of great account of all fortis. Upon the second day, the *Grand Prince* of *France*, who with his Archbithoppe of *Roon*, had on the behelfe of their Prince and Country put on Armes. Of the Commons Ju. v. both of these blacke dayes, there fell about thirty thousand, and some say, four times more in this last, then in the other.

(101) We finde not one man of honour, or note
 flaine vpon the *English* side, fo that this vitorie
 may safely be accounted among the wonderfull.
 The spoiles of the Enemies bodies and carriages,
 King *Edward* gave wholly to his well deservling sol-
 diers. The rule of their fifty (they being in a smolt
 populus a enemy Countrey) would not permit them
 to vñ much carrie to others, at that which might
 have proued cruelty to themselves, but vpon the
 second day they tooke many prisoners, though
 none of great name, for they were spent in the day
 before. It pleased the conquerour to proclaim a
 truce now for three dayes in the Countrey about
 that the people might come in to burie their dead
 but the bodies of the most noble, hee himselfe car-
 ri'd to be conuied to *Montreal*, and there (in his
 March towards *Calais*) entered.

(102) Thus by Gods fauour, and the vnriftable force of the *English Archers*, (who in a manner did e- only fight) was King *Edward* put into a full and peaceable poffeffion of a perfect victory, which after hee had one night only enjoyed in the *Forrell of Crefie*, hee diflodged with his conquering hoaft, & marched ftraight toward *Calais*, which hee presently inached, hauing decreed neuer to fift hee had Arriue from before it, till without affault hee had carried the fame. For which caufe hee entrencht & fortified his Camp on all fides, built vp .v. Sheds couered with Reed and broome, and other places and officers to dwell in, and ftopping all relief by Sea, (wherefoe hee was Mafter) with his Naue, There commanded in *Calais* for the *French*, *Sir Iohn de Pienne*, *v. Marfhal of France*, and the Lord *Dandeghes*, with a very strong Garrifon, who concluded like good men of war, to trie all extremities, rather then to furrender the Piece, which was fo strong, that to affaile the fame, otherwife then with famine had bene fruitfull. Thefe great Captaines feeing King *Edwards* refolution, thruft forth of the Towne (for fparing of food) their poorer people, aboue fifteene handreth; whom hee, like a true Chriftian Prince, turned not backe vpon the Towne, but releafed for Gods caufe with freft victuals, and two pence fterling each; permitting them freely and fecurely to paffe through his Camp, to his great glory, and (vndoubtedly) profit ablo, hauing their hearty prayers for his happy fucceffe, and God for pay-maister, and rewarder of fuch his Beneficence.

(to 1.) Many wayes were thought vpon by king Philip to raise this obdurate people: two principall; an Army of *French* to fight with king Edward; and a diuersion by inuasion, wherein the *Swiss* (their perperuall allies) were forward. Both in their fennall times, were put into execution: That of the *Swiss* inuasion was first, but with such success, as well declared it was Gods will (all people heauing their encralings, zeniths, and declinacions) that the *English* name should now be brought to the vernall point thereof, without any thing being able to resist it.

(104) For David the second King of Scots, to gra-
 X x x x x

- * *The Yards Is*
- More, and*
- John Lane,*
- London,*
- * *Secret.*
- * *John Lane,*
- * *Pulp, Long*
- * *and, New York.*
- * *James who all*
- reaches the*
- Earle of Hope*
- James at the*
- call, who was a*
- house and dry*
- pieces over.*
- * *N.Y. Herald.*

சென்னை 17.12.2019

*Tabl. IV.

405X 1212

* *Patella* 3' 000.

Cristó delgado.
* Serravallo 30
September.
A.D. 1346.

100

JURY

King Edwards
Charity.

The French de-
vils in Saigon
Colon.

1994

King Edward
and the Prince
1800.

The modest and
wise behaviour of
the English.

1000000

*Typ. Manuf.
H. C. G. Co.

broken.
Paul, deny! I wish
that the English
set up French
Bastons, and by
that strongem
doe them to
destruction.
* French.
* Mr. North-
broughpad Rob-
t. de Austerin.
* T. de N. de.

The field viewed
from the side.

15mDm

* 1972 National
Survey.

* Secret.

The Scots invade England and are vanquished by Edward's forces.

* 22. October. Philip King of France, sent his son, Edward, to fight with him.

* 17th. May.

* 17th. May. 1346. King Edward, with his army, landed in Normandy.

* 17th. May. King Edward, with his army, landed in Normandy.

* 17th. May.

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* 17th. May.

* 17th. May.

* 17th. May.

* 17th. May.

* 17th. May. King Edward, with his army, landed in Normandy.

The King of France, with his army, landed in Normandy.

* 17th. May.

the his most deare beind the French, coming with a very great armie of three score and two thousand into England, as farre as *Durham*, supposing none but Priests and Shepherds were left at home, considering what great numbers were abroad upon Lettice, in *Picardie*, *Britaine*, and *Gascogne*, was (upon * *Saint Lukes Eve*) vnderaken and fought withall, his whole armie by faire force vanquished, and himselfe taken prisoner at a place by *Durham* called *Neville Cross*. Chiefties among the English at this triumphant journey were * The Archbishop of *York*, *Gilbert Paufraue* Earle of *Angus*, *William Lord Leuch*, with eight other Lords, *Prey*, *Meurway*, *Neville*, *Deincourt*, *Manley*, *Leysburne*, *Serpent*, and *Mufgrave*. *Sir Robert de Barmen* Sheriffe of *Northumberland*, and other noble Barons. To this battell also were * many Priests and Clergy men of England, to whom necessity for defence of their Country, made the bloody vie of Iron and Steele warrentable: not could the Scots be aequaled to have lost any thing for want of manhood, specially the king himselfe, who had two speares hanging in his body, his leg almost incurably wounded with an arrow, his sword and weapons beaten out of his hands; who disdaining captivety, incited the English by opprobrious words to kill him, and when *John Copland* (an Esquire of the North-country, * Captaine of the Castle of *Bamborough* in *Scotland*), aduised him to yield, he stroke him on the face with his Gantlet so hercefully, as that two of his great teeth were mislaid out there with: but seeing he could not force a death but must be Prisoner, *John Copland* conueighed him away with eight of his owne seruants out of this field. There lay dead vpon the ground the * Earles of *Murray* and *Strathern*, the Constable, Marshall, Chamberlaine, and Chancellour of *Scotland*, with many other Nobles. There were taken Prisoners (beside the king) the Earles of *Dorset*, *Wilt*, *Southerland*, *Winton*, and *Mentich*. Thus the fortune of King *Edward*, by the vertue of his valiant subiects, prevailed in euery place.

(105) It could not be excused, if we forgot the Offices of Queene *Philip* in her Husbands abience; who * being then in England, and great with Child of a daughter (afterward called *Margaret*) rode in Person about the battels of the English, encouraging them with soft, princely and gracious words, as did not a little sharpen and allure their otherwife feruent courages: which done, shee retired her selfe to *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*, there to attend the successe which God would send. After the battell, vnderstanding that King *David* was taken, free by letters willed the Esquire to tender vp his roiall Prisoner; which he refusing, shee (impatient) sends ouer a complaint to King *Edward*. At * whole commandement, repairing to the Campe before *Calais*, he so discreetly answered, that he was sent backe into England with the reward of * 500. pounds lind by the yeere, to lie * where *Copland* himselfe should chuse, neere to his owne dwelling, and warrant to deliuer vp his Prisoner to the Queene, which he accordingly did at the City of *York*, with to sober and honest an Apology, as both there, and the Lords of Council were satisfied. This *Copland* (who had linds of King *Edward*es gift at * *Vincelston* in *Worcestershire*) was also aduanced, for this most valiant achievement, to the dignity of a Knight *Banier*, which writers corruptly call a *Barnet*, *honor* hauing at that time no such kind of creature. King *David* was lodged vnder fure guard in the Tower of *London*.

(106) Wonder it is to consider, with what golden links one good hap was annexed to another, in this full moon of it was wert of King *Edward*es reigne. For within a small compasse of time, all these great achievements fell. *Sir Thomas Dagworth* like another * *Macabbee* (saith an Author) with 8. hundred men of Armes, and one hundred Archers, in *Britaine* ouerthrew the Lord *Charles of Blois*, who hauing twice in one date with incredible od in the num-

bers, (as of about thirty for one,) assailed that brace Knight, was beaten out of the field with marvellous losse of Nobles and others slaine or taken. Not long after that the same *Sir Thomas* also hauing only three hundred men of Armes, and foure hundred Archers in his company, assailed the same Lord *Charles*, lying at siege of *Ber-Durham* with twelve hundred Knights and Esquires, five hundred other armed men, two thousand *Steel-bow-men* & of other Infantry great store; and tooke Prisoner the said Lord *Charles* of *Blois* (who as you have heard elated the Dutchy of *Britaine* against *Manfred*) drawing his whole forces with admirable manhood and great destruction out of the field. This in *Britaine*.

(107) In *Gascogne* the magnificent and noble Henry Earle of *Derby*, and now (by his fathers late death) Earle of *Langcaster* also, pursuing his hie fortunes in *Aquitaine*, & *Gascony*. One, drew *John Duke of Normandy*, eldest sonne of King *Philip*, vniought with, from the siege of *Aquilon*; though it is faide, he left it, as * commanded to repaire to his father for the reliefe of *Calis*; he also tooke sundry places of speciall importance, some by render, some by assault, many profitable prisoners, and rich spoiles, and with triumph returned safe to *Euclidean*. Not long before this, at the taking of the good Towne of *Brigerac* by assault, he had permitted eary souldier to lesse any house, and conuent all therein to his proper benefit. Hereupon it hapned, that a certaine knight of Souldier called * *Arth*, had broken into a Fortement, where the monies had for safety flowed the moire of that Country in great long ficks, who (thinking it was not the Generalls intention that such a treasure should come to a priuate Share) acquainted the Lord *Henry* therewith: what was his answer? he with a kingly magnificence told him * *That the House, and all therein were his, according as he had at first proclaimed, let them be with (saith he) what they would.* The petty retumes and while he is bulie in counting his new riches, behold, he finds so much more pure liuer in Coine, that hee could not but once againe acquaint his Generall therewith. What can be added to the honour of the answer which to this effect he now the second time made? *Why tel left thou me of the greatest of the treasure? go, take it and enioy it: For it is gine, and then to take it backe againe, is childes play: I haue once said it, and my word is passed, may not with my honour be reuokt, were it were so much.*

(108) *John Duke of Normandy*, coming into *Picardy*, had two repulses and foiles, being driven from the Towne of * *Cassis*, and *Lille*, so that King *Edward*es fortune was available, aswell to his Confederates as to his owne People: and now, to confumate his glory, the whole power of France, led forth by King *Philip* to preferre that tie of his Empire, *Calais*, returned without doing any thing. For when mediators could effect nothing, and *Philip* would not set vp his trust vpon battell, lest while he sought to save a Towne, hee should lesse a kingdom, hee mournfully retired himselfe with lossefull halt into the bolome of France, leaving his desperate Captaine and people in *Calais* to the Conquerors mercy. So *Edward* had the Towne deliuered into him, when he had almost shidden in leaguer before it one whole yeere. The piety of Queene *Philip* toward the prisoners selected to die, and the worthy deuotement of some *Calistion* Townsmen, to that certaine perill, for satisfaction of King *Edward*es incensed minde, declaring themselves thereby to be good, true and loyall French-men, are by all Authors celebrated, finding both pity and honour for euer. King *Edward* hauing as wisely taken order for safekeeping of this precious price, as he had costlily endured to carry it, drawing oer a substantiall Colony of Englishmen into it, let saile at last for England, whether with much trouble at Sea (tempesta suddenly rising) he at last arrived safe: It is obserued, that hee had alwaies faire weather at his passage into France,

Sir Thomas Dagworth (North) has given in *Account*.

* *Macab*

The wife of *Leuch* was taken at *Calais* and *Guis*.

* *Arth*

* *The PP* *Arth* *Arth* *Arth*

A Generall word the saying.

* *Arth*

Calis yielded to *Arth*. *An. D. 1347. An. Reg. 11. 17th. May. 1346.*

* *The PP*

A.D. 1343.

Grace, and foals upon his return.

(109) Neuer was the English Name to great, and glorious in his time, nor did England herself in any foregoing age enjoy a King more renowned for wisdom, chivalrie, and felicity in actions; the iust brightnesse of his irradiate vertues, not only adorning lix with Garlands, conquered Spoiles, and Trophies, but ferming aloft (such was the abundance of all things) to infuse fertility into the earth it selfe, like some * new shining fume. Meane while, faire France (whose world turne it was) late mournfull lix weeping, and with great anxietie of mind pouldred the bell lix could against such a deluge of calamities. Neither yet was King Edwards glorie at the height, for God was inclin'd to make him yet more bounden and beholden. Howbeit as it is a mighty worke to ascend to such an eminence of renown, yet when the mozt of man is knowne and done, let us use therefore loue themselves, or admire others, for neither hath this world any thing permanent to trull vpon, and to God alone belongs the honour. This was trauell and felt when the celestiall musicke fild

An wonderful
place.

the abuse of good gifts. It rained from Muldoon till Christmas, and so terrible a plague rained through the world, that the earth was filled with grapes, and the air with cries: which was seconded with murreto of Cattle, and dearth of all things. The plague began among the Turkes, and pierced by degrees into France, where it mowed downe many thousands. In London it had so quick and sharpe an edge, that in one yeres space, there were buried 14* one Church-yard (commonly called the Clitition, or Charter-houſe) above fifty thousand. The French notwithstanding praife to reconſider Calix by bribery, but treaſon being not true to it ſelfe, King Edward came ſuddenly in-perſon, and preferred the inſolent lawleſly by police, and princely manhood, killing many of them who came upon that blind adventure.

(110) This invincible King (one great Art over-taking another) hearing that certaine *Spaniards* men of warre, who had in the yeere before cruelly & faine furdrie *Engliſhmen*, and taken away their Wives and other warres, were come into his Sea hee like a Martiall *Nepheue* encountered them not far from *Wincheſter* in perſonne, with ſuch ſhips as could then bee had; and after a moſt bloody fight, (for there was few or none elapſed vnmakt) tooke tweney and fixe of their principall veſſels, ſunke others, and drew the reſt away. The gallant & ſpirit of the *Spaniards* was ſuch, that dreading to outlive the diſgrace of having preferred their lives by yielding, they & all of them to a man either died vpon the *Engliſh* weapons, or were drowned in the waves. This was King *Edward* dignified with another Naual Crowne. In this & yeare *Philip de Valois* having raiſed about three & twenty yeeres, died. And the yeere enſuing, King *Edward*, ſo formerly hee had changed the ſtampe of his Seale, ſo changed the ſtampe of his Coines, coining (by aduife of *William de Eſtingdon*, Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter*, and High Treaſurer of *England*) the groat, and halfe groat, whereas before there was & no ſilver coine, but the ſteelins onely.

(111) Let us draw King *Edward's* manifold actions closer together: vnder his fortune and auspice, Sir *Walter de Boleyn* had in little *Brittain*, where he was (as *Warden*) a faire day of the Marshall of *France*, putting his poissiance to flight with much slaughter. Thirtene Lords, one hundred and forty Knights, one hundred Elquiers, and thre common Soldiours were killed: nine Lords, and one hundred, and forty Knights and Elquiers taken prisoners; which bred great almightine among all King *Edward's* enemies. Neither had the *French* in other places better fortune, insaue that somewhat before Sir *Roland de Calver* flew in a skirmish the thrice valiant Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, and about one hundred men of Armes with him. Henry Earle of

Lancelotti was *Derby*, in honour of his princely blood, and reward of service, was created Duke of *Lancaster*: the new Dukes first practicable employment, was his journey together with *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, the Bishops of *London* and *Norwich*, & *Guy de Brian* to the *Rome* Court, there to be that Instrument of a final peace, which had been drawn and sworn into between the two Kings, confirmed (as it was agreed) before the Pope; but by the Counsel of the *French* (as our Writers impute) and the Popes Connivance, who favoured the keeping of *France* entire, all proved but vapour, and the voyage fruitless. King *Edward* greatly kindled hereat, determined to take deeper revenge, and (as *Ascham* and others write) entered then secretly with an Army and wasted *Fryne*.

(112) The Staple of Wools which had been in Flanders, King Edward about this time ransomed, establishing the same in *Wolmouthe, Canterbury, Chichester, Bristol, Lincoln, and Hail*. Hee did not thus, (as is probable) without some spleene, awfull for the death of his deare friend *Jaques Armentil*, as for that the young Earle of Flanders had dishonoured him, by a flying into *France* out of *Genay*; when he should have married his daughter.

(113) It id moreover bene signified to King Edward, that John the new King of France (his Father being dead) had giuen to Charles the Dolphin the Dutchie of Aquitaine: whereupon being exceedingly incensed, he bestowed the time vpon his owne loue, the Prince of Wales, commanding him to defend that right with his [sword against] his adversaries. All things being ready for his voyage, and hauing the Earles of *Warwicke, Suffolke, Salisburie, and Oxford*; the Lords * *Chandier, Audley, * Batolf, Lich, &c.* a thousand men of Armes, as many Archers with others, he set saile towards Aquitaine, where hee betooke himselfe to do things worthie of his Name and courage.

(113) On the other side King Edward, stirred with a false Alarm, croit over the Seas, in hope to find his enemy King John at Saint Omers; but failing thereof, he burnt up to Hefline, and came back into England to recover Berwick, which the Scots had gotten with' mutual slaughter by surprise. He called a Parliament at Westminster, where toward the furniture of his hostile designs, hee had extraordinary Subsidie granted unto him for six years next to come. But Berwick before King Edward could prevent himselfe before it with his mighty hoail, was a borne and difmantled, and then by the Scots abandoned. The French had lent into Scotland fortie thousand Crowes of the Sonne, and some men of Armes to maintain them in emity against the English, while as yet their King Dauid the second was prisoner; but King Edward, not contented to have regained his owne, vniuers he made his aduersaries smart for their provocations, proceeded in hostile manner against the Scots both by land and sea. At Roxburgh the Rebel a surrendered to King Edward all the right and title which hee had to the Crowne of Scotland, or any the appurtenances, referring only to himselfe a yeerely penion of a two thousand and fifty pounds.

(114) The Prince of Wales as it were in emulation of his Fathers glorie, doth wonders in *France*, for with his victorious Armie, he recovered multitudes of Townes and Prisoners (while the *Emile of Glesier* with the *English* on behalfe of *Charles king of Navarre*, presiailes greedily in *Normandy*, piercing like a thunderbolt through *Languedoc*, till he came to the City of *Narbon*, in fight of the Mid-land sea, which City (being little life then *Londin*) he tooke by force, as (beside many others) he had done *Carcass*, which for bignesse, strength and beautie, excelled (saith our Author) *Torin* in *England*. The damage done to the *French King* in this voyage was exceeding great, for out of these Countries he drew a yeerely revenue of about foure hundred thousand

The 1st Duke of
Lancaster.
An. D. 1353.

* Typod. N. 100/11.
* abh. 100/11.

An.D.1154

*The 1974
Election

Freiford.

*See p. 94.

* Secret

An. D. 1235.

The Prince of
Wales looks to
take possession of
Aquitaine.
* In wing field
letters a good
man.

Revised 1995
 1st and 2nd editions
 * Author's Note.

* 2008-2009

"The Wolf"

* Second Lett.
Patent of Jan.
22, 1848.
The Power of
W'ales his high
archbishopric in
Fam. 11.
* Seven.
* Sir John P'Ying
fields account
and Feb. 1848.

* Eck, Arthur.
John Street,
Feb 20,
Hoboken.

AN.D.1350.
A Fleet of Spanish
sloop-men of war
was quitted by H.
Edward.
"Tand. N. 28.

The Spectator
rather do than
yet id.
* The Staff,
Rob. Aschurst,
Holladay.

*Source
An.D.1151

● 此處有誤

Die Walter Scott-
Lagerstätte in Olney
"The Waving"
"Maiden"
John P. S.

Smithland

land old Crowne. The Pope sending a Messenger from *Avignon*, with an auenture to intercede for a peace, had answer, that the message must bee sent to the King his father, for he could not meddle without commandement from him. Mean while hee disposed of things without impeachment, and returned laden with honor and spoiles to *Bordeaux*, where the winter being spent, he set forth to new adventures. Hee had in his Armie about eight thousand brave, expert, and well disciplined Soldiers, and with them advanceth through *Perigord*, & *Lemoine* into the bosome of *France*, v^p to the vertie paces of *Burgessle* in *Berie*; the terror of his name flying before to his great advantage. Thus satisfied for the present, hee wheeles about with purpose to returne by *Remountaine* in *Blasie* (which hee tooke) and so through the Country of *Turain*, *Peillon*, and *Sainten* to his chiefe City *Bordeaux*. But John King of *France* (halting to goe beyond his father in misfortune) having assembled a compleat host, followed, & about the City of *Paichiers* overtook the inuincible Prince.

(115) When the Armies (with the ods of six to one against the *English*) were embattell'd, two Cardinals sent from Pope *Clement*, laboured (as they had done before) to take vp the quarrell without stroke, whereunto the Prince was with reason yielding enough, but King *John* fatally presuming on his aduantage, propounded such conditions, as if in a manner the Prince of *Wales* had already bene at his commands; which with iust indignation were reiect'd. It came thereupon to a most bloody trial, where (if euer) the Prince and *English* gaue full experiment of their valour; for after long conflict and absolute discomfite of al the 3. *French* banners, (the least of which exceeded al the Princes ūbers) the King himselfe valiantly fighting, and *Philip* his yongest sonne (who with such boldnesse and zeale defended his distressed father, as if purchased vnto him the Honourable surname of *Hardie*) were taken prisoners.

(116) The *English* whose valiancy was most conspicuous, were the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Andley*, *Berkley*, *Basset*, &c. of *Gasconne*, subjects to the Crowne of *England*, the *Captaine de Beuf*, the Lord *Pamier*, *Chamout*, with others of lower title, but not of vncquall valour. *James* Lord *Andley* wanne immortall renowne at this bloody battell, where hee received many wounds, and shared the Princes gift of 500. Markes land in Fee simple, to his loue Esquiers, who had continued with him in all the brunt and fury of danger. It is the misfortune or glory of the *French* Nobles, that in all great battells the losse falls heauily vpon them. In this most disastrous overthrow, there fell 500. and two Lords, & about seuentene hundred Knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen bearing coats of Armes. The chiefe Lords were *Peter* of *Bombou* Duke of *Athen* high Constable of *France*, *John* Clermont Marshall, *George* of *Charny* Lord great Chamberlain, &c. and as many others made vp the former account. *Sir Reynold Camion*, who that day bare the Oriflamb, was likewise slaine: of the common Soldiers there died about six thousand: Great God of victories, how abundantly diddest thou in these dayes bleste thine *English*? The list of Prisoners comprehended these great names, *John* King of *France*, *Philip* his sonne, afterward Duke of *Burgoin*, The Archbishop of *Sens*, *James* of *Burbon* Earle of *Pantbein*, *John* of *Artois* Earle of *En*, *Charles* his brother Earle of *Langouille*, *Charles* Earle of *Verdunnes*, The Earles of *Tankerville*, *Salbrunck*, *Nassau*, *Dampmartine*, *La Roch*, and many other great Lords, and about two thousand Knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen bearing Armories. The *English* at this iourney tooke an hundredth Enligens.

(117) Now albeit nothing wanted to the title of a perfect victory, yet in two points the incompara-

ble Prince out-went that fame and merite; for hauing vanquished the person of the *French* Monarch by force of battell, hee much more overcame his heart with true and princely cunctise, deliuering his mind in a stile and kind of eloquence so ponderous, proper, graue, and natural, and with that stately humility, as onely the best soule with the best breeding could be capable of; and yet^{*} hee spake not more officiously then he performed really. More then all this. The next day causing his Chaplains and the other Priests of the Armie, to celebrate diuine seruice, hee put off from himselfe the whole glory, and gaue it most devoutly to^{*} God; which being first done, he, in the sight and hearing of the Prisoners, highly commends, and most heartily thanks his Souldiers, with speeches full of sincerity and life, sealing his words to euerie one, as his present meanes would permit, with liberal deeds & largesse.

(118) Then hauing settled all other things, hee marcheth with ioy and iust triumpb to^{*} *Bordeaux*, the Archbishoppall See, and chiefe Citie of his dominions in *France*. How the newes were entertained in all places of the *English* Empire, is not hard to coniecture, but specially by King *Edward*, who tooke speedy order by *Simon* Archbishoppe of *Canterburie*, that eight dayes together should be^{*} spent in giuing God the thanks and glory. But the Prince hauing sufficiently refreshed, and rested his people, set saile for *England* with his Prisoners, where hee happily arrived in^{*} *Wimbourne*, and was most ioyfully welcome euerie where. At his comming to *London* (where at that time a magnificent Citizen, *Henry Picard*, hee who afterward at one time so noble feasted the 4. Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Cyprus*, was Lord Maior, which received him with exquisite honour: the multitudes of people comming to see the victorious Prince, the *French* King, and his sonne the Lord *Philip*, and the rest, were such, that they could hardly get to *Wymminster*, betwene three of the clock in the morning and noon: but who will thinke the humour of the gazing vulgar worth the noeing?

(119) Great *Edward*, fauing that hee forgot not the Maiesty of a Conquerour, and of a King of *England*, omitted no kind of noble cunctise towards the Prisoners. King *John* and his sonne were lodged vnder a sure guard at the *Henry*, being then a goodly Pallace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*; the rest in other places: *David* King of *Scot* was at this time straitly kept at the Castle of^{*} *Osborn*, but not long after, when hee had endured about eleven yeeres imprisonment, at the incessant suit of *Queen Iean* his wife (sister to King *Edward*), was deliuered: his^{*} ranfome was one hundred thousand Markes strueling, and a condition to rale certaine Castles.

(120) About this time *Isabel* Queene Dowager of *England*, and mother of King *Edward*, (hauing first seene her sonne the most respected King of all Christendome,) deceased, and was interred at *London*, in the Church of the Friers-Minors there. To her birth *France* was tenderly beholding, as being about this time in most wofull and broken state, through occasson of that title which the *English* challenged by her, it suffering more by farre vnder their puissance, then^{*} euer it did since the times of the *Romans*. *Charles* the Dolphin, Duke of *Normandie*, who had escaped from the battell of *Paniers*, gouerned during his fathers imprisonment; but by the dangerous practises of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, and bad disposition of the Parisians, toward the deliuey of their Soueraigne, hee was lamentably encumbered, and beset with mischiefes, not being able to worke as yet his fathers liberty. Moreover, the *English* vnder *Sir Robert Knoules*, *Sir James Pye*, and *Thomas* *Faulx*, and others, did commit great wailes, and heaped huge wealth by incontinous ranfomes, and other warlike licence, in *Britaine*, and *Normandy*.

The Prince doth things more commendable then his victory.

^{*} Paul. Arny.

^{*} Poly. Virg. lib. 19.

^{*} Holins. 4th France.

^{*} Poly. Virg. lib. 19.

^{*} 1st Mar. A.D. 1377. Tynd. North.

A Lord Maior festined here being at once.

The two Prisoners kept lodged

^{*} Adam Martin.

King David set at liberty after 15 years imprisonment.

^{*} Foulton.

A.D. 1377.

^{*} 27. November.

^{*} Gail. 1st Em.

^{*} Erron. 1st Em.

An. D. 1378 A reg. 32.

The English victory at Poitiers, 19. Sep. 1346. ^{*} Erron. Polyd. Virg. lib. 19. his name was Annetian.

^{*} Serm.

The French king taken prisoner.

^{*} Freigord.

^{*} Serm.

^{*} William son of the French Chronicle.

^{*} Poly. Virg.

^{*} Serm.

dy, vnder the title of serving the *Narrower*. To bee briefe all *France* swarmed with dissolute soldiers of sundry Nations, which hauing no Generall, made haucke at their pleasure. They were called people without an head, and by inuincible insolencies made the wretchedesse of *Anarchy* apparent. In *England* also swarmed another sort, no lesse burthenous to the commonwealth and Church, which were the *four orders* of *Franciscan Friars*, whom the

* *English Clergy* found to be so pernicious to the regiment of the Church, that they selected that renowned Clerk, *Richard Fitz-Ralph* (who was *Chancellor* of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, *Archbishop* of *Armagh*, and *Primate* of *Ireland*) to appeare in person before the Pope, and there allege the * intolerable harmes by them accruing to the *Laity*, the *Clergy*, and the *Universities*, together with their *disobedience to Gods word*, their *auidice*, and *pride*. All which that noble Prelate learnedly performed, as appeareth by the handling of his 9. propositions against them, which are extant. In his second proposition, he sheweth, how ordinary a matter it was with them, to allure youth, without consent of their parents, to enter their Orders; which made men withdraw their sonnes from the Vniuersities, least the Fryars should so leale them away; whereby (saith he) it came to passe, that * *whereas in his owne time there were thirty thousand Students in Oxford, some after there were left but five thousand*. But how infinitely these Friarlike swarmes encreased in all lands, may appeare by that

* strange offer made by the *General* of this one Order, to *Pope Paul*, who promised to bring him (being then about a *Turkish Expedition*) thirty thousand cunning warriors, out of the number of *Saint Francis Fryars*, and yet enough should remaine at home to performe the deuotions. But the Pope had such use of those Fryars, that *Armathanus* prevailed not in the matter, * though he pressed the cause stoutly and manfully against them, because (as far pray, saith our Author,) the *Clergy* shoulde not cleaue as they promised, and the Fryars had great store of money to procure favour in the Court of Rome. But here in the *English Court*, two Cardinals, (one of them, hee of *Perregysse*, who had so diligently travelled for a conclusion at the battell of *Poitiers*) could not with two yeeres labour, draw any thing to such an head, as the French would, for their Kings deliuerance, performe; which put King *Edward* into a new resolution against *France*.

(121) King *Edward* (boulding himselfe deluded by the French) with a flectre of eleven hundred Saile passeth ouer from *Sandwich* to a new mouion. Hee arrived at *Calais*, from whence he set forward in three great battels, whereof the first, being least, was vnder *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, the second being greater, vnder the braue Prince of *Wales*, and the last which was greatest, was led by King *Edward* himselfe. They marched through * *Artois* to the Citie of *Rheims* in *Champaign*, where the Kings of *France* were to be crowned and anointed. The City of * *Sens* (an Archbishop See) and *Nemours* doe yeeld without resistance. The * Duke of *Burgundy*, for two * hundred thousand *Florens* of gold, obtained that all *Burgundy* was spared from sackage or spoile. It was told the King, that the *Normans* had landed at *Wickesfe* in the time of diuine seruice, and among other their most impious outrages, a like execrable villanie, as that which *Gilemeith*, (tounes of *Belial*) are recorded to haue committed vpon the * *Leuites* wife, was more wickedly perpetrated by them in the Church it selfe, where the woman, being of singular beautie, was by their insatiable violations murdered; and they got backe to their Ships before the Countrey could rise vpon them to take due vengeance. Hereupon * King *Edward* presently raised his Standard, and set forth out of *Champaign*, (where not farre from the City of *Rheims* hee had * kept his Christmas) toward *Paris*.

(122) He came before it with his armed diuised into * nine Battalions, where hee honoured foure

hundred Eiqueres and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood. *Charles* the Dolphin, Regent of *France*, was within *Paris* with a great force, but could not by any means bee drawne to hazard battell. There were ample conditions in humble manner tendered to *Edward*, but he was as yet inflexible and drafe against any other, then such as him selfe (like a Conquerour) propounded. *Paris* (vp to whose * very walls King *Edward* came) not being feisible; he * retires into *Britaine* to refresh his Army, but vpon his returne finding it stronger then before, he resumes his wrath into the very bowels of *France*, exorcising hostile Actions vpon as farre as * *Chartres*, and * *Orleans*, and as yet continued inexorable. God was displeased therat, and to let *Edward* know so much, he caused the Minister of his wrath, a terrible tempest, to assault his Host, and * to kill therein many both men and horses. King *Edward* * said, vpon this occasion, to be so wounded with remoric, that repairing to our Lady-Church of *Chartres*, he prostrated himself to God, and forrowing for the bloodshed and wast-full burning which hee had made, vowed to giue quiet to the Christian world vpon equal conditions. Thus, and the Duke of *Lancaster* perswasions, softened him so that finally (by mediation of the Pope * *Legat* at *Simon de Langres*) a peace was concluded at *Bretagne* neere to *Chartres* vpon the * eight of May; and in Nouember following K. *John* himselfe was transported to *Calais*, and there by King *Edward* (according to the Capitulations of the Treacie) set at liberty, after hee had bene a prisoner about foure yeeres.

(123) Articles of this accord, so necessarie for the distressed Estate of *France* were these. 1. That to the intent these conditions, which the French confederated wate should be more forceable, and not seeme to be extorted by aduantage, out, or iniquity of the times) the two *Edward*, *Father* and *Sonne*, should for ouer release to K. *John* and to his heires, all the right and claime which they had to the *Crown* of *France*, to the *Duchies* and *Eldates* of *Normandy*, *Amion*, *Torain*, and *Meun*, as also to the *homages* of *Britain*, *Armerick*, and the *Euendome* of *Flanders*. 2. That King *John* and his issue, for them and their heires, should by a day certain restore, and release to King *Edward* and his heires, &c. the whole Countrey of *Aquitain*, enlarged with the bordering and *flouant* Countreys of *Sainton*, *Poitou*, *Pierrefort*, *Limouin*, *Quercie*, *Angoulem*, *Rouergne*, &c. with all the Cities, Castles, and appurtenances, to be holden free, without any dependence but of God. 3. That the * Countrey of *Poitou* (the proper inheritance of *Isabel late Queene* *Drugges* of *England* mother of King *Edward*) the *Tower*, *Countries*, and *Lordships* of *Calais*, *Gisors*, *Montmirail*, *Hain*, *Wale*, *Oye*, *Merech*, *S. Valery*, &c. and all the Islands which either the *English* then held, or which lay before any of the *Premises*, with only certain limitations concerning priuate mine interest, should remaine in like freedom as the rest of the premises to the *Crown* of *England*. 4. That King *John* should pay for his ransom (part thereof to be in hand, and part vpon daies) the summe of * thirty hundred thousand *lites* of Gold, euery two of which should be * five shillings and eight pence sterling. And that for assurance there should be assigned certaine number of *lites* (by King *Edward* named) to remaine in *England*. 5. That the French should not aid, nor assist the Scots against the *English*, nor they the *French* against the *English*. 6. That it should be lawful for either King *Edward* standing to aide the *Titlers* for the *Duchie* of *Britaine* to their pleasures. There were sundry other Articles, as also cases of so transcendent qualitie must needs happen, but, as these were principally, so the most of them might haue bene well left out here, vvasleife they had more exactly bene observed by the French. Yet were they ratified with hands, seales, and Outcries at *Calais*, where the two Kings, in stead of kissing the Pax at masse (either hauing for honors sake refused to take it first) * flured each the other with a most brotherlie embracement and louing kisse.

The English be-
lieue Paris.
Francis died
English made at
one clare.

* Publ. Verg.
* Serus and
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.

Articles of
peace.

* Publ. Verg.
* Serus
* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* The War.

The huge ran-
som of John
King of France.
* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.
The City of Paris
gave toward
this ransom
one hundred
thousand marks.
* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* 24. October,
1344.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

King Edward a-
gains in France.

24. October

* Publ. Verg.

* Serus.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.

* Publ. Verg.
* Publ. Verg.
An. D. 1360.

Queene with that which her selfe acted, by means of a lew to enchanted a rich Girdle of King *Peter*, which Queene *Blanch* had given him, that the next time hee ware it, the same * appeared to himselfe and the beholders like a snake. This cursed discipline of * *Lance* and *Lance*, hated the verruous Queene, for that shee had so prevailed with *Don Pedro* her husband, that so lew was suffered to beare office, or enoy any favour in Court, neither wanted she much of expelling them wholly out of *Spaine*. But by this practise *Maria de Padilla* (who * some erroneously say was a lew) got at the king to her self, and so perikuted the innocent Queene, that it was not long before shee died, the Pope intercellous failing to effect any good with the Tyrant. The Nobles of *Spaine* who laboured to haue brought her againe into deserved grace, are by him persued as fauours of her supposed witchcrafts. Other things also whered him to fuaage, and Turkish Butcherias, as thirst of Gold, and somewhat which had by dissemblers beene fore-told him concerning his end. His brothers, kinfolke, Nobles, and others, hee causelessly murthered or forsoth to seek the safeguard by sight, among which the Lord *Henry*, his foresaid ballard brother was one. *Peter* notwithstanding was in the truth and right of blood King of *Spaine*, but his faide brother (a Gentleman in whom nothing was to be taxed, but that which he was not to be blamed for, his birth) being worthily popular and potent, had now obtained both the Title of King and possession of the Crowne.

(132) *Peter*, before this hapned, so soon as his wife Queene *Blanch* was dead childlesse, married his late Concubine *Maria de Padilla* a woman of a noble house, though not so rarely honest, as to refuse the vniuersall of a King: who hauing issue by her *Alfonso* a sonne (who dyed young) and three daughters * *Complance*, *Beatrice*, and *Isabel*, made to her and them the best amends he could for what was passed. It is the fitter this truth should appeare, for that within a few yeeres after *John Duke of Lancaster*, one of the sonnes of *England*, married *Complance* the eldest sister, claiming the Crowne of *Castile* in her right, as * the Earle of *Cambridge* had another, and for that * some (either through hatred of a wicked Tyrant, or through haile or misinformation) haue in many places foullie erred, and in particular, vniuallie leauing vpon the Lady the Title of a Strumpet, who was hounded by lawfull matrimonie. Diuers notwithstanding of * the Spanish Lords, like good subiects acknowledged their duty to *Peter* (though a most violent Prince) nor could the vniuersal *Henric*, but by deeply impairing the reuenues of the Crowne of *Spaine* with immoderate gifts, winne amie of them. *Peter* thus driven from his kingdom, with his wife, children, and (if * some say true) but one seruant, repaires to the Prince of *Wales* (at * *Bayne*) char it, to hon our and humanity it selfe: who seeing it a dangerous president against all lawfull Kings, that any one should bee dethroned, and not looking into his vices but his right; signified the same to his father, who enioines him to aid *Don Pedro*, so that now the Prince, (burning with desire of renowne) (vpon trust of pay for his Arme and of other commodities by King *Peter*, when hee should be reestablished in his throne) is ready to passe into *Spaine*.

(133) Hee makes his way through the famous straites of *Remoucaux* in *Nauarre* by permission of the King thereof, who * yet suffered himselfe (as most men write) to be taken prisoner by the *French*, and carried into *Castile*, that he might not in person seeme to crosse the *French Kings* desires on the behalfe of the vniuersal *Henry*. The Prince of *Wales* had with him an armie of about thirtie thousand men, and in his company besides most of all the prime Captaines of the *English*, there were in person two Kings, *Peter of Castile*, whose the quarrell was, and the King of *Mourea* and *John Duke of Lancaster* who some while after *Don Pedro* his death writ him-

selfe King of *Castile* and *Leon*. On the other side *K. Henry*, for defence of his new Diadem, had assembled a very great number aswell of *French* (vnder *Gleagius* their famous Captaine) as of *Castilians* and other both *Christians* and *Saracens*, not fewer then fourescore, or an hundred thousand. Vpon the Borders of *Castile* it came to a battell: where the Prince of *Wales* obtained a verie great victorie, killing many thousands of his enemies. *Henric* himselfe * was wounded in the groine but escaped. There were taken the Earle of *Deux*, a *Baron* of *Gleagius* himselfe (who shortly after by paying a great ransom had liberty) the Marshall *Dandreden* and manie others. Neither was it lesse worth to King *Peter* then a kingdom: for the most noble *Edward* left him not, al be had set him in *Burgun* vpon his throne againe.

(134) But his falshood and ingratitude were monstrous: For the Prince notwithstanding his so great goodnes extended towards him, was enforced to returne to *Burdun* without mony wherewith to pay his arnie, which was the cause of exceeding great mischief: to himselfe, and to the *English* dominions beyond the Seas; as if God had bene displeased for succouring such a Tyrant. The Prince to pay his souldiers (who were not able to tarry King *Peters* leasure) coined euen his place, and when all would not serue, sought to lay vpon his Subiects in *Castaigne* and therabout, a new taxation, which beed a most dangerous reuolt. God notwithstanding found out *Peter*, for it was not long but his ballard brother *Henry* returned with new forces, and by the aid of *Gleagius* and the *French*, hee both thrust him againe from the Throne, and * murthered him also with his owne hand. The Prince of *Wales* himselfe was in this iorney so poisoned (as * was thought) he neuer after had his health. Dake *John* his brother is not freed from the suspicion of hauing hastened the Princes end, but whether it is meant of anie practise at this time or no, appeares not. Now notwithstanding he is safe as yet within *Burdun*.

(135) Now beganne the peace between *England* and *France* to vniuersitie and vniuersitie. For while King *Edward* reioyced in the excellent vertues and actions of his sonnes and people; *Charles* the fifth, King of *France*, warned by so manifold calamities, as his Dominions had sustained by the *English* in faire warre, & yet most earnestly coecting to recouer the honor of his Nation, betakes himselfe wholly to other arts and traines; neuer aduenturing his owne person, but executing all his desires by *Deputie*, wether in the seruice of *Bertram de Gleagius* Constable of *France* stood him most in need: neither neglected hee before hand to lay vp colours wherewith to over-paint his * collations and desires forasing his honour; inso much that when it came to scanning, the losse was clearly vpon King *Edwards* side, and the cause of the breach made at leastwise doubtfull. His practises notwithstanding were palpable, and it must bee confessed that our truly noble King (without suspition of craft) repoling himselfe vpon the rules of * magnanimitie, did not reape the stable effects of so great and important victories; nor of a peace so ceremoniously made, that (in the worlds opinion) it might neuer bee infringed without the manifest breach vpon one side of all bonds both diuine and humane. The Prince of *Wales* by letters aduised his father not to trust to any faire words, or courtures of farther amity made by the *French*, because hee said they entertained practises vnderhand, in euery place against him. But the Prince was * iudged to speake out of a restless humour delighting in warre, and therefore prevailed not. The effects disclosed that his words were true.

(136) For now King *Charles* furnished the wife, haing by quick paymes, and by one meane or other gotte hom al the hostages which had bin cempelged for performance of the Articles of peace before mentioned, set all his wits on worke to abuse

* *Rede*, *San*, *ole* *f*-*pr*.

* *Gen*, *Comp*, *J*, *11*.

The on's of *K*, *Peter* dissemblers.

* *The* *Walling*.

King *Peter* de-
fended became
his wife.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *Alfonso* de *Castile*, *J*, *11*, *12*.

* *The* *W*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

King *Peter* fell.
Good and
death.

* *Franc*, *T*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

* *Franc*, *T*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

* *Franc*, *T*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

* *Franc*, *T*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

* *Franc*, *T*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

* *Franc*, *T*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

* *Franc*, *T*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

* *Franc*, *T*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *16*, *17*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, *64*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*.

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bulie the King of *England* credulitie, till hee had gotten before hand as farre as diffinitions could advance: hee Courts the good old Prince with loving letters and presents, while in the mean time his plots ripen abroad, and the Countie of *Flemish* (the King of *England* undeniable inheritance) was felt surprised before King *Edward* heard thereof. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* had as a Parliament in *Gyfeigne* propounded a demand for forage, or of money to be leuied by the chimney, the Earles of *Armoignac* and *Comingers*, and other Lords the Princes subjects, bearing no sound affections toward the English Empire (the lesse for that by the policy of *Guinea*, and the Chancellor of *France* *Dourmann*, all or most of the Countiees and Townes (which by vertue of the peace made at *Brerigan*) were annexed thereunto, were cunningly wrought to return to their old Lords) repaire to the French Court at *Paris*, there to pursue an appeal for redresse of this oppression against the Prince (who was not so happy as to follow the counsell of Sir *Robert Knols* and other wisest Capraines who dissuaded this impoliticke, pretending that hee was to answer before King *Charles* as before his superiour Lord, of whom (they said) hee held by homage and fealtie. This practise of the disloyall Lords (for what could they bee elsit seeing King *Edward* and his heires were absolutely freed (by vertue of the said Treatie) from all manner of feirace for any of their Dominions in *France*) King *Charles* did openly at last enerteigne, and (vpon hope to recover by surprise, and plot, what the English had won by dint of sword and perfect manhood) proceeded to lummon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, there to answer such accusations as his subjects made against him.

(137) To encrease the indignitie of these deuises, you should heere the French kings Orators before the Pope and Emperour, to whom King *Edward* had severally sent Ambassadors, full of complaints against King *Charles*, laying wholie vpon the French, the blame of the new warre, as vpon open breachers of faith, and violators of the league, most confidently on the contrary part charge the English.

"We had suffered the French hostilities to visit their friends at home vpon the French Kinges word, that they should come backe by a day, contrary to which word, they, not any of them, either were or are returned. That not so much as the Law of Nations was kept with vs, which ties Princes to demand restitution by their Officers of Armes, or vpon deuiell to defende them, but where (say we) are the *Heralds* which King *Charles* did send! We say, that without notice hee (surprised by stealth) the Earldome of *Ponthieu*, King *Edward* vsque- sionable right, and hath diffided vs in *Aquitaine*, which doth no lesse belong vnto vs then *Ponthieu*. That *Margaret* the Inheritance of *Flanders*, which had beene promised to the Lord *Edmund*, one of our Kinges sonnes, was by their inuoluntarie practise wonne away, and belloved in marriage vpon Philip Duke of *Burgundie*. Finally, we say, that *Lewys* Duke of *Anou*, one of the pledges, making an escape by that, contrary to honour, and the league, was by them recieued, and not returned, which points beinge all of transcendent qualitie, are (say we) directly contrarie to the Treatie and s^uior agreement at *Brerigan*.

The French hereunto answere, and charge vpon vs, to shew the fault of first breach, not theirs, but ours.

"That we by vertue of the said Treatie were bound immediately to withdraw our Armie out of *France*, which yet (they say) we did not during all the reign of *Isabell* their King.

"That the peace was made thereby more noyous, and hurtfull then the warre, and that they were faine to purchase the departare of our Souldiers with a greater charge then would haue maintained a very gallant Armie: That this breach was ours,

"because the Souldiers were ours. That King *Edward* was bound in an open assembly of the States of both Realmes, to renounce his right in the Crowne of *France*: when (say they) was this done?

Thus they, and *Serres* ads that the Estates of those Countiees which had beene assigned by the Treatie to the English asserted, that it was against the fundamentall laws of *France* to alien anie part, & that they neither could, nor would cease to be members of that Crowne.

(138) So ye behold that the fortune of the great is neuer so wantting to speake for them, nor occasions to slip out or in, whensoever profit and advantage doe inuaine. Memorable (if true) is that part of the *Frenchmens* defense, in that polite and learned Italian, *P. Amylus*, where it being objected with what honour and clemencie King *Iohn* was vsed by vs, they breake out and asseme, that wee (being their Beneficiaries or Free-holders for such Countiees as wee held in *France*) tooke more gold for the onely ranfome of King *Iohn*, then they paid to redeme *J. Lewis* their king, & his brother, the Peeres, and whole French Army captinated in the Christi- an warres by the barbarous Soldan. But (good *Amylus*) say that were so, yet cannot you say that the summe wee tooke was worth the least Countie in *France*, and when all *France* was ours, was it not great bowtie to take so small a pittance? If you reple that we had many Countiees besides, wee reioice and truly say, that wee quit more then we acquired. But let vs proceed: for now all claimes & quarrels were as open, as if no obstacle had euer beene interposed: the inuoluntarie of their late terrible foies wounded all true French hearts, and they desire (king *Edward* grow neagred) not to seeme by sitting still vpon so many thornes of disgrace, and losse, to haue beene our warred, though ouer-warred, and though in two or three battels inferior, yet not to haue beene cleerely debellated.

(139) What doth our King *Edward* now? Hee calls a Parliament, declares the breach, praises ad, obaines it, and claimes the crowne of *France* afresh. *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* and *Humphrey* de *Bohan* Earle of *Hersford* are sent ouer to *Calais* with a great force to inuade *France*. No great matter as then ensued.

"*Thomas Beuchamp* Earle of *Warwick* coming ouer in hope to haue worke for his Curellax, for the French affronted our armie vnder the conduct of Duke *Philip le Hardy* (though at this time scarce shewing himselfe worthy that surname) but rose vpon the Earles arrival, and retired, accused the Lords for sloth, and sware hee would abroad among them to find fighting, while English bread was as yet vndigested in his souldiers stomacks. Somewhat he did, but death by a pestilentiall dart prevented the rest. This Earle had with him a learned man (as *Scipio* had *Polixenus*) to register the acts which hee saw done: A worthie example all followed by posterity. The Duke of *Lancaster* peiced vp with his armie so farre as *Ras*. Thelame *Polixenus* wondering why they of *Ponthieu* haue for an hundred and twelue yeeres (that is, euer since King *Edward* the first had it given to him with his wife) been ours, should reuolt, only daring the greatnesse of the English, can find no other reason for their doings but this pleasant one, that as dispersed cattell gather to their owne heard, so Frenchmen flocke to the French, and English follow English.

(140) Stirring Princes cannot containe themselves within their owne quietly possessed rights: Otherwise, who sees not how much better it is for the people, that their Princes should manage well that which they haue, rather then graipe at more? For King *Edward* (notwithstanding his continuall manifold victories) comes back to the Subiect (who yet had gained hugely by the warres, and therefore might the better doe it) for suppuration: and they yeeld it, but his age was abridg'd, for the money was not expended as the pretences were made. Private turns

In *Charles*
Serres.

The deuils of
the English
desire to
inuade *France*.

An. D. 1369
Iohn Duke of
Lancaster sent to
inuade *France*.
" *Polixenus*,
a learned
man,
" *Polixenus*,
a learned
man,

" *Polixenus*,
a learned
man,

An. D. 1370
Sir *Robert*
Knolls, sent
to
persuade
the
Prince
to
returne.

" *Isammaris* of
France in *Charles*
the 1.
Serres

Paul Amylus,
an Italian.

" *Serres* really
attributes the
breach

" *Polixenus* in 137.

The policy
charged vpon
the English.

tunes were served with publicke losses. Neuerthe-
 less, * after Midwinter day, that renowned Captaine
 Sir Robert Knols, whom martiall vertue had raised
 from the lowest rancke to the highest reputation
 (though some also affirme him a borne noble) was
 sent by King Edward into France with an Armie,
 where (while obedience lasted to his direction) all
 things prospered. But by the instigation of one
 Sir John Adamsworth the young Lords Grandisonne,
 Fitzwalter, and other vainele scotting to be vin-
 der Knols, for that they held themselves his betters,
 and thereupon dividing themselves after they had
 downeundry exploits, marching vpon euen to Paris,
 were beaten and foild by the French vnder Gliguys
 conduct, but Knols wintered safe in Britaine. *Meysler-
 worth* comes into England, and knowing accusers
 have the vantage, complains to King Edward of
 Knols: but not altogether beleueed: he ads treason
 to vnt ruth, and turning French becomes a wicked
 enemy to his King and Countrey, * promising the
 French to procure the *Catholike* Naue to invade
 England, for which being in the last yeere of King
 Edwards reigne taken, hee by due course was con-
 demned and cut in pieces, dying the death he had
 deserved. He was laid hoild vpon in the City of
 Pamplene in *Nauarre*, and from thence conueighed
 to London, vpon whole bridge his wicked head stood
 sentinell.

(141) * Pope Urban the fifth, coming from
 Rome to *Auinion* with purpose to visite their two
 mighty Kings, their wils, and mightes against the
 common enemy of Christendome, put off morality
 at *Marpsi*, and so that holy intencion ceased for
 the present: but the same being * continued by his
 next successor Gregory 11. yet took no effect, no
 more then that which the Emperour to like cause
 would haue vndergone: which the French impute
 to King Edward, who confident by reason of his
 former achievements, would trie it out by the
 sword. Wherein he seemed to forget the mutable
 condition of warre, the feebleness of his bodie, and
 the greenesse of his Grand-Child young Richard,
 who was to succede, if the Prince of Wales died, as
 shortly after he did. Neither did God seeme to ap-
 prove his opinion herein, for that crosses came fast
 vpon him, both at home and abroad. There is no
 greater wil dome nor happinesse then to know when
 we are well, and then to preferre without hazard or
 empairement, that honour wealth or quiet which we
 already haue.

(142) Among the States and Townes (assigned
 to the English by vertue of the treatie at *Bretigny*)
 which had reuolted to the French, was the Citie of
Limoges in *Limousin*, whither the Prince marcheth, &
 sits down with his armie before it. Thither * came
 vnto him out of England his brethren the Dof *La-
 ceister* & the Earle of *Cambridge*, with a fresh supplie
 of valiant Chiefs and Souldiers. The City stood it
 out to the vntermitt, and was forcibly entered,
 where mercy had nothing to saue nor spare, the
 sword and fire for terror to other killing and desol-
 ating in a manner all. Hee * who writes that the
 Prince flew vpon neere to Paris and scuriously, by reason
 of Gliguys valour, got backe to *Bordeaux*, seemes to
 haue mistaken therein as in many other things con-
 cerning vs of great importance. After this service,
 the Prince, (health failing him more & more) leaues
 his Brethren in *Aquitaine*, and suiles into Eng-
 land.

(143) The French in the meane time wonne
 towne and places in *Aquitaine*, gathering new hopes
 after so long and perpetuall inselicities. The losse
 of that expert Captaine Sir John Chanduys (vnto-
 fortunately slain) was a great aduantage to their de-
 sires, whose whole care for warre rested vpon Glig-
 uys (not long before aduanced for his military ver-
 tue from low estate to so great eminence, as to bee
 Constable of France, the chieff officer for warre
 which that Kingdome hath) and be a man of much

proofe, in good and euill fortune, to tempered his
 courage with discretion, that hee only first had his
 Countrey rise againe, and endeuour in despite of euill
 fortune to rehaure.

(144) The Prince of Wales (wanting health) vpon
 coming to his fathers sight, rendered vpon the
 Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, to be disposed of, as to his ro-
 all pleasure seemed good. While King Edward was
 at *Clarendon*, there repaired to him the factious king
 of *Nauarre*, whole errand was to make an outcurre
 of association against the French, but as his offers
 were acceptable, so his cautions not seeming suffi-
 cient, hee returned (after great entertainment) with-
 out concluding.

(145) John Duke of Lancaster, and his brother
 the Earle of Cambridge, doe now returne out of *A-
 quitaine*, with the Ladies Constance and Isabel daugh-
 ters of Don Pedro late King of *Spain*, whom they
 married: The Duke thereupon insliling himself
 King, and his wife Queene of *Castile* and *Leon*. Nor
 was the English name only encreased in stature ho-
 nours: for about this time, the *Flower* (who had
 prouoked vs) were vanquish by the * Earle of Here-
 ford at frau a shuip fight, about twentie and fise
 of their shippes being taken, and all the men slain.
 The sweete of this victory was sowed not long af-
 ter with a grieuous losse: for the French hauing be-
 lieged the strong Citie of *Rochelle* in *Sainton*, with the
 aide by sea of Henry King of *Castile*: to relieve the
 English, John Earle of *Arundell* was sent with a
 about thirty shippes, men, victuals, munition, and
 money to the value of twenty thousand marks, for the
 vics of the warre: but being suddenly assailed with
 the Spanish Armade, which consisted of many great
 shippes, vnder the command of Ambrose *Burgan-
 da* and others, the English after a long and cruell
 conflict were utterly distressed, the Earle taken pri-
 soner, and almost all the rest either taken, or put to
 the sword. * *Rochelle* held out notwithstanding, to
 whose reliefe while King Edward himselfe in person,
 with an extraordinary force set saile, the wind (al-
 wayes till that time fauourable to his vnayes for
 France) came Easterly, and draue him backe into
 England with great griefe, and the waile (they write)
 of a nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. Nei-
 ther did hee so gine out the care of that strong
 Pecee, which the English most manfully made good
 against the enemy.

(146) * *Rochelle* thus persluing in loyall resolu-
 tion, John Duke of Britaine (who had married the
 Lady Marie daughter of King Edward) a Gentleman
 of much gratitude toward the English, the authors
 of his fortunes, resolves to adueneure his state in
 their quarrell: ships away for England: hath aide
 ministred vnto him: hee returns, and warres with
 various euent. But John Duke of Lancaster with
 a very great Armie comes to *Calis*, and from thence
 marcheth vpon the whole face of France, and
 (though with losse of many thousand) horie in the
 desert countreies of *Auergne* through famine) came safe,
 but with an almost-hunger-starued Army to *Bor-
 deaux*. Not long after hee drew into the field, and a
 day was appointed betwene him and the Duke of
Amou the French Kings brother, to haue tried the
 quarrell of their Nations by fist battell, before the
 City of *Tolouse* in *Languedoc*, but by an vnimely
 & pernicious storme true (to which K. Edward yeel-
 ded because his son the Prince lay dangerously sick)
 the hoped victory not onlie slipped out of the English
 mens hands, but almost all aduantage also of doing
 any thing else seasonably. The French boasted
 themselves as of a Conquest, who notwithstanding
 did helpe out their valiancy with policie. Gliguys
 makes his vie of all occasions, and workes much
 harme to the English party in *Gaiuin* and *Britaine*:
 But in *Britaine* Sir Robert Knols did so nobly requit
 himselfe on the behalle of his Soueraignes sonne in
 law the Duke, that hee only seemed a fit parallel to
 Gliguys, like as bee shopt the current of his fortune.

An.D. 1372

The French
 Naue distressed
 by the English
 Victories
 * ynd. 1. 1. 1.

Rochelle besieged
 by the French.

The English
 Naue distressed
 by the Catholike

* ynd. 1. 1. 1.

King Edward
 at sea to relieve
 Rochelle is blown
 backe.

* The English

A.D. 1373
 Rochelle conue-
 niently
 * ynd. 1. 1. 1.

* The English

* The English
 ib. 1. 1.

* The English

Neuertheless the doings of *Glequin* are so extolled by the French, that *Tillou* enters them into his Chronology with their words, *Victoria, &c.* the *victories, fortunes and triumphs of Bertrand Glequin in Aquitaine and Britaine*, though their owne lies make no mention of any debate of the English, which afforded them matter for the shadow of such gloriations.

(147) The next yeere the Duke of *Lancaster* returned into England, after whose departure all *Aquitaine* almost revolted, and fell to the French, who by the advantage of King *Edward* age, the Princes pining maladic (which some say was not poison but a drop sicke) and the successe of their practises more then of their valour, were growne haue againe: A treatie of peace was holden at *Bruges*, all was bot painted: for even then the French most of all prepared vnderhand for new attempts. Chief commissioners for the English at that conference was *John Duke of Lancaster* and for the French the Duke of *Arion*. The effects hashed nothing but a short truce for our euils to breed in.

(148) Among the parties which were preiudiced by this haunfull truce, the Duke of *Britaine* was chiefe. He had obtained great assistance from King *Edward*, and was now with the Earles of *Cambridge, March, Warwick, and Stafford*, with many other noble gentlemen and souldiers returned into *Britaine*, making to themselves a faire way for their maine enterprise, which was to sietle the Duke, and by the commodity of his Duchies situation to annoy the common enemy, and the better to recouer the English dominions in *Aquitaine*: But this treatie did that which *Glequin*, their indeed haue General, had not as yet in any fort effected: for the Duke of *Britaine* had driven the French Kings army out of his territories. But who wonders at this truce? The Prince of *Wales* was likely to die: plots one foot at home; the Duke of *Lancaster* had an eye to the Succession; things grew troubled: the Kings age was abated by dame *Alien Peris* (a most busie Court-lie) who (after Queene *Philipp* death) kept the old man warme, and the French saw all these matters and slept uice.

(149) King *Edward* calling a Parliament, vnfolding his estate, and wants, with demand of supplies, the bodie of the assembly in stead of contributions exhibits complaints, directly chargeth the Kings Officers with fraud, and humbly praereth that *John Duke of Lancaster*, the Lord *Laurel*, then Lord Chamberlaine, Dame *Alien Peris* (whose) behaviours they painted forth as most intolkeable, for that shee, respectlesse of her Sexs frailty, would in person, said they, come into all Courts of Iustice, and sometime sitting by the Judges or Doctors, would also after a most insolent manner periwade or disswade for her most aduantage; and with these one Sir *Richard Starry* might be removed from the person of the King. Neuertheless the Parliament made offer, that if she King were indeed out of money, they would liberally aduance toward his vice. The Prince of *Wales* favoured their free dealing, and all the said persons were removed, others more acceptable (such as the Prince and Petres thought fitter) being sarrogated in their places.

(150) While this Parliament (called the *Good*) lasted at *Westminster*, the noble soule of *Edward* Prince of *Wales* vpon *Trinity Sunday* (which euery yeere he vied to celebrate with the greatest honour that might be indue veneration of io diuine mystery) was preferred to the holy and blessed *Trinity*, after he had liued therein about 46. yeeres. In stead of Epitaph or mention of obsequies, the words of *Walsingham* shall serue vs for the present, of whose death he writes thus. *Quo ebore, &c.* With whom dying, died all the hope of *Englishmen*, during whose life, the English feared no invasion of the enemy, nor any encounter in Battell: For he assisted no Nation which he sawe come not, he befegged no City which he took not. And when this lampe was put out, the effect of this Par-

lament was extinguished. His mortall parts were interred at *Canterbury*, where his monument standeth, but the renowne of his inimitable vertues haue as large an extent, and space to moue in, as the wide world. The King of *France* most reuerently celebrated his Exequies within the Chappell of his Palace at *Paris*. But in *England* there was a general sorrow, as for one whose worth had begotten a iust hope that hee would out-goe his Ancestors in glorie. Death preuenting that experiment of him, he is notwithstanding in full possession of loue and praise among all men for that which was passed. The cause of this domestick mourning encreased with the effects of his losse, which forthwith discoloured themselves. The King reals such persons as the petition of the Lords and Commons had bene removed, and *Peter de la Mare* speaker of the last Parliament, who had eloquently exprest the minde of the house in the forsward reformation, was, at the suite of the said bolde Dame *Alien Peris*, condemned by the King to perpetual imprisonment at *Nottingham*, though within two yeeres after by the importune suite of friends hee regained libertie. Meane-while *John Duke of Lancaster* gets the governance of the kingdom to be intrusted to him by his father.

(151) *Richard* the eldest sonne of the late most noble Prince of *Wales*, for prentation of all debates about the right of discession to the Crowne of *England*, was by his Grand-father first made Earle of *Chesler*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*: but for more assurance (lest the sounes decaye before the fathers should preiudice the Grand-Child) King *Edward* caused all the nobles of the Realme to take an Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, an lawfull heire and King of *England*, after himselfe was dead: Neither did his vncles though famous Captains, repugne. Finally, the good old King, to comfort himselfe in honouring the liuing image of his noblest Child, the late Prince *Edward*, and to giue the mende of his Grand-Childs feeling of spleur, that by the sodeine intolence of the splendor, it might not afterward too much abuse his tender iudgement, and to make his vncles acquainted with respect of his person, he caused him to sit openly at his Table about all his owne Children in Christmas.

(152) About this time the famous Doctor *John Waleis* a man of sharpe wit, profound learning, and great iudgement, did in the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* publicly maintaine sundry propositions and dogmatical points against the Church of *Rome*, of which the Pope (forcing the hazard hanging over his triple Crowne) condemned a three and twenty as hereticall; whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London* having attached the body of the said *Waleis*, did in the presence of the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord *Henry Perie* (his great fauourers), declare the iudgement of the Pope concerning *Waleis* doctrine, which had then taken deeper roote both in the vniuersitie, Court, and Countrey. So for a while all was quiet. But (vpon some secret encouragements) he held out peace long. His followers were, in the phrase of those darke daies, called *Lollards*, wherein, in truth, they endeouored to extirpate all pernicious weeds, which through time, sloth, and fraude, had crept into the field of Gods Church. The Duke of *Lancaster* (the rather, some thinke, vpon priuate emulation against *Cussey* Bishop of *London*) was engaged to faine in his protection, that he and the Lord *Perry* hardly escaped the fury of the *Londoners*, who would without question haue hewed them in pieces in reuenge of some disgracefull speech vttered by him against their Bishop. He notwithstanding disswaded all violence, and kept them from firing his palace of the *Sauoy*, but they neuertheless did in most despitefull manner reuerse his Armories in the open Market: A dishonour not to be borne, as that in which the dig-

*Triniford.
Hollis.

*Pop. Pers.

*Serr.

*The Waleis.

*Malin.

*Franc. Thon in his collected. vnde
Protectors and
Waleis and
Pr. Waleis in
Richard made
Prince of Wales
and the main
source in his
succession.

*Canton and
Hollis.

*Pop. d. d.
Serr.

A. D. 1377.
A. Reg. 11.

*Hollis.

*Thon d. d.

Ch. (Hollis in
Hollis.)

*Lollard spirit
with words
such like words.

An. D. 1374.

*Serr.

A. D. 1375.

*Pop. Pers.

*Hollis.

A. D. 1376.

*The Waleis
in Edward 3.
After Peris the
old Kings
Cousine a most in-
solent woman.

*Hollis.

The Prince of
Wales death.

*Pop. Pers.
*Pop. Pers.
*Thon d. d.
in Edward 3.

nity of his toyal blood was empyred. By this outrage the people (a most dangerous and heady water when once it is out) made known, what he, and the Lord *Procure* were to have hoped, if they could have found them, before they had gotten to *Kennington* to Prince *Richard*, who there remained with his mother: The Duke for this bare the *Londons* much evil will, neither rested till for a commencement of revenge) hee had procured the Maior and Aldermen to be thrust from their places, and substituted others in their stead.

(153) *France* in the meane time erected with new hopes, breathes nothing but warre. Prouisions in that respect were not neglected here. One of the last publique acts of the old kings life, was the triumphall celebration of *Saint Georges* feast at *Wind-sor*, where himselfe had founded the order of the Garter; and at this solemnitie hee bestowed vpon his dearest Grandchild Prince *Richard* the dignitie of Knighthood, which onely thing in all the patrimonie of honour could not succeed vnto him.

(154) Not long after ensued the sentence of disfigure which God pronounced betwene the foole and body of this mighty and martiall king, who left the world in the month of Iune at his Manour of *Silene* in *Surrey*: his Acts may giue you a perfect Character of his mind: few Princes that had to great and heroicke vertues, had fewer vices: therefore it was a fault of those times, which abounding in learned men, (and among them *Geoffrey Chaucer* Prince of Poets) afforded no better an Epitaph then that which we asmeine with pity to reade vpon his Monument at *Westminster*: the stiffe nevertheless is worthe, though the forme bee rude,

*Hic decuit Anglorum, flor regum prateritarum,
Ternus futurorum, rex clementis, pacis popularum.
Tertius Edwardus, regni complens tabulam,
Immitus Perdom, * polenti bellis Machabeum.*

*Here Englands grace the flower of Princes past,
Patterne of fauour, Edward is beheard in place,
Milde at March, Subduer of peace, warres Machabees,
Victorious * Pard, his rage as a Tubetoe.*

No man of his time could by better experience teach, what a vaine thing worldly glory (to the height whereof hee had aspired) ought to seeme. His mind (by sundry great checkes of Gods providence) recalled to consider of the foure last things, Death, Iudgement, Heaven and Hell, made him betake himselfe to Acts of benignity and deuotion. The Chappell at the end of the Abbey-Church at *Westminster* (since most magnificently enlarged by King *Henry the seventh*) was of his building. The holy quire of studies, and aduancement of good Arts, hee to prosperously flourished, that besides other great priuiledges granted to the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, (where himselfe had in his youth bene trained vp vnder the learned *Walter Buryl*) he conferred the chiefe rule of that whole City vpon the Chancellor of the Vniuersity, subordinating the Maior and Citizens to his gouernment, in regard of their iniuries offered to the Students. This most mighty Monarch that euer wore the Crowne of England, in many other felicities excelled his Ancestors, as in the victorious valour of his Childre, their obedience to him, and loue among themselves. A Lady to his wife (the mother) of such excellent vertue and government, as that the King *Edwards* fortunes seemed to sink into Eclipsse when there was hidden in her Sepulchre. Such and greater was this *Edward*, whose name among the flourishing spendors of his actions, is iustly transmitted with honour to all posterity. Hee reigned almost one and fifty yeeres, and* liued about threescore and sixe.

Hic Iussu.

(155) *Philip*, wife of King *Edward*, was daughter

of *William Earle of Henault* and *Holland*, sister of *Earle William* the last of that house, and of *Margaret* (the Emperesse that succeeded him; her mother was a *Countess* sister of *Philip of Valois* king of *France*, daughter of *Charles Earle of Valois*, who was sonne to King *Philip the Hardy*. Shee was married vnto him at *Torke*, Iamuary 24. crowned at *Westminster* the xiiiij Sunday of Lent following, 1327. Shee was a Lady of great vertue, and a constant true hearted louer of our Nation, was his wife two and forty yeeres, died August 15. Anno 1369 of her husbands reigne, 43. and was buried at *Westminster*, where shee hath a faire Tombe, at the foote of her husband, of blacke Toockstone with the garrailing about it, and the portraiture ouer it of Aialla: but shee built to her selfe a Monument of more glory and durability, by founding, and richly endowing the *Colledge*, called of her the *Regener in Oxford*, which, if it had bene finished according to the proiect, had bene a foundation of marvellous state and magnificence.

Hic Iussu.

(156) *Edward*, their eldest sonne and first child, borne at *Windsor*, Ioly 15. in the third yeere of his Fathers reigne, Anno 1329. was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Guernsey*, and Earle of *Cheshire*, hee was also Earle of *Kent* in right of his wife *Iane* (the most admired Ladie of that age) daughter of *Edmond Earle of Kent*, brother, by the fathers side, to King *Edward* the second. Shee had bene twice married before, first to the valiant Earle of *Salisbury*, from whom shee was divorced, next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*, after whose decease, this Prince passionately louing her, did marry her: by her hee had issue two sonnes, *Edward* the eldest, borne at *Anglesea*, who died at seven yeeres of age, and *Richard* borne at *Bordeaux*, who, after his father was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather King of England. This Prince had also naturall issue, Sir *Iohn Scander*, and Sir *Roger Claremont* Knights: the latter being attainted in the reigne of *Henry 4.* is thought to haue bene ancestor to the house of *Smyther* in *Staffe*. Hee died at *Canterbury* on Trinity Sunday, Iune 8. Anno. 46. of his fathers reigne 49. and was buried at *Christ-church* there, 1376.

(157) *William* their second sonne, and fourth child, was borne 1359. of his fathers reigne, at *Harfield* in the Countie of *Hertford*, taking his Christian name from *William Earle of Henault* his Grandfather, and his surname from the place of his Nativity; is reported to haue deceased in his childhood, & to bee buried at *Torke*.

(158) *Edward*, their third sonne and fift child, was borne at the City of *Antwerpe*, 29. Novemb. 12. of his fathers reigne, Anno 1388. hee married first *Elizabeth* the daughter & heire of *William Burgh* Earle of *Wylsh* in *Ireland*, in whose right hee was first created Earle of *Wylsh*, and becaue hee had with her the honour of *Clare* in the Countie of *Tennand*, as parcel of the inheritance of her Grand-mother *Elizabeth*, (the sister and coheire of the last Earle *Gilbert Clare*, hee was in a Parliament, Anno 1362. created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Countie about the Towne Caste and honour of *Clare*: from which Dutchie the name of *Clarence* (being the Title of the King of *France* for the South parts of England) is deriued. This Duke had issue by her one onely daughter named *Philip*, afterward wife of *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*, mother of *Earle Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countesse of *Cambridge*, and shee was the mother of *Richard Duke of Yorke*, Father of King *Edward* the 4. the second marriage of this Duke was in *Lombardie* at *Milleyne*, with the Lady * *Yolanda* daughter of *Galeas* the second Duke thereof; but through intemperance, he liued not long after.

(159) *Iohn*, their fourth sonne and sixt Child

* His mother more able than hee all then considered, you much more with the breaking of Princes head, hee is written of a King that could be broken none.

* John of Gifford, the Bishop.

* From 1390.

* Yolanda the Duke's wife.

was borne at *Gains* the chief Towne of *Flanders*, Anno 1340. and 14. of his fathers reigne. In his Childhood he was created Earle of *Richmond*, which title was afterward recalled in, and bestowed upon *John Duke of Brittain*, who married his sister, to whose Dutchy it had formerly belonged. Hee had three wives; the first, *Blanch*, daughter and Coheire, and in the end the sole heire, of *Henry Duke of Lancaster* (sonne of *Edmund* surnamed *Crouch-back*) in whose right he was at the first Earle, and after Duke of the same, and with that Dutchy also Earle of *Leicester*, *Derby*, and *Lincoln*, and high Steward of England. He had issue by her, *Henry* of *Bolingbroke* Earle of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of England, named *Henry* the fourth, who first placed the Crowne in the house of *Lancaster*; *Philip*, wife of *John* the first, King of *Portugall* and *Elizabeth*, married first to *John Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, (brother of *Thomas Duke of Surrey*) and after him, to *Sir John Cornwall* Baron of *Fischep*. His second wife was *Constance*, the eldest daughter of *Peter King of Castile* and *Leon*, in whose right for the time he entailed himself King of both these realmes; by her he had issue one onely daughter, named *Katherine*, married to *Henry* the third, sonne of King *John*, in possession before, and in her right, after, King of both the said realmes. His third wife was *Katherine* the widow of *Sir Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Langshere*, eldest daughter and Coheire of *Pagan Ract's Galesine* called *Galen* King of *Armes*, for that Country. * his younger daughter being married to *Sir Geoffrey Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her hee had issue (borne before matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament holden in the twentieth yeere of King *Richard* the second, *John Earle of Sommerfet*, *Thomas Duke of Excester*, *Henry Bishop of Winchester* and *Cardinal* and *Isaac*, who was first married to *Robert Ferrer* (Baron of *Wenmore* and *Ouseley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwick*) and secondly to *Ralph Nevill* the first, Earle of *Westmerland*. Shee and all her beethren were named *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France* * where they were borne,) in regard thereof bearing the *Parcelles* of a Castle for the cognizance of their family. This Duke in the thirteenth yeere of his Nephew King *Richard*, at a parliament holden at *London*, was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, but in the first yeere after, hee was called home and this Title recalled in, and in the third yeere after, the sixteenth of his age, Anno 1399. he dyed at *Ely house* in *Walborne*, and lyeth honourably entombed in the Quire of *Saint Paul*.

Edmund, their sonne, surnamed *Langley*, was created Earle of *Cambridge* Anno 1362. in the same Parliament, wherein *Lionel* was created Duke of *Clarence*. Hee was afterward made Duke of *York*, Anno 1386. and married *Isabel* daughter and Coheire to *Peter*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*. His sonne *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, took to wife *Anne Mortimer* heire of the famous *Lionel* elder brother to *Edmund Langley*.

William another of their sonnes, surnamed of *Wyndesore*, where he was borne dyed young, and is buried at *Westminster*.

Thomas the youngest sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip* surnamed of *Woodstocke* (where hee was borne) was first Earle of *Buckingham*, created by his Nephew King *Richard* the second on his Corona-

tion day, Anno 1377. by whom, after also he was made Duke of *Gloucester*, 1385. The Earldoms also of *Essex* and *Morikampton*, and the Constablershippe of *England*, fell to him by right of his wife *Eleanor*, the only daughter and heire of *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*. Hee was a man of valour, wildome, and vigiliancy for the behoofe of the King his Nephew and the State, but those noble vertues (dilempered with too much willfulness & forward obduracy) bred him, first Envy, and after ruine. For the King surmising him to be a too secret observer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mortimer Duke of Norfolk* how to make him away, whom *Mortimer* vnswayes surprizing, couened secretly to *Calis* where he was strangled 1397. 10. of his Nephewes reigne. Himselfe in his life had provided a goodlie tombe at *Playste* in *Essex* (his owne Towne, and * the vsuall seat of the great Constables of England) * where hee founded a Colledge, whither his body was brought, and laid with all funeral pompe, but afterward it was translated to *Westminster*, where also lyeth *Eleanor* his wife, who dyed 1399. Their issue was *Humfrey* Earle of *Buckingham*, * who dyed at *Chester* of the pestilence Anno 1400. Anne (married first to *Edmund* Earle of *Stafford*, by whom shee had *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, secondly to *William Boucheier* Earle of *Essex*, by whom shee had *Henry* Earle of *Essex*) *Philippe*, Isaac, *Isabel*, who died all issueless.

Isabel, the eldest daughter and second child of *K. Edward* and Queene *Philip* was married at *Winchster* with great pompe to *Ingelram* of *Gales*, Lord of *Concy*, Earle of *Savoy* and after Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whom *K. Edward* (his father in law) created also Earle of *Burford* 1365. by whom there was mother of * two daughters, *Mary*, (married to *Henry* of *Barre*, to whom shee bare *Robert* of *Barre*, and *Isaac*, the wife of *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, Earle of *S. Paul* and *Philip*, the wife of *Robert* of *Ferre* Earle of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland* and Marquess of *Dulph*) ; this *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsooke his noble Ladie, and married one * *Lourenca* a Ioyner's daughter (by report) which came with King *Richard* the seconds wife out of *Boheme*, and being, for his pride and abusing the Kings eare to the hurt of the State, driven out of the land by the nobles, hee dyed at *Lewis*, in great vexation of mind, and extreme penury, Anno 1392. *Isabel* his wifes mother was buried in the Church of *Fryars* *Attharites* near *Algate* in *London*.

Isaac their second daughter and third child was borne 9. of her fathers reigne Anno 1335. Being 14. yeres of age, hee was desired in marriage by solemae Embassage, from *Alphonse* the eleventh King of *Castile* and *Leon*, sonne of King *Ferdinando* the 4. who espoused by *Frexis*, intitled Queene of *Spain*, and conueyed into that Countrey, where shee pretermie deceased of a great plague that then reigned, so as the King comming to meretherto solemnize the espousals, with great griefe accompanied her to Church only at her funeral 22. of her fathers reigne. Anno 1348.

Blanch the 3. daughter, died young, and lieth buried at *Westminster*.

Mary, cheir 4. daughter was married to *John Montford* Duke of *Brittain*.

Margaret their youngest daughter was the first wife of *John de Hastings* Earle of *Pembroke*, but shee dyed without issue.

* 10. Bl. Bl. Bl.
* 10. Bl. Bl. Bl.
10. Bl. Bl.

* 10. Bl. Bl. Bl.

10. Bl. Bl. Bl.

* 10. Bl. Bl. Bl.

* 10. Bl. Bl. Bl.



**RICHARD THE SECOND, KING OF
ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD
OF IRELAND. THE FIFTIETH MONARCH,
OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS,
AND TROVBLES.**

Monarch 50



CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1378.

The Coronation
of the King.



*Richard of Burdeaux, sonne
to that Great Star of Eng-
lish Cheualrie, Edward,
by-named the Blacke
Prince, and grand-child
to the most renowned
Edward the third (both of
them lately deceased) was
crowned in the eleventh
year of his age, and vp-
on the sixteenth day of Iuly. Seldome hath been seen
so magnificent a Coronation, as that of this young
King, but the thing which gave a better lustre of
hope at his beginning; then the shine and maiesty
of that publick Act, was the wise course which in
this his childhood was taken; to wit, the reconcil-
iation of the Lord John Duke of Lancaster, and the
Citizens of London, with the restitution of Sir Peter
de la Mare Knight, Speaker in the late Parliament,
(whom King Edward had committed to prison, at
the infliction of Dame Alice Peres now banished,*

and confiscated) not onely to former liberty, but
likewise to fauour and honor extraordinary.

(2) At this Coronation (which, as matters not
vnworthie to bee kept alive, wee following the im-
methodicall order of the Record, haue here for per-
petuall memory thought good to abridge out of
aotherlike Monumentis) John the Kings eldest va-
le, under the stile of John King of Castile and Leon,
and Duke of Lancaster, by humble petition to the
King, claimed to bee now Steward of England, in
right of his Earldome of Leicester; and as he was
Duke of Lancaster, to beare the Kings chiefe sword
called Curtana; and as Earle of Lincoln, to cutte
and carve at the royall Table before the King. His
petitions being found iust, were confirmed to him,
and to his Assignes, the two Earles of Derby
and Stafford, the first to beare the sword, while the Duke
should be busied about other offices as Steward,
and the other to cut and carve. The Duke then in great
estate, held this the Kings high Court of Starre Ship
in the White-hall of the Kings Pallace at Westminster,
XXXX 2

By M. Sped. D.
John Gower.

Signified by
red on of re.
more or less
Coronation
found and allor-
ed in that Court.

The Court of
high Steward
Ship.

The Lord high
Counsellor of
England.

The Lord high
Marshall of
England.

The Lord high
Chamberlain of
England.

The Earle of
Hereford was a
Citizen of
London at the
Coronation.

The Earle of
Warwick was
killed.

Sir John de
Arundell was
killed in the
Coronation.

* This name
here three cups
drinks
in a field gate,
that you may
know that an-
cient custom
had their custom
of bearing.
The L. Perreus
honourable
service.
Honor of
The Countess
Dowager of
Pembroke but
clandestine for-
vice.
The Earle of
March.
The Services of
Hedge Earle of
Pembroke.

Lord Chief
Butler.

The Services of
the L. Mayor of
London and the
selected Citizens

neer to the Chappell of the said Palace, vpon the Thursday, before the Coronation, which was also vpon a Thursday. There Thomas of Woodstocke the Kings yuele, was admitted to exercise the office of *Counsellor of England*, in right of his wife, one of the daughters and heires of *Henry of Bohun*, late Earle of *Hereford*, and *Counsellor of England*, *Henric de Perre* (word *Perre*) was by the Kings consent and writ authorisid to exercise the place of *Marshall of England* for that time, faining to carrie one their right, for that by reason of the times shortnesse, the claime, which *Margaret* daughter & heire to *Thomas of Northampton*, late Earle of *Northfolk*, and *Marshall of England*, laid thereunto, could not bee discussed. *Robert de Vaux* Earle of *Oxford*, though then in minority, being notwithstanding found to haue right in Fee, was by the Kings speciall consent allowed to haue, and vñ the office of *Chamberlain*. Hee was also admitted to his right of powring out water for the King to wash with, when hee went to mette, at the Coronation. *John Wilsford* Citizen of *London*, by reason of certayne tenements (heretofore the possession of *John Pincot*) being a Mokie of the Mannour of *Hydon* and holden in Seruicant, had his right, to haue a *Towell* for the King to wipe with, when hee went to mette, found and allowed, and *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* appointed to serue as his Deputie. *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwick* was found to haue right, and admitted thereupon to beare the third sword of estate before the King at the Coronation, as also to exercise the office of *Postler*, and to enioy all such fees as to the same appertained. Sir *John de Arundell* knight, by reason of the tenure of his Mannour of *Wimundley* in the County of *Hereford*, was admitted to serue the King at his Cuppe, vpon the day of the Coronation, and for his Fee to haue that * Cuppe of silver wherewith hee then serued the King in his royaltie. *William Lord Perreus* for his Mannour of *Farham* and *Mander of Cere*, was promied to haue right to support the Kings right arme, when he held the *Scepter* royall therat the day of Coronation; which fruce being list * honorably knighted by the King at *Kenington*, hee was admitted accordingly to performe. Anne late wife of *John de Hastings* Earle of *Pembroke* for her Mannour of *Alfeien* in *Northfolk*, was admitted by her Deputie Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, to vñ the office of *Napper*, and to enioy the fees thereof. *Edmund*, Earle of *March*, wñ assigned to carry the Kings great gilt *Spear*, facing to every one their right; for *John* the sonne of *John de Hastings* late Earle of *Pembroke*, claimed that office to bee his, as *William* the Marshall his Ancestor held the same at the Coronation of King *Edward* the second; but by reason hee was vnder age, and in Wardshippe, the King for that time disposed it to the Earle of *March*. Who also, with the aide *Spoones* was assigned to beare the second sword before the King; for which, the said young Earle of *Pembroke*, and the Earle of *Arundell* (in the right of his Ancestor the Earle of *Surrey*) contending, it was adiudged to *Pembroke*, for his Calles and Townes of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*, &c. but the execution of that honorable place was assigned by the Kings before. *Richard* Earle of *Arundell*, for the Mannour of *B. in Kent*, was admitted to bee chiefe Butler at the Coronation, for that (after the sale thereof) the Earles Ancestors had exercised that office at Coronations, and the claime of *Edmund Stapletoke*, who then had that mannour as sonne and heire of *Edmund Stapletoke* (ward to *Jeffrey Chaucer*, who had freed him for one hundred and foure pounds) for that time put off his right to him in the meane time faued notwithstanding. The Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London* (such as were chosen for that high day service among themselves) were found by good Record to haue their feuerall rights. The Mayor to attend in his owne person as chiefe Cuppe-waiter, (charged with the Cnpboord-roy-

all) aswell in the hall at dinner, to serue the king in a cuppe of gold with spices, and for his Fees to haue the said Cuppe, and a Water-spout-potte of gold therunto belonging, when herooke his leane at night. The Citizens, to helpeth the Lord Mayor in his office of chiefe *Pincier* or Cnp-waiter, and to minister or serue the Lords aswell at Dinner in the Hall, as in the Chamber after dinner. Whereupon the King (saith the Record) *perpetuam gratitudinem magnam & sublimitatem & pregratiam in ore*, weighing with himselfe the great gratitude and aide, which her *Pregratiam* had heretofore abundantly found in the Citizens afore said, and hoping himselfe to finde in them the like gratitude and aide heretofore, and to the intent that they might with the more ioyfull hearts performe layall obedience to the King, and more earnestly helpe him in his occasions, he being hearily desirous to content them, did well and erudant that the said Citizens should exercise their said attendance. Sir *John Dynmoke* Knight, in the right of *Margaret* his wife, for the Mannour of *Sermsely*, and Sir *Baldwine de Braule* Knight, as cofen and next heire to *Philip Marmion*, by *Isabelle* daughter of the said *Philip*, for the Caffe of *Tauworth* in the Connie of *Warwick*, contended each of them to haue the office, & fees belonging to the Kings Champion vpon that rooll day; but because the said *John* shewed better Records then *Baldwine*, and for that King *Edward* and the late Prince of *Wales*, were often heard to say that *John* ought to doe that seruice for the said mannour of *Sermsely*, hee was admitted for that time, and day was giuen to *Baldwine* to shew further cause of his claime within three weekes after the feast of *S. Hilare* next, or else for euer to bee verie excluded.

This Champion is to haue for accomplishment of that seruice (and the fame also for his fees) one of the best horses of warre and caparions, which the king hath, one saddle plated with Iron, and one complete armour with the whole farniture, in such sort as the King himselfe willeth, when hee is to goe into a mortall battell (Said also, saith the Record, *in our battelle mortelle*) in which sort being trowered, he is to ride before the King in procession to his Coronation, and to crie thrice to the people before all the world. That there is no man of high or low estate, who willeth, that our large Lord *Richard*, Cousen and heire of *Edward*, late King of *England*, might not be crowned King of *England*, against whom beate the Champion is not ready with his body to maintaine, and well maintaineth that hee doth faithfully as a *Traitor*. *William de Latimer*, and *John* the sonne and heire of *John Mortimer* of *Achelton*, the Kings Ward, iointlie petitioned at the same Court, to bee admiured in the right of *William Beauchampe* of *Bedford* (whole lands the king held in right of the said Wardshippe, and *William de Latimer* in his owne right,) to haue the office of *Almoner* at the Coronation and to enioy the Fees thereof. And because in the redde Booke of the Exchequer it appeared, that the said *William Beauchampe* (late deceased) vñed the said office; *William de Latimer* was there admitted aswell for himselfe, as for the said heire to exercise the fame, and for his Fee to haue the silver plater of *Almes* which stood before the King as hee sat at the Table vpon that day and if afterward it should reasonably appeare, that they likewise ought to haue an * Hoghead of wine, they should haue it.

William Burdolf shewed by petition (as all the rest did) to the right noble, and right redoubted Lord, the King of *Castile* and *Leon*, Duke of *Lancaster* and *Steward* of *England*, that certayne of the said *William* his Fee-simple lands in his towne of *A.* were holden of the King in chiefe by Seruicant. The words of the petition, shewing the seruice, which we (fearing to erre) leane for other to interpret, we theie. *De tranuer le uoir des Commençement nostre tresredoubtable Scigneur le Roy, un homme de faire & ne me se quoy appelle Delguant, & li apponator sanguineum admeque est appelle*

* Com. admeque, as it were.

The Kings
Champion.

The Justice and
fees of the Kings
Champion at
that time.

The office of
chiefe Almoner
at the Cor-
onation.

* Tasselian. i. m.

appele *Mulpygnyen la Cuisse de Roy*. And accordingly the said *William* was admitted to that service by his Deputy. *Richard Lyons*, as Tenant of the Manour of L. which *John de Lyfen* and his ancestors held by the service of making wafers for the King at the day of Coronation, was accordingly thereunto admitted. The Barons of the *Cinqve Parts*, upon their petition and claime, the matter being evident, were admitted to beare (and to haue for their Fees) the Kings Canapie of cloth of Gold (or of what other stuffe elle is pleased the King) upon foure staves of silver over the kings head upon the day of Coronation, and also to sit at meat in the hall at the highest Table on the kings right hand. *John Fitz-John*, in right of his wife, shewed, that the Manour of S. in *Norfolke* was holden of the King by the service of *Chiefe Lardner* at his Coronation, and that *Geffrey Bardelay* did execute the same at the Coronation of King *Edward* the third, whereupon *John Fitz-John* was admitted to execute that office by himselfe and his Deputies. *Richard Hering* for the Manour of C. in the County of *Surrey*, in the right of *Agnes* his wife, claimed to be Viber of the Kings Chamber, but because that claime did no way concerne the Coronation of the King, hee was left otherwise to pursue his interest if he so thought good. These are the services which were then claimed before the D. of *Lancaster*, Steward of England, which he with his owne hands deliuered into the Kings Chancery there to be enrolled. At the same Coronation also *Thomas of Stafford* the youngest sonne of the late king was created Earle of *Buckingham*, *Thomas Mortimer* Earle of *Nottingham*, *Guy* Earle of *Arundell*, *Henry Percy* Earle of *Norham*, &c. Thus the bounty of the young Monarch imparted large rayes of his imperiall Splendor to these eminent persons of his Kingdome. Howsoever, these and the like honours haue not in our Common-wealth either always become fortunate to the Receiuers, or without repenatence to the Donors.

(3) But the generall State of the kingdome being implicated, before the late king *Edward* the decalle, by reason of that opportunity and advantage to their designs, which the neighbour enemies of the Crowne of England found in the old age of that victorious Monarch, was now no less entangled through the contempt of King *Richards* youth. For before his Coronation, the French with fifty ships (as *Walffingham* calls them) thrust into the Haven of *Rie*, the towne whereof they rifled, and consumed with fire. The Crowne of England was scanted on his head, when the *Scots* at the other end of England set fire vpon the Town of *Rochester*: but the French (encouraged by their late exploit at *Rie*) arrived in their Gallies, and tooke the whole Ile of *Wight*, the Castle (which *Sir Hugh Tyrell* manfully defended,) only excepted, leauing vpon the inhabitants one thousand Marks in lieu of sparing their houses from the rage of warre, and flame. Neither was it long before they landed at *Winchester*, though being from thence repulld, they burnt the Towne of *Hastings* at that present.

(4) These petty breaches thus giuen to the king, were farther fortunated with a little victory. For they, emboldened with such successes (dishonourable and dangerous to King *Richard*, who seemed to haue lost the sovereignty of the *English* Ocean, where Pyrrres durst so reuell, and also to haue had as little counsell, courage or forces left about him vpon the land) come on Shore at *Rotterdam* in *August*. The Prior of *Lewis* with some slight tumultuatie Forces, rashly aduentures himselfe against them, where he with two knights, & some few others were taken prisoner, and about 100. English slaine, but of the French many more, who returned with their Prisoners to their Naue.

(5) The chiefe charge of affaires lay vpon the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Kings vncle, or vpon some

such as he did put about him, through whose want of care, things declining to a shamefull change, and the glorious achievements of the two late *Edwards* falling vnder Eclips, there was onlie found one private Citizen of *London*, that (without regard to the enuie of the slothfull Lords, or his owne hazards, or of any thing else, so much as the good of his neglected Country) put his whole strengths to support the same. This was the worthy *John Philpot*, who at his owne charges mans out a Fleet to the Sea, raignes by them therein, and guardes both water and land from their intolerable violences. Nor did his so great piete faile of happy euent, for God (who fauours all vertuous actions) had put into his hands within a short space 15. Spanish Ships fraught with rich merchandise, which the right of warre made his, whereby his great charges were abundantly repayed. Let vs see his Statue erected now at last, with the Statues of *Walworth*, and other honourable Citizens in *London*.

(6) What therefore the loue of their Prince and Country could not larre vp in the Lords, that very shame and indignation doe. There is consolation had, and the King of *Nauarre* (an vniuersall subiect of the Crowne of *France*) morageth the Haven Towne of *Cherburgh* in *Normandy* to King *Richard*. The occasion was the rather not omitted, for that, by thrusting into it a good Garrison (which was forthwith done, and first *Sir Robert Ew*, then *Sir John of Harleston*, both worthy Knights, made Captaines there) the same would at all times serue to giue quiet entrance to an Inuasion of *France* which now was meditated.

(7) How loosely, the meane while, the affaires of the State and Iustice were managed, by reason of the vniuersal yeeres of the King, may appeare by a bloody outrage then perpetrated and vnreroged. The occasion this. In the warres of *Spain*, (which *Edward* the late Prince of *Wales* made for restoring *Peter* to the Crowne,) the Earle of *Deuon* was taken and adidged Prisoner (from all others claiming that honour) to two valiant Esquires *Robert Hamle* and *John Chakel*, who both of them belonged to that martiall Knight *Sir John Chandler*. They free the Earle, taking his forme and heire for assurance of performances. This young Gentleman (vicerly neglected hitherto by his dishonourable Father,) was now demanded of them in the Kings name, by the Duke of *Lancaster*, with a purpose (as was thought) the rather either to aduance thereby his (the said Dukes) title to the Crowne of *Spain*, or to makea peace there, with the better conditions. The Esquires resist, and shift their Hostage out of the way, & are thrust therefore into the Tower of *London*; but escaping from thence, take Sanctuary in *Westminster*. Thither with fifty armed men doth *Sir Alan de Brocel* secretly repair, draws *Shakel* by a wile out of the priuiledge of the Church, and exposituates the matter with *Hamle* in the Kings name; vpon whom (proceeding against the abuse offered to that Maieitie in his tender yeeres, and freely taxing his Counsellours with iniustice, auarice, and euill aduice,) while they sought to lay hands, he with his short sword valiantly made them all flee off, but in the end they most wickedly murdered him in the Chancel commending himselfe, in his last words, to God reuenger of such iniuries, and to the liberty of our holy mother the Church. With him was murdered a seruant of his thrust in with a Laurel at the backe. This is that *Hamle* whose body lies buried vnder a brasse-plated stone in the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, whose blood (by the violence of the said Duke) found not that fulnesse of legal vengeance, which so haious an homicide required.

(8) The North parts of England were about this time greuously visited with the stroke of pestilence, and their lamentable affliction encreased by the inroads and outrages of the *Scots*, who had now surprized *Berwick* killing *Sir Robert Reynston* Knight

The Kings
Walour.

The immortal
loyalty of the
Barons of the
Five Parts.

Chiefe Lardner.

* See Chapter
D. Ed. 1. c. 10.
Coronation of
Edward.

The first
escapes of the
French and
Scots.

The immortal
loyalty of
John Philpot
Citizen of
London.

The sacrilegious
murder of
Robert Hamle.

The French take
the Abbey of
Lewis and other
Prisoners in
August.

A. D. 1378.

Berwick surprized
and not recovered
till within some
days.

A.D. 1379.

Knight the Constable thereof; which yet the Earle of Northumberland upon the ninth day after recovered by force, putting those, who had surprized it, to the sword.

(9) Neither was the spirit of the English (after it began to requicken) idle elsewhere; for as Sir Robert Knap had diuers wayes vexed the French, and taken Oliver (the brother of that renowned Bertrand de Guesclin) prisoner, so Sir John de Harleston, Captaine of Chertsey after him, slew and took diuers French in a skirmish. Thise few foregoing drops of greater approaching showers. For Sir Hugh Calverley and Sir Thomas Percy, made admirals of the narrow Seas, took many rich prizes, and exploited sundry other things very praiseworthy, bringing home the acceptable news of the dislike which the Britons had conceived against the French Kings Government; for he commanded them to render up to him all their strengths, Castles, and walled Townes, and many of them, who refused to obey, hee put to death.

(10) These employments, and fresh designs for other like, found need of pecuniary supplies, whereupon, in a Parliament holden at London, it was agreed, that for supply of the Kings wants, the Commons should be taxed, and the burthen be wholely undergone by the able. The rates then of that tax were these, Dukes, Archbishops, Earles and Bishops at ten marks each, mitted Abbots at six much, besides fortie pence for every Monke under their subjection. Briefly (saith Thomas Walsingham) there was no religious person, man or woman, Justice, Sheriffe, Knight, Esquire, Parson, Vicar, or Chauntry Priest free from this tax rated according to the value of their yerely receipts.

(11) We formerly mentioned, how John Shirell (the other companion of Robert Haulton) so execrable murdered in Gods house) was taken. He now upon condition that the King (besides 500 marks in money) should give him lands to the yerely value of one hundred marks, and should also found and sufficiently endow, at the Kings costs, a Chantry with five Priests for their souls, whom the kings Officers had wickedly murdered, he rendered up his Hostage, the eldest (but naturally) sonne of the said Earle of Dean. At the discovery and bringing forth of whom, all men were stricken with wonderfull love and admiration: for the yong Gentleman having giuen his faith not to disclose himselfe, appeared in the shape of a bairdgrome, in which (unknowne to all the world but his Master) hee had of his owne sword lurked. An example of such a point of perfect honesty as cannot be forgotten without iniurie.

(12) The same yere, the Lord John Mannersford, whom the French had driven out, being invited home by his Barons, returned into his Duchy of Britaine, accompanied with the valiant Knights Calverley and Percy aforesaid, where he, his friends, and followers were received with singular honor. Soone after Sir John de Arundell, brother to the Earle of Arundell, being sent into Britaine to aid the Duke, was with many other valiant Knights and Esquires drowned. It is imputed by our Author to a iust effect of Gods anger against the said Sir John, and his household, for their manifold vices and outrages, practised by him and them, before they set out from England; for which they had the bitter curses of the people; and the Angell of destruction to execute those imprecations vpon the delinquents.

(13) But the action of aiding did more deeply import, then that it should be abandoned for the losse of that unfortunate fellowship, and the exceeding riches which were with them: therefore the Lord Thomas of Woodstock Earle of Buckingham, with Calverley, Percy, Knap, Walsingham (or Walsley) verie valiant knights & other competent forces, was sent to assist the Duke of Britaine. But because the French Gallies hovered vpon the narrow Seas, they landed at Calis, and from thence march through France,

spoiling Countreies, burning townes, the French not daring to emperch them, and killing people, till they and their whole equipage came late into Britaine.

(14) There were about these times cinill dissensions in France, for the Duke of Burgundie, younger brother of King Charles (lately dead) being made Guardian of the person and dominions of his Nephew Charles then in minority, had the Duke of Anjou (being an elder brother to the Duke of Burgundie) a mortall enemy. Their bloody quarrels fell out luckily for the English aides in the Duchie of Britaine, out of which as Duke John had bene driven for adhering to his father in law the late King Edward, so the English did their best to uphold him in it, as there was cause.

(15) The French in these extremes are released by their ancient disunion: for the Scots ensuing about that time with fire and sword into Cambridgeshire and Westmerland, and the forest of Inglenode, drove away much Cattle, slew the Inhabitants, rised the booths and houses of Perish in the Faire time, killing and taking many, and driving away the rest. The Earle of Northumberland preparing a bloody revenge, was (not without wonder) prohibited so to doe by letters from the King, that is, from such as were about the King.

(16) But how coldly foreer the publike affaires were followed, the want of money for supplies was still pretended. And therefore in a Parliament holden at Northampton, was granted to the King a general supply of money; the pretended occasion of monstrous mischief which followed, by reason of a clause in that grant of Subsidies, that every one of each sex, being above a certain age, should pay by the head, or per Poll as they call it, twelue pence.

(17) The English Chensury began now againe to display it selfe bare off, to gratifie the private ends of John Duke of Lancaster, who claimed the Crown of Castile and Leon, in right of Constance his wife: For John King of Portugal had a defunctive warre against John then King of Castile, who challenged the Crowne of Portugal in right of Beatrice his wife, (by whom hee had no issue) the onely daughter of Ferdinand King of Portugal, which this other John (a baird sonne of Ferdinands) had by faction usurped. There were sent to his aide the Lord Edmund de Langley Earle of Cambridge the Kings vnckle, and sundry Knights and others of good experience with an Armie. These arriving in Portugal valiantly defended the same for about two yeres, and were the chief cause of giving the Spaniards an overthrow in battell, where they lost 40 thousand men. At last the two Kings agreeing together bare the charges of counselling home the English in common, that their Countreies might be freed from them, being both alike zealous of their piissance. In this time Edward sonne to the Earle of Cambridge vnckle to Richard King of England, married the daughter of the king of Portugal, but afterward neither would the Earle leave his sonne behind, as suspecting the Portugales faith, nor the other entrust his daughter to the Earle, so as they remained disunited in body, howsoever visited by Ceremonie.

(18) Not long after the time of that Earles employment into Spaine, there fell out accidents which doe plainly convince their error to bee great, who thinke that any madnesse is like that of an armed & vngoverned multitude, whereof these times (by a kind of Fate proper to children raigning) gave a most dangerous document. The extreme hatred borne by the people to John Duke of Lancaster, calling himselfe King of Castile and Leon, and the discontentment taken at an extraordinary tax, levied per Poll, vpon all sorts of people, who were above sixteen yeres of age, which (as all other the evils of the time) they imputed to the Duke (the manner being so close to them the authors of evils, who are supposed to have the greatest power of doing them) moved the enrag-

* Jo. T. D. Jo. Dean.

French troubles profitable to the English.

The Earle of Northumberland constrained from prison of the Tower.

The Parliament at Northampton.

A.D. 1381. The Earle of Cambridge sent with an Armie into Portugal.

* Ralph. Senice perca. 1381. 1382. 1383.

* Ralph. Senice 1381. 1382. 1383.

The dangerous rebellion of 1381. 1382. 1383.

The strong dislike of the French Government of new troubles.

The common spread in the Subsidies.

* Simple Capitalism, arising.

A memorable example of a noble young gentleman's sacrifice.

At first into Britain down.

Other side sent into Britain from Calis by land. A.D. 1380.

and inability) one hundred pounds land by the yeere for simple. Here also at the same time bestowed the same honour upon that right worthy Citizen and Patriote, *Sir John Philpot*, and two other Aldermen, *Sir Nicholas Brember*, & *Sir Robert Laund*, to each of which he gave a like estate of 40. pounds. There be who write that hee then also knighted *Nicholas Twissford*, and *Robert Gaston* Citizens. The memories of these and other such, deserve and ought to be honoured with statues, advanced in the most conspicuous place of that great City, least otherwise they bee holden ingratefull to them, from whom these duties to honourable splendor. That the beauteous Armories of London were at this time augmented with that weapon which wee see in the doxter Canton thereof, in remembrance of this service done by *Walsworth* is affirmed by * some, but with what warrant let themselves shew.

* Statueth
in Richard.

(26) The young King, after this fortunate conclusion given to his heliish uproars about his principall City, repaired in good array to a *Tower Riall* or the *Queenes war-burgh*, a palace then in the bosome of London. There the *Queenes* mother had remained in very great feare and griefe for the space of three daies, and two nights (but the sight of her soune, and relation of his good speed, blotted out of her memory the sorrowes formerly fuined.

* Strong of
dun.

(27) It was not long, but that the King (surprised before with that popular inundation) had sure notice that the daemlich rebels were in all other places disipated, but neither till themselves had done much mischief, and suffered little punishment. Memorable was the service of *Henry le Spencer* the stout Bishop of *Norwich* against the Bondmen and Peasants of *Norfolk*, whome he drave out of their Trenches, slew daunters, and cauled their murther King *John Linteflar* to be hanged, drawne and headed. But that which vniuersallie most of all pleased to the reduction of these audacious wretches to due obedience, was the death of *Wat Tyler*, and the certaine news of their disipation, who were assembled about *London*, where for a few daies they had most barbarously tyrannized. In *Hertfordshire* at *Saint Albans*, *Barnet*, &c. in *Stafford*, *Cambridge*, and the Ile of *Elye* the popular outrages were now in a manner appeased. Yet wonderfull is it, that all these execrable furies, being in so many severall places, with so great forces in each, (for at *Bury*, where *John Wesh* for some kinged it, they are reported to haue bene about fifty thousand, making it their iangelsport, cause the heads of great persons, which they had cut off and fixed on Poles to kisse and whisper as it were one in the others eare) lasted not in the high speed and full rage thereof the space of eight daies, (being not long before Midsummer, as if it had been a fyderall infection or general Lunacy) and the whole time thereof from the beginning to the end, is accounted, by Act of Parliament, but from the first of May till Midsummer the Feast of *Saint John Baptist*.

* Statu. Anst.
Rich. II. folio.
Lup. 13.
The 10. yall-gent
after a long
dunnes parr
forth at little a-
gaine.

(28) The royall power which had thus bene soude, and trodden underfoote, could no longer brooke so intollerable debailement, but to repaire and establish it selfe, there was proclamation made, that all men who had horie and armour, and loved the King, should forth with come to London in their best manner. There were neuer scene together so great a multitude of horsemen in England. The multitudes were taken upon *Black-heath*, where the king himselfe, being mounted on a goodly coarser among the armed men, and having his Standard royall advanced before him, daily rode forth to view his people, reioicing to see scene among them, and acknowledged their Lord. It is said, that within three daies space there appeared upon that heath for the Kings service, not fewer then forty thousand horsemen most bravely appointed.

* Forty thousand
English horse-
men in field to-
gether.

(29) This force had bene employed against the Kentish-men, even to the vicer rooting out of all

the guilty, who againe beganne to stirre, but that the King was perfwaded by the Nobility and Gentlemen of that Countie, to proceed by ordinarie iustice; which was done. The Kings peace was also proclaimed in euerie place according to his letters dated at London 17. Iune in the fourth yeere of his reigne, to the great encouragement of good subjects, and confusion of the wicked. There were executed about one* thousand and five hundred in all places, besides five of a new forlorne Company, which having desperatly dared to gather head againe in Essex about *Billyricol*, had tendered to the King certaine insolent demands, which were iustlie reiected, and they flaine. The Lord *Thomas of Woodstock* Earle of *Buckingham* the Kings vicie, with *Sir Thomas Percy* brother to the Count *Northumberland*, were sent with force against them. The Rebels being manie in number, were notwithstanding broken at the verie first with a Charge made vpon them by a ranc in front of ten men of Armes or Lances. There were taken eight hundred hors belonging to the Rebels. *Sir Robert Trissil* was principall Actor in the matters of iustice, which hee rightly and fruely administered. The King himselfe had so great a force of horsemen with him, that (as *Sir Walter de Lee* knight said in his speech to *Saint Albans-men*) there was neither graille nor blade of Corne old or new left within five miles compasse of the kings person.

* Statueth
in Rich.

(30) And least the mischievous multitude should to the kings dishonour and common hurt of the Church and kingdom, enioy any the least benefit by their late vnspokeable villanies; the king, by aduise of his Councell, first letters reuocatorie into the Shires about, by which he commands, that no man shall enioy any freedome or profit by vertue of any extorted grante, during the time of the Infortifications: but yet that his maiesties purpose was by the aduise of his Councell to grant to his subjects (notwithstanding their so heinous treasons) such mercie, as should bee pleasing to God, and profitable to him, and to the kingdom. After which sundrie executions were done at *Saint Albans*, and elsewhere. And this end for the present had these infernall attempts of the basest people, in which we may cleerely behold the hideous face of *Anarchie* and *Piracie* furie.

All grante of freedom
and manumission
reuoled.

(31) Which fearefull convulsion in this Seate, some imputed to Gods wrath on this land for the general coldnes and neglect of their duties in the chiefe Prelates of the kingdom; others to the great vices, and irreligious tyrannies of the great ones; others to the abounding finnes of the common people. But* our Author indgeth, that the full heape of those causes of Gods vengeance, was made up by the beggng Fryars, who (with he) to purchase wealth contrary to their owne Oathes, did teach the great men in their vices, and mortified the vulgar in their errors, feeding on the sinnes of both: calling good evil, and euill good, seducing Princes by flatteries, and the common sort with lies, carrying both heading with themselves away. For their outward profession of truth they haue so defiled with their wicked life, as that it is now in euery mans mouth a good Argument holding in matter and forme: This is a Fryar, Ergo a lyar, as true as to say: This is white, Ergo it is colore.

* Writ in Rich.
1. p. 104.

(32) The Duke of *Lancaster*, at the first breaking forth of these Rebellions, was upon the borders, about seeing of a truce with the *Scots*, who therefore did shut vp the matter speedilie before the *Scots* had any intelligence, setting a two yeres abstinence from Hostilitie. The *Scots* (though they were forie that by the peace so concluded, they had lost an opportunity of making a dangerous impression upon the English,) vnderstanding the Dukes perill, offered him twente thousand men to defend his honor, but he loyally refusing, that they gave him leave to come and goe at his pleasure with all other rites of sacred Hospitality.

Humanity of the
Scots toward
John Duke of
Lancaster in his
great danger.

A. D. 1382.
A. reg. 5.
The king's
marriage
being the
year in
Christmas
day
initially.

(33) After Christmas King Richard took to wife the Lady Anne daughter to the Emperor Charles the fourth, and sister to Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, and called Empress, which Lady by the Duke of Taffall, was in the name of her said Father, formerly promised and assured unto him, as one whom the King did specially affect, though the daughter of Barnabas Duke of Arles was also offered with a farre greater summe of gold. Shee was with great pompe and glory at the same time crowned Queen, by the hand of William Courtney (a younger sonne of the Earle of Devonshire) Bishoppe of London, lately promoted from London to the See of Canterbury. The Nuptials and Coronation of the beauteous Queene being, the Parliament (which by this great Ladies arrival was interrupted & prorogued) began againe. Where many things concerning the excelle of apparrell, transmutation of Coine, &c. were whollye enacted. *Sed quid inquit Statuta Parli. commoverit. R. v. to what purpose (saith Wallingham) are Acts of Parliament, when after they are once past, they take no manner of effect? For the king with his private Council, was wont (saith hee) to change, or abolish all things, which by the whole Commons and Nobility of the Kingdome had in former Parliaments beene agreeed vpon.*

(34) Nevertheless, it was then provided, that such as had done any thing in their owne defence against the Rebels, or to their suppression, without the ordinarie formes of processe in law, should sustaine no damage thereby, but for ever bee as cleare as if they theretofore had enjoyed their particular pardons; and that all releases, froffisions, and other acts done in the late rebellions, (during the long times, for so they were called) by way of constraint or daunt, should be utterly void.

(35) With the good liking of this Parliament, Sir Richard Scrope Knight, was made Chancellor of the Realme, and Sir Hugh Segraue Treasurer; but it was not long before the Chancellor denying to passe such large gifts vnder the Great Seale, as the king in his youthfull humor had imprudently granted, therewith to gratifie his full craving Courtiers, fell into the kings undesired displeasure. For albeit he alledged important causes of such his deniall, (as, that the King was greatly in debt) and therefore such largesses were fitter to bee employed in discharging some of his Creditors, that knowing how the King was intangled with Creditors, such cravers were not truely well affected to him, as regarding their own private avarice more then the kings profite, or the publike waies; that those selfe same cravers, had formerly received such gifts of his Majesty, as were (at least) answerable to their deservings; and that himselfe he should feele those grants (made in the Kings childhood) was like to haue small thanks of him, when he should come to ripe iudgement; yet thereupon hee was twice or thrice willed to send the Seale to the King, who comming in person "furrendered the same, with such like words, That hee would alwayes be loyal and true to his Maiestie, but never leaue any office vnder him againe. Not long after which furrender, Robert Braybrooke Bishoppe of London was made Chancellor in his place. This act of the Kings was displeasing to the whole Realme, and one of the first things by which hee fell into dislike, it being among the infelicities of King Richard, that those times were too full of froward and impatient censures, for a Prince of so calme a temper, and as yet valencious yeeres.

(36) Henricke Spenser the warlike Bishop of Norwich, being drawne on by Pope Urban to preach the *Crusades*, and to be General against Clement (whom sundry Cardinals and great Prelates had also elected Pope) hauing a Fifteenth granted to him for that purpose by Parliament, after strong opposition of almost all the Nobles who resisted this bulles of the Pope, went with Forces into Flanders to support the cause of Urban against the Antipope, from whence

after hee had performed sundry things very happily, taken *Graveling*, *Euborough*, *Dunkirk* by assault, and beene victor in a fier battell against thirty thousand abettors of Clements claime, hee was enforced to returne, as destitute of those farther succours which were expected out of England. But the king vpon pretence that hee had not obeyed his royall mandate, by which hee required him, (before hee transported) to returne, for a while selfe vpon all his temporalities.

(37) But K. Richard hauing before given the realm discontentment, by removing Scrope from the Chancellorship, encreased the time by some manifest signes of lenity and prodigality toward Strangers, then which nothing makes a Prince lesse pleasing to the English: for, in the progresse which with his beloved Queene hee made to *Bury*, *Thetford*, *Norwich*, and other places, gifts were taken on all hands by the King, and they againe through the Queene were powred forth to enrich her Bohemians.

(38) John Duke of Lancaster embarkt himselfe for France, where hee concluded a truce to endure betweene the two Nations English and French, from the present Christmas till Midsummer. At his returne, he and his brother Thomas of Woodstock Earle of Buckingham, went with an Armie into Scotland, to reuenge the breach of truce: but as it seems by some, the Duke had rather an hoast of men, then an hostile mind; for hee so ordered the matter (as not forgetfull perhaps of currellies shewed to him in his late dangers, when the Commons were out in Armes,) that the Scots hauing had time enough to withdraw both their goods and persons, and his army suffering farre more losse by penurie and cold, then it could inflict vpon the enemy, returned "fruitles and inglorious.

(39) Not long after his returne, hee was encountered with a more capitall and dangerous enemy, then those in Armes: for a certaine Carmelite Fryer, by birth an Irishman, deuoured to the King (in the time of Parliament at Salisbury) a writing which contained therein a heinous accusation of the Duke of Lancaster, that he had conspired to murder the King, and to crowne himselfe. The accuser discovered, the day, place, and other circumstances, to induce a beliefe of the pretended intention, and tooke his oath vpon the Sacrament, which that day hee had receiued, that no one word in that scroll was untrue. The Dukes Apologie and fauour with the King, preuailed about the accusers confidence; whereupon the Fryer is committed, at the Dukes request, to the John Holland (the Kings halfe brother by his mothers) and a day appointed, wherein the accuser was to shew a cause of his crimination.

(40) But in the night which next forewent the designed day, the said Lord John Holland (if a man may beleue, that a thing so villanous could be done by men of honour) and one Sir Henry Green knight, are reported to haue trussed vp the Fryer in a cord by the necke, and parts of generation, laying vpon his breast a stone of great weight to breake the chaine of his backe; and that they also seerch the soles of his feet. By which miserable and quadruple manner of death, without triall or conviction, (as also without "restitution of any thing which hee had vttered against the Duke) he is said to haue breathed his last. Neither was his death smothered, for the next day they cauled his strangled carcase to bee dragged through the City, that it might not bee thought hee had perished vnusually. But the Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the same who was afterward Duke of Gloucester) went farther, for hee rutheth into the Chamber where the King was, and bound his "words with a terrible oath, That hee would kill any one liuing who durst lay treason to his brothers charge: neither did hee except the king himselfe. In which speeches, as piety and zeale for his brothers honor and safety were not wanting, so certainly duty to his Prince was exceedingly forgotten. (41) That

The kings
renewment
of the
Bohemians
displeasure.

An. D. 1384.

Ad. 1380.

The Duke of
Lancaster
accused
of English
Treason.

Id. 1380.

The hasting
times.

The writing.

A. D. 1383.

* The writing
p. 597.

(41) That which followed, may give vs iust cause to suspect the truth of that Fryers accusation: for the Lord *William la Zouch* was also by the Fryer accused, of having bene the Inuenter, broacher, and prouoker of him, to set downe all that which was comprehended in the accusation; who therupon sent for *Salisburi* (though then very sicke of the gout) repaired thither in a horse-litter, where hee was compelled to answer toall such points as were objected, like a fclow, or a traytor standing bare-headed: but the praice, or least thought of any such matter as the Fryer affirmed against the Duke, hee confidently forswore, and was therupon acquitted and dismissed. Howbeit (saith *Walsingham*) *La Zouch* was from that time forward a professed enemy, not onely of Carmelites, but of all other orders of Fryers whatsoever. But these disgraces came vnseasonably vpon the Duke, whose head was vnseasonably full of desires, and of cares, how to atchieue to himselfe the crowne of *Spain*.

(42) There were then sundry incursions made by the English and Scots, each into the others country, the Earle of *Northumberland* being leader to the English, with little aduantage to either. But to take away the very cause of this continual had neighbourhood, or to lessen it by an established peace with *France*, the Duke of *Lancaster* layd to *Callis*, about the beginning of *August*, there to treat with the Duke of *Berry*, on behalfe of the young French King *Charles* 6. but after he had in that voyage expended (as was said) fifty thousand Marks, he brought into England nothing backe, excepte onely a truce, to continue till the first day of May next. His desire to have procured a surer peace both with the French and Scots, seemes to haue bene great, that so hee might the more freely pursue the conquest of *Spain* which he intended.

(43) While hee was absent in this Ambassage, there ensued the arraignment of a great favourite of the Dukes, *John Northampton*, alias *Camber-torne*, whom his aduerities by-name *Camber-torne*. This man is by them reported to haue exceedingly troubled the City of *London*, during his late Maorality there, nor lesse afterwards, for that being followed with many abusers, hee publicly disturbed *Sir Nicholas Bramble* his successor, (but a* bloudy minded man by report,) and wrought other miseries, till *Sir Robert Knollys* caused one of the busiest companions to bee drawne out of his house, and (as some say) shortned by the head. This *Camber-torne* was by his bouthold Clerke accused, as priuie to some praides, in prauidice as well of the King, as the City, and when sentence was to be pronounced in the Kings presence (being then with great store of his Nobles at *Reading*), hee durst (as is said) affirme, That such iudgement ought not to proceede against him in the absence of his Lord the Duke. This againe vnraked the burning coales of enuie, and suspicion against the said Lord Duke; and perhaps malice to the Duke procured this hatred against his favourite. Whereupon hee was confined to the Castle of *Tynagel* in *Cornwall*, and all his goods seized vpon by the Kings Seruants, whom *Walsingham* expresseth, by calling them after the name of those Poeticall rauenous Birds, *Harpies*.

(44) That here which *Polydore Vergil* (assigning causes to actions, not alwayes such as are, but such as seemed to him most probable, not seldom confounding and changing persons, times, names, and things) telles vs concerning a combat within lists, betwene *Sir John Austrey* Knight, and one *Carlus* hath little ground, (so farre as wee can find) in billoirie. He saith they were *terribilia capita*, both very wicked men, & that there was a real plot to murder the king. We can neither find the crime nor the men: there had bene a solempne combat long before betwene such a knight and one * *Katrington* an Esquire, in which the knight was Challenger and victor, but the crime was not treason against the kings person,

nor for any thing done in his time, but in his noble Grandfathers. Neither was *Austrey*, *interremus caput*, but a valiant and loyal man of Armes. The crime which he objected to that Esquire (his kinsman) was, that for money he had traiterously given over the Castle of *Saint Saviour* in the Land of *Conflance* in *Normandie*, whom he had swore of vntaill and mortuall. The Esquire was vanquished in faire fight and died franck the next day. *Polydore* erreth therefore is ioynd with manifest wroong to the knights name, wherby wee ought to be very circumspect, for that, honour is ineluctable and defendeth to posterity. There was indeed, at the time he speaks of, another combat, fought also within lists before the king, (for *Duels* then were performed, not on priuate choice or quarrell, but on publicke appointment) betwene one *John Welsh* an Esquire of England, and one * *Martileta* Gentleman *Nauarrie*, who in reuenge against *Welsh*, for hauing at *Cheriborough* (where the said Esquire was vnder-captaine) committed (as *Martileta* said) adultery with his wife, accused him of high treason against the King and Reaime. But *Welsh* prevailed; and the *Nauarrie*, at his execution (for hee was drawne and hanged after hee had bene sold in battell), confessed the cause of his enill will, and the inuency of *Welsh* in the matter of treason.

(45) The Scots had this while by practise and money gotten the Castle of *Barrack*, wherof the Chifdohy belonged to the Lord *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*. The Duke of *Lancaster* was not asid at this, but so pursued the matter, that the Earle (as if by his negligence and prinkie the same royall Castle had bene lost) was condemned in Parliament. But the king relensed him with extension of fauour. This was a great cause of confirming the rancour already kindled in the hearts of these two principall Peeres. But the Earle to wipe away all blemishes of disgrace, encloseth the Castle with a siege both of forces and large proffers, so that after some time spent therein, he had it redelivered vpon payment of two thousand marks.

(46) The Flemings had heretofore in the fifth yere of this King, sent Ambassadors at the time of Parliament, to submit themselves and their Country to his dominion, renouncing allegiance to their naturall Lord the Earle, whom they had by force of Armes expelled, vpon pretence of oppression vsed by him, and for other causes; but because they feared not either persons sufficient, or sufficiently instructed with authority, to transact with the King in a matter of so high nature, they were commanded to returne, and fetch more ample power, and to bring certaine men of every good Towne in *Flanders*. Now againe, the Citizens of *Ghent*, though they had in battell against the French King, (who was there in person on behalfe of the Earle,) * lost twenty thousand men not long before, desired of *K. Richard*, that they might haue an English General to command in their warres; to whom was sent a wile and valiant Gentleman, the Lord *Edward de Beaufort*, who demeaned himselfe in that charge with much commendation. And when afterwards he went more abundantly and strongly to haue supported them, they suddenly turned French, shewing *se newface* (saith * *Walsingham*) *vari amice, vel dominum silem deservare*.

(47) The Duke of *Lancaster* (whole, or the like greatness may perhaps seeme more, then can stand with the narrow limits of England, which, without danger to the common wealth, can hardly afford such a proportion of estate to any Subject) was about this time informed, that the King had a purpose to arrest his person, and to trim him vpon capitall points before *Sir Robert Trissil*, his Chiefe Iustitiar, a man ready, (vnder the Kings protection) to deliuer in judgement without respect to Titles. The King was nourished in this deliberation by yong men, who combined against the Dukes life. This being discouraged, the Duke (a potent Prince) withdrew vpon his guard to his Castle of *Pemfret* in the

* Henry Kingdome
Cast. of Law. Abb.
spad. Malin.

* To be true,
is Edward's.

Hated increas-
ed betweene
the Duke and
Count North-
umberland.

As with recom-
mend by the Earle.

A.D. 1386.
The sovereignty
of Flanders ad-
ded to King Rich-
ard by the Flem-
ings.

* John Tyllan in
Ghent.
* Paul, a French
cast. a French
in sight, and in
sight, and that
in their whole
civil warres
there passed
nothing.

* Dr. Rich. J. ed.
A. D. 1386.

The Duke of
Lancaster stands
vpon his keep-
ing.

* The 17th of
the 13th. J. ed.
John an.

John Camber-
torne once Lord
Mayor of London,
enriched and
enriched.

* Thom. 17th of
17th. J. ed.

Polydore Vergil
not in the
original.

Sir John Austrey
reputation as
a Frenchman
in Flanders.
* Austrey here is
called, Tynd.
N. ed. 1386.

The bad event
of the French
dispute for an
inheritance.

brake and smoke divers, so that this *Bravado* was not only costly to the French, by reason of the charges, but hurtful in the loss of time, men, ships, and hoped glory. Such are the events of humane enterprises, where God is not pleased to give success. The English thus detracted from fear make a road into France out of *Calais*, and with a prey of four thousand sheep and three hundred head of great cattle, besides an hundred good prisoners, returned safe to their Garrison.

The attempt of
the Laitie to de-
stitute the Cler-
gie of their tem-
poral offices.

(15) The multitude of memorable things which present themselves in the lines of our *English Monarch*, is such, that if we did not vie choice, and in their relation brevity, we should not relieve our Readers of that solicitation, with which the vast volumes of former labours do oppress the memory. The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden at London, had yielded to aide the King with a *Fiftieth* upon condition, that the Clergie should succour him with a *Tenth* and an half against which usual proportion, *William de Courcy* Archbishop of Canterbury must first oppose; alleging that the Church ought to be free, nor in any wise to be taxed by the Laitie, and that himself would rather die then endure that the Church of England, (the liberties whereof had by so many free Parliaments on all times, and not only in the reign of the King been confirmed, should be made a bond-slave. This answer so offended the Commons, that the Knights of the Shires, and some Peers of the land, with extreme fury be-ought, that *T* temporalities might be taken away from Ecclesiastical persons, saying, that it was an *Unchristian* and an *Act of Chastity* so to do, thereby to humble them. Neither did they doubt, but that their petition which they had exhibited to the King would take effect. Hereupon they deligned among themselves, out of which Abbey, which should receive such a certain summe, and out of which, another, I myself (saith a Monke of *Saine Albans*) heard one of those Knights confidently swear, that hee would have a yearly pension of a thousand Marks out of the Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the King having heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to silence, and the Pension to be razed out, saying, *He would maintain the English Church in the quality of the same state or better, in which himselfe had knowne it to be when he came to the Crowne.*

The Pope's

King Richard the
Clergie should.

The Archbishop hereupon having consulted with the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that hee and the Clergie had with one consent, willingly provided to supplie his Majesties occasions with a *Tenth*. This grant the King took so contentedly, as he openly affirmed, hee was better pleased with this free contribution of one Tenth for the present, then if hee had gotten four by compulsion.

The first Mar-
quis made this
war was in Eng-
land.

(16) *Robert de Vere* Earle of Oxford (a young Gentleman in speciall grace with the King) was at this Parliament created *Marquis* of Dublin in Ireland, which moved great despite against him, those rough times being impotent to beare the unequal advancement of favourites. Nevertheless, though the gentle King was thought herein to please his owne lustie, rather then to reward merit, yet did he so sweetly temper it, as there was no lustie, nor reason to envie to him that so place which hee took in his friends increased honour; for at the same time hee advanced two of his vnder, *Thomas de Woodstocke*, Earle of Buckingham to the title of Duke of Gloucester and *Edmund of Langley* Earle of Cambridge, hee created Duke of York, allotting severall proportions of pension to be paid out of his Exchequer. To *Perce* there was ancient Nobilitie to iustifie his new degree the better, but in making the Lord Chancellor *Michael de la Pole* Earle of Suffolk, with the yearly pension of 1000 Markes, was matter of more enuy because he was not descended of such honourable Parents: a defect (if it be a defect) which none more willingly vpbraid to men of worth, then who themselves are

not alwayes the most worthy. The first raiser of this familie of *De la Pole* was *Edward* the third, who made *William de la Pole*, of a braue Merchant, a Knight Banneret, and gave him great possessions, in requitall of an extraordinary and voluntary loan of treasure, advanced by him to supply the King in a time of speciall necessity, when money could stand him in more need then a thousand men of Armes: no little merite in a subject, nor a slender reward of a most munificent Prince.

(17) *Henry Spenser* the martiall Bishop of Norwich found grace with the King at this Parliament, to bee restored to his temporalities, at the speciall suite of *Thomas Arundell* Bishoppe of Ely: whilst the Bishoppe of Ely thus becometh his Majesty of Grace, the said *Michael de la Pole* (Lord Chancellor and Earle of Suffolk) stood by, and brake out with much offence into these words, *What is that my Lord which you aske of the King? Seemes it to you a small matter for him to part with that Bishoppe temporalities, when they yield to his Officers above one thousand pounds by yeere? Little neede hath the King of such Counsellors, or of such friends, as advise him to aske so greatly to his disadvantage.* Whereunto the Bishop of Ely not lesse truly, then freely replied, *What saith your Lordship my Lord Michael? Know that I require not of the King that which is his, but that which hee (dareing thereunto either by you, or by the Council of such as you are) withholdeth from other men, upon none of the mightiest titles, and which (as I thinke) will never doe him any good: as for you, who did you so graciously accept of a thousand markes by yeere, at such time as hee created you Earle of Suffolk?* The Chancellor was he so home with this round retort, that hee neuer offered any further to crosse the restoration of the Bishops temporalities.

(18) After this the King being with his Queen at their manour of *Eltham* in Kent, there came thither *Lez King of Armes*, a Christian Prince, whom the *Tartars* had expelled out of his Kingdom. The presence of his negotiation was to accord the realms of England and France; that the Princes thereof might with joint forces remove the common enemy from Christendome. Therein hee could effect nothing, but his journey was not otherwise vnfraughtful to himselfe, for King Richard (a Prince to speake truly, full of honour and bounty) gave him besides a thousand pounds, in a ship of gold letters Patents also for a thousand pounds yearly pension during life.

(19) The time now was come, wherein *K. Richard* should see himselfe delivred of all that fear and ialousie, which the greatness of his vnde the Duke of Lancaster stirred in him. His Forces were now ready, and his Naue (increased with seven Gallies, and eighteen shippes sent out of *Portugall*) attended at *Brissell*, to transport him toward *Spain*, (for *Castile* is high *Spain*) the crowne whereof hee claimed in right of *Constance* his second wife, daughter of *Dona Peter* the cruel. Before hee set forth, the newes came that such English as were already in *Portugall* with their friends had overthrowne the *Spaniards*, French, and Britons, at a battell in *Spain*. This was spurre to quicken the Dukes enterprise, which Pope *Petrus* the sixth (by granting plenary remission of sinnes to all such as gave the Duke aid) did specially fauour, as against them who did partake with his enemy the *Antipape*; but the frequent grant of such pardon and remission, was now growne so vile and contemptible among the people, that few were found open handed to aid this Crowne. Admirall of this Fleet was *Sir Thomas Percy*, *Sir John Holland* (who had married one of the Dukes daughters afterward created Earle of *Huntington*) was Constable of the host, and *Sir John Manners* (who had to wife one of the Dukes illegitimate children) was one of his Marshalls. There were in this noble and excellently well appointed Army, the Lords *Talbot*, *Bassett*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-walter*, *Pembroke*, *Bradsham*, *Fitz-warren*,

"*Ex lib. Monach.
de Melfia. ar. 10.
Ex lib. Caput.
Basil. Cantabrig.
Tolp.*"

A. D. 1386.
Aug. 6.

"*Ex lib. Monach.*"

"*Shalsh.*"

"*The P. V. lib.
p. 31.
The noble ar-
my of the Duke
of Lancaster for
Spain.*"

warren, Beaumont, Beauchampe, the Lord Pemiers a Galsun, &c. with very many worthy knights & valiant Esquiers, and a choise number of men of Armes, Archers and other Souldiers, to the number of twenty thousand. The Duke tooke also with him his wife, the Lady Camellane, and two daughters, which hee had by her, as we relateth.

(60) It was now the month of May, when the great Duke of Lancaster coming to take leave, had of the king's gift a Diademe of gold, and his Dutcheffe of the Queene another: he also commanded the English to call, and hold his vnde for a King, and to doe him anwerable honour. But after all this, hee lay for a while so long, till his whole provisions were almost spent; at length yet, hee set forward. The first land they touched was neere to Breff in Britaine, where Sir John Rech the Gouernour against the French, complained of two Forts built about him to empach his quiet egress; whereupon the Duke of Lancaster caused them to be assaulted; so both of them being taken by surrender, were razed to the ground, though some English first lost their liues, among which, was Sir Robert Swinerton, a valiant Knight of Stafforshyre, and John de Balton a courageous Esquier of Yorkshyre, whom the sodaine ruine of a Tower (ouerturned by mining) whelmed and flew outright. Sharpened with the successe of this victorie, they commit themselves to God, and the Sea, and prosperously arrive with the whole Fleet in the Port of Calis, the Greyne, in August.

(61) The French (belike) thought England could not furnish another Army for France, as she had for Spain: whereupon there was now no false nor vain rumour spread again, that the French would besiege Calis. The King to secure that precious transmarine part of his Dominions, sent thither store of men and of all provisions. The most eminent person was Henry Lord Percy, sonne to Henry Earle of Northumberland. This was hee whom the Scots by-name *Hastur*, a young Gentleman, in whom (saith *Walsingham*) the pattern of all vertue and martiall prowesse shined: and indeed his nature did answere his by-name; for hee made such ridings into the quarters about Calis, that they could neuer with a worse neighbour. After which, when the fame went that the French king would not delay, or (as they call it) beleaguer Calis, but rather invade England, hee returned to be present where the greatest danger was expected. At this time, the English Seamen of warre, brought two French prizes to Sandwich, in which was taken a part of an huge strong Timber-wall, which the French king, preparing now for England's invasion, had caused to bee built in length three miles in height twenty foot, which had at euery twelue paces a Tower (ten foot higher) and each capable of ten men, the whole to be a defence for the French encampments against our shot, and a shelter for theirs, there was also in the same Ships the Engineer and master workman, who was an Englishman, and great quantities of powder, and store of Ordinance, together with the French Kings Master Gunner.

(62) There was in this time a great resemblance betwene England and France in the chiefe points of State. As England had Richard, so had France her Charles, both young Kings. Charles with an huge armie had prepared to invade England, but did nothing: Richard with no lesse forces entered Scotland, and did no great thing. Richard had vnckes which bore great sway in the Realme; so had Charles. Richard had his vnckle John more potent then the rest, Charles had his vnckle Lewis. John vpon his vnckles title claimeth the kingdomes of Castile and Leon, Lewis by the gift of the Queene, claimeth the Kingdomes of Naples and Sicily. Lewis went with an Army of thirty thousand horse into Italie to achieve his claime; with what force John set forth you haue heard. But Lewis died without obey-

saunce, John persuaded so farre as to leaue his child by marriage. The King and great Lords of France were glad (with any charge) to enioy the absence of Lewis, and Richard and his fauourites were not sad, that the Realme was for the present rid of him.

(63) The forces of the French provided for this invasion of England, were reported in open Parliament (which the King held about *Michaelmas* in London) to consist of 15 Dukes, 26 Earles, two hundred Lords, and an hundred thousand souldiers, and a thousand Ships, assembled about Sluys, with full purpose to take rvenge of all the euils which the English nation had formerly wrought in France, and to destroy the English kingdome. But though these reports were not faired, (for the French attended nothing in a manner but a faire gale of winde to bring them,) yet could not the King, without Capitulations made by the Duke of Glouster, obtaine any aides of money; so that, whereas it seemed to the King, that by the Duke of Lancaster's departure, he was become more free, yet had he left behind spirits much more fierce and intractable. O deare Countrey, hadst thou not then bene apparantlie in Gods protection, (for the French hauing layd for a while till *Hallowtide*, and then haining it halfe-way, were beaten backe, and the voyage made vterly voyd) certainly thy ruine had then bene certaine. What shall wee thinke or say of those popular Lords, by this gentle King named (to his own shame) with power and greatness, who vnder the specious pretence of reforming abuses, did falsifie their enuie and inbred infelicy?

(64) The King tells them, that England is, as they saw, in manifest danger, and prays their succour in money: what is the answer? That the Duke of Ireland (for now the Marquesse of Dublin was made a Duke,) and *Michael de la Pole* (so they formerly called the Earle of Suffolk) and other must be removed. Things are badly carried at home, say they; (and they perhaps said truly,) shud where was now the care of our Countrey? God indeed turned from vs the mercilesse point of the French sword: but here began the seeds of innumerable wofull miseries, neuer to be remembered without sighes and teares.

(65) The seedes (we say) of those fearefull calamities were then first here sowne, whose sum a flourishing Winter in our age (winding neerly to haue imitated *Lucan*, as hee is well called our *Lucan*) doth not vnfortunately expresse, though hee might rather haue said he wept them, then sung them; but so to sing them, is to weep them.

*I sing the ciuill warres, tumultuous broiles,
And bloody factions of a mighty Land;
Whose people hungry, proud with some spoile,
Vpon themselves turne backe their conquering hand;
Whole kinne their kinne, brother the brother's foile,
Like Enguerran, all against like Enguerran's hand;
Breues against breues, a Crowne against a Crowne,
While all pretending right, all right the wrong demone.*

But Robert de Vere, saith *Thomas* Duke of Glouster and his party, was vnworthily created Duke of Ireland, and De la Pole the Lord Chancellor seemed to the onely great Lords (for so they would seeme) to be li the Kings debt. Strange colours for Subjects to capitulate with their King vpon giuing their ioynt aides against the common enemy, now ready with one destruction to ouerwhelme them all. The time they tooke to worke this pretended amendment in state, was not well fitted. It shewoured somewhat else besides the loue of common-weale. Priuate ambitions and passions could not bee waiting in such oppositions. This is some mens judgement, let the sequels shew how ill.

(66) There were called vp at this Parliament for defence of the Realme innumerable people out of all Shires, which forces lay about London within twenty

* Hen. K. 1. 1. 1.

* *Walsingham*, c. 1. 1.

* *Walsingham*, c. 1. 1.

* *Walsingham*, c. 1. 1.

The Lord Henry Percy by name called *Hotspur* to Calis.

* *Walsingham*, c. 1. 1.

The first seeds of the civil warre.

* *Walsingham*, c. 1. 1.

* *Walsingham*, c. 1. 1.

* *Walsingham*, c. 1. 1.

tie miles round, and had no pay but lived vpon spoile. These at last were licensed to depart to be ready at warning. There was also the Lord Chancellor accused, of (we wot not what) petty crimes (for the shuffles of following ages haue made them seeme so,) as for paying to the Kings Coffers but *twentie markes yearly, for a fee-farme, whereof himselfe received threethree and ten, and some such other. To pacifie these great Lords, the Lord Chancellor is disgraced, and the Earle taken from him, against the Kings will, and giuen to *Thomas Arundell* Bishop of *Ely*, and then the houses of Parliament yielded to giue halfe a Tenth, and halfe a Fifteenth, but vpon condition that it should be disposed of, as the Lords thought fit, for defence of the Realme. The money was thereupon deliuered to the Earle of *Arundell* to furnish himselfe for that purpose to the Sea. But to rid the Duke of *Ireland* out of the realme, the Lords were willing he should haue those thirte thousand markes, for which the heires of *Charles de Blois*, (who heretofore challenged *Arlaine*) were transfixed to the French, vpon condition that the said Duke should passe into *Ireland* before the next Easter.

(67) The Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but the King recalls the Earle of *Stafford* to the Court, keeps both him, the Duke of *Ireland* and *Alexander Nevile* Archbishop of *York* about his person, in greater fauour then before. Insomuch that at Christmas he made *De-la-Pole* to sit at his owne Table not in the usual garment of a Peer, but *Princely* robed. Surely therein not well, for some of those great Lords, (though not by so sweet meanes as were fit) did desire to waken him out of Courtly drowsinesse, and (as men that knew not what peace meant) to put him into actions worthy of his name and greatness. These other persons were not so friended, or qualified, that they could support a King against an vniuersal mislike. But the King vpon a stomacke doth it, so that (saith *Walsingham*) *there first grew the Kings hatred against the Peeres, that from thence forth he neuer, as it is said, regarded them but fauorably*. So much more dangerous sometimes is the remedy then a very greenish maladie.

(68) King *Richard* (whose age and place stood in need of wiser instructions) oot thus contented to haue whetted the displeasures of the greater Peeres, as if he had said to himselfe, *Rumpator quiguis rumpator insidias*: in further drame, as was laid, to plot the death of his vnkle, *Thomas of Woodstocke* Duke of *Gloster*, and other enemies of *De-la-pole*, who together being inuited to a feast (by the bloody deuill of *Sir Nicholas Bramble* late Lord Maior of *London*) should together haue perished. But the present Lord Maior *Nicholas Exton* (whom the conspirators would haue had their Partaker, if it may be believed) honestly refused to assent. The Lords hereupon hazing admonition, refrained to come.

(69) The persons which were in the publike enuie for their once-swaying grace with the King, were (as you haue heard) *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, the said Archbishop, *Sir Simon Burley* Knight, and *Sir Richard Storey*: These men bearing that *Richard* Earle of *Arundell* and *Thomas* Earle of *Nottingham*, Marshall of *England*, * had encountered with a great Fleet of *Frenchmen*, *Flemings*, *Normans*, and *Spaniards*, and taken aboue one hundredth saile of ships, and in them nineteene thousand tunnes of wine, depaured the victorie, saying, that the vanquished were but Merchants, whose lones had bene more profitable to our Countrey, then so to flure them to inexorable hatred. But these (saith *one) who thus iudged, were either the *Knights of Venus* then *Bellona*, sister for a *Cannep* then a *Cannep*, for language then a lance, as they who were awake to discourse of martiall affairs, but drowsie when they should come to doe them. Such therefore conversing with the King (not * without suspicion of frowle familiaritie) neuer took care to put into his mind

any matter which becomed so potent a Prince, wee say not (quoth our Author) for concerning the use of Armes, but not even concerning those very recreations, which must of all become great faults, as hunting, bowling, and the like. But the Earles did more then meddle with Merchants (who yet were able to make dangerous resistances) for they landed at *Breisl* in *Britaine*, and with great difficulty deliuered it againe from so bad neighbours as the two wooden Forts neerly build, where the other had stood, one of which they fired, and the other they mansd with the English Garrison of *Breisl*. Then stuffing it with all sorts of provisions for a yeere, and furnishing the wants of the Souldiers with all necessaries, they returned, hauing worthily wonne the love and praises of the people. Which, as they were also due to them from the king, yet comming to his prefe nce, they (by their men of ill offices) had so cold entertainment, as they effluently withdrew themselves from Court to liue quietly vpon their owne at home. After them the brave young *Henry Hotspur*, Lord *Percy* was sent (all provided) to the Sea; neerethelfe he venerated, and returned (when his commission was expired) with honour.

(70) One thing done by the Duke of *Ireland* was iudicial fall of wickednesse and indignitie. For he hauing to wife, a young, faire, and ooble Ladie, and the Kings neere kinswoman, (for shee was Grandchild to king *Edward* by his daughter *Isabel*.) did put her away and took one of Queene *Annes* women, a *Bohemian* * of base birth, called in her mother tongue *Lanercane*. This intolerable villanie offered to the blood royall, King *Richard* did not encounter; neither had the power, sometimes, who deemed that by witchcrafts and forceries (practised vpon him by one of the Dukes followers) his iudgement was so seduced and captiuated, that he could not see what was honest or fit to doe. But where *Primers* are willfull or foolish, and their fauourites flatterers or time-servers, there needs no other enchantments to infatuate, yea and ruine the greatest Monarch.

(71) The Duke of *Gloster* took the matter more to heart, resolving to be reuenged for the infamy and confusion, which was brought thereby vpon his noble kinswoman. Meane while the king, as if he meant to conduct his deare friend, the Duke toward *Ireland*, went with him into *Wales*. There the King depuitch with him, the Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir Robert Tresilian* and others, (who were equally affrayd of the Lords) how to destroy the Duke of *Gloster*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, *Dorset*, *Nottingham*, and such others, as from whom they thought fite to be cleare. Much time being trifled thus away in *Wales*, they come together (as if the Dukes appointed voyage, or rather banishment into *Ireland*, were quite forgotten) to the Castle of *Nottingham*, there more freely to deliberate. A fearful estate of a Monarchie. Here among a few, generally ill beloued, and ill aduised, and ill provided; for their while strength was the king, and these consultations made that force feeble both to him and them: the Lords, potent, martiall, rich, and popular, heat *Nottingham*, they not neere him: but a broad farre-off, the Duke of *Lancaster* with the flower of the English forces, and mighty neighbours watching for the ruine of all. The countie agreed vpon by the King and that ill-chosen Senate, was first to haue the opinion of all the Chief Lawyers concerning certain Articles of Treason, within whose nets and spridges they presumed the reforming Lords were; and if the Lawyers (who seldom faile Princes in such turnes,) did conclude, that those Articles contained treasonable matter, then vnder a shew of iustice they should be proceeded against accordingly. Their Lawyers (who were the very men, which in the last iudicious Parliament, gave aduise to the Lords to doe as they did) now meeting, were demanded, whether by the law

The malignant construction made of the Earle of *Arundell* seruice.

The Duke of *Ireland* puts away his wife the Kings cousin.

The wale. In Book 1. *Sir Henry Pole*, a Sadler's daughter, seems by a layette, *Walsh*.

A new conclusion of the King here being his people Laid to a snail.

The Lawyers here for to make confusion.

* *Thomas Walsingham* is written.

* *John Walsingham*.

* *Marshall*.

The Lord Maior of *London* reflects on the conspiracy against the Duke of *Gloster*.

An.D. 1387.

* *Apollonius*.

* *John Walsingham* is written. A description of King *Richard* and his chief Ministers.

The *Walsingham* is written. A.D. 1386.

* In Stronheris
to the B. Law-
yer.

off. Amherst.

less of the land, the King might not dissolve the Decrees of the last Parliament: they jointly answered; he might, because he was above the law: confessing that themselves had in that Parliament decreed many things, and given their judgement, that all was according to law, which now they acknowledged to be altogether unlawful. The King then enforced, appointeth a great Council to be holden at Nottingham, and sent for certain Londoners, some of whom (such as were beholding to the King for mercenial causes of attendance, to be there empelled for Quests of Inquire. The Sheriffs of Shires (being questioned) denied, that they could raise any competent forces against the Lords, their whole Country was to be added in their favour: & being farther willed to suffer no Knights to be chosen for the Shires, but such as the King & his Council should name, they answered, that the election belonged to the Commons who favoured the Lords in all.

(72) Upon the 25. of August there met before the King at Nottingham these Lawyers, Robert Trilham his chief Advocate, Robert Belknap chief Justiciar of the common Pleas, John Holt, Roger Stilethorpe, & William Turpin Justiciars in the same Court, and John Lokton the Kings Serjeant at Law: all which being upon their allegiance charged to deliver their opinions, whether such Articles as were there in the Kings behalf propounded (which Articles comprehended all the points of advantage taken against the proceedings of the last Parliament, and the displacing of the Lord Chancellor, Michael de Pale) contained matter of treason, they all of them answered affirmatively and subscribed, which afterward cost them dear. Judge Belknap foresaw the danger, and therefore was very unwilling to put his seal to the answers; saying; there wanted but a hurdle, a horse, and a halter, to carry him where he might suffer the death he deserved; for if I had not done this (quoth he) I should have died for it, and because I thus do it, I deserve death for betraying the Lords. The King in the mean space privates himself of people to fight, if need required.

(73) The Duke of Gloucester (faded with these news, sent the Bishoppe of London to bring his purgation upon oath to the King, who inclining to credit the same, was in an evil howe diverted by De la Pale. The Duke makes his and their common danger known to the Earles of Arundel, Warwick, & Derby, eldest sonne to the Duke of Lancaster. They secretly gather forces, that waited they might present their griefes to the King, who to keep them from joining, sends the Earle of Northumberland to arrest the Earle of Arundel at Reigate in Surrey, where hee abode. But by reason of Arundels power, it was too dangerous a worke. Northumberland returns, and Arundel (admonished by the Duke of Gloucester of his farther perill) escapeth in post to Haringey, where the Duke and Earle of Warwick had store of people.

(74) As yet no blood was drawne. Peaceable men procured that the Lords should repaire safe to Westminster, and there be heard. Thither approaching they are advertised by the Bishop of Ebor and others (who had sworn on the Kings behalf for good dealing to be used during the Interim) that, as the Menes by Charing Crosse, a thousand armed men (which without the Kings priuety Sir Thomas Trivet and Sir Nicholas Bromfild Knights were reported to haue laid for their destruction) attended in ambush. The King swears his innocency, but the Lords come strong and trust no longer. The King royally adorned keeps state in Westminster Hall with manie his Prelates and Peeres about him; the Lords present themselves upon their knees and being required by the Bishop of Ebor the Lord Chancellor (for the Lord De la Pale was dead that place againe) why they were in warlike manner assembled at Haringey Park, contrary to the lawes, their joint answer was, That they were assembled for the good of the King and

kingdome, and to weed from about him such Traitors as hee continually held with him. The traitors they named to bee, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevile Archbishoppe of Yorke, Michael de la Pole Earle of Suffolk, Sir Robert Trilham that false Justiciar (quoth they) and Sir Nicholas Bromfild that false Knight of London. To prove them such, they threw downe their gloves, as gages of challenge for a triall to bee had by the sword. The King hereunto replied, as knowing that they were all hidden out of the way: This shall not bee done, sa, but at the next Parliament (which shall be the morrow after Candlemas) all parties shall receive according as they deserve. And now (saith hee) to you my Lords; how or by what authority durst you presume to take force against mee in this land? did you thinke to have terrified mee by such your presumption? have not I men of Armes, what if it pleased me) could smother and kill you like Canke? Certainly in this respect I esteeme of you all no more then as of the basest scallions in my Kitchens. Having said these, and many the like high words, heeooke vp his vncle the Duke from the ground, where all this while hee knelt, and bad all the other rise. The rest of the conference was calme, and the whole deferred till the next Parliament, then shoud to be holden at Westminster. In the mean time (that the world might see how little able the King was to equall his words with deedes) a Proclamation is forth, in which the King cleareth the Lords (before any trial) of treason objected, and names those persons for whom accusers, whom the Lords had before named.

(75) The factious Lords nevertheless thought not good to sever themselves, but to keepe together for feare of the world, which fell out to their advantage for the Duke of Ireland (with the Kings priuety) had gathered a power in Wales and Cheshire, which they intercepting nere to Burford and Shobles, slew Sir William Malmeze leader of the Cheshire men, and some others, and made the Duke to flee in great feare. Among the spoiles of the Dukes carriages there were found (as the Duell would haue it) certaine letters of the King to the said Duke of Ireland, by which their counsels were plainly discovered. The Lords hereupon march with speede vp to London, having an Armie of about forty thousand men. The King flirts himselfe vp in the Tower, but is glad before long to admit them to his presence. There they (unreuerently enough) objected mutability to him and his vnderhand workings; they objected also, that hee had secretly practised to flee with the Duke of Ireland into France, and to deliver vp to the French Kings possession Calis, & such pieces as the Crowne of England held in those partes prone which dishonourable as, they (as some write) produced the French packers intercepted. This wrung teares (perhaps of dissimulation) from the King, and hee yielded to come to Westminster upon the next day, there to heare and determine further. The King in signe of amitie layed his Cosen the Earle of Derby (the same who afterward dechored him) to supper. O where was the courage of a King! The Lords in their owne quarrell could draw vp fottie thousand men; but in the generall danger of the Realme, when the Commons were vp, and the French hanging over their heads, with no lesse hatred then preparations, no such numbers appeared. Was it for their honour or praise, that their most rightfull King should by their violence be driven to confit upon flight out of his proper Kingdome? The Crie of London was alioin no little perill at this present by their seccesse, which drawne by inst feare was contented to open the gates and harbour the Lords and their partakers. These Lords, who so often are called here the Lords, are named in our Statute bookes to be but these five; The Duke of Gloucester, the Earles of Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and Marshal.

(76) The next day, hee would have deferred his

The Kings reply.

The Lords charge the King with cowardly reasons.

An.D. 1388.
An.Reg. 11.

* In Stronheris.

The popular
Lords hold an
assembly to the King

The rough and
harsh behaviour
of the Lords.

repair to *Westminster*. This being signified to the Kings Lords (for so they might be called, as being more Masters then the King) they labour not, by humble words, and dutious requests to persuade the use or necessity of his presence at that place, but contrarie to their allegiance, and all good order send him word, *That if he came not quickly according to appointment, they would choose them another King, who both would and should obey the counsell of the Peeres.* They had him indeed amongst them, whom (belike) they even then meant to have surrogated, that is to say, the before said Earle of Derby, heire to the D. of Lancaster. The Lords certainly had so behaved themselves towards the King, that they well saw they must be masters of his person and power, or themselves in the end perill.

Persons remem-
bered from about
the King.

(77) The King (after a preposterous and inverted manner) attending his Subjects pleasures at *Westminster*, heavily and unwillingly is drawn to disclaime *Alexander Becon Archbishoppe of Yorke*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Gloucester*, the Lords *Souch* and *Beaumont* with sundry others. Neither was the Male-ice onely suspected to these curious pruners, the Lady *Pembris*, and other Ladies were also removed, and put under baile to answer such things as should be objected. *Sir Simon Burley*, *Sir William Manners*, *Sir John Beauchamp of Holt*, *Sir John Salisbury*, *Sir Thomas Trivet*, *Sir James Berney*, *Sir Nicholas Dagworth* and *Sir Nicholas Bramore* knights with certayne Clerks were apprehended, and kept in strait prison, to answer such accusations (what if mere calumniation?) as in the next Parliament at *Westminster* should be objected.

Isidore Langston.

(78) The Parliament began at *Candlemas*, where the King was willingly present: The first day of the Session, all the Judges *Justices*, *Barons*, *Care*, *Holt*, *Burgh*, and *Lection* were seated as they sit in Judgement on the Bench, and most of them sent to the Tower. The cause alleged was, that having first overruled them with their counsels and directions, which they assured them to be according to law, they afterward at *Nottingham* gave contrary judgement to that which themselves had fore-declared. Trysion the chief Iustice prevented them by flight, but being apprehended, and brought to the Parliament in the forenoone, had sentence to be drawne to *Tyburn* in the afternoone, and there to have his throat cut which was done accordingly.

The Duke of
new Troy at
London.

Sir Nicholas Bramore turne was next. This *Bramore* (with *Walsingham*) was said to have imagined to be made Duke of new Troy (the old supposed name of London) by murdering thousands of such Citizens, (whose names hee had listed for that purpose) as were suspected of love to the King. Then *Sir John Salisbury*, and *Sir James Berney* two young Knights, *Sir John Beauchamp of Holt*, Steward of the Household to the King, and *John Blake Elquier*, were likewise sacrificed to revenge. *Sir Simon Burley* onely had the worshipping to have but his head stricken off. Loe the noble respect which the gentle Lords had to justice and amendment. This was no age (wee see) for a weak or slothfull Prince to sit in quiet; for now the people, and then the Peeres, foule and trample the regal authority under foote: the Duke of Ireland, the Archbishoppe of Yorke, the Earle of *Suffolke* and others, had their charters confiscated to the Kings use by Act of Parliament, as in the booke of Statutes may be seene, together with a great part of the whole proceedings.

* At the age of 16
years.

(79) These troubles boiling and burning within, in the Bowels of the State, the Scots abroad had opportunity to invade the North of England, under the conduct of *Sir William Douglas*, a noble young knight, a parallel and rival in the honour of Armes to *Henry Hotspur*, Lord *Percy*, whom *Hotspur* fighting hand to hand slew in battell: but the Earle of *Dunbar* coming with an exchequer number of Scots, tooke *Hotspur* and his brother prisoners, killing many English, not without such losse to themselves,

that they forthwith returned.

(80) But these ynnighbourly hostilities soone after found some force, there being a meeting at *Calis* betweene the English and French, about establishing a peace: and albeit, because the French would have the Scot and Spaniard included therein, the conclusion was deferred, yet shortly a fier it was resolved upon for three yeeres, the Scots being comprehended therein.

(81) King *Richard* (being now of age) declares himselfe free to governe of himselfe, without either coilement, or help of any other, then such as hee selected to that place, and in token that he was at liberty, he takes the Great Seale of England from *Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Yorke*, (*Alexander Nevill* being attained and fled) and departs out of the Councell Chamber. After a while hee returns, and gives it backe to *William Wickham* (the renowned Bishoppe of *Winchester*) who was unwilling to have accepted the same. Hee also puts out sundrie Officers, labouring such others as best liked him. From the Councell Table hee removed his vnde *Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester*, the Earle of *Warwick*, and others; which (as it might) encouraged the Dukes enemies about the King, to doe null offices betweene them. Yet the king did not presently credit what was whispered into his eare, concerning a purpose suggested to be in the Duke, to raise forces againe; but acquainting him withall, was satisfied. Nevertheless, he would not suffer the Duke to pursue an orderly or any revenge upon the Authors, whom indeed it had beene welcome to have punished in an exemplary manner.

(82) *Michael de la Pole* late Earle of *Suffolke* (whom the popular Lord had made most odious to the English) died at *Paris* in exile, bequeathing such goods as hee had there to *Robert Duke of Ireland*, who also breathed out his griefs in banishment, and died at last in *Strait*.

(83) The Duke of Lancaster the meane while, returns into *Gasconne* out of *Spain*, and not long after into England. The successe of that voyage (being made to claime the Crowne of *Castile* and *León*) was briefly this. *John King of Castile* alleged that *Constance* the Dukes wife was not right here, but he. For, albeit the Lady *Constance* was eldest daughter and heire to *Peter* sonne of *Affonso*, whose father *Fernand* the fourth was sonne of *Sanches* the fourth, and he sonne of *Affonso* the tenth, all Kings of *Spain* successively yet, that neither *Constance*, *Peter*, *Affonso*, *Fernand*, nor *Sanches* had the right. His reason was; for that *Affonso* the tenth, (choseu Emperour of *Almaine*) bad, before he begot the said *Sanches*, an elder sonne called *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, who married *Blanch* the daughter of *Saint Lewis* King of *France*, from whom descended *Affonso de la Cerda* (who entailed himselfe King, but died without issue) and *Fernand*, who had a daughter married to *John*, sonne of the Infiant of *Portugall*, *Ennaud*, mother to the Lady *Isabe*, wife of King *Henry* the second, father of *John* King of *Castile* descendant.

(84) This Apologie made by the *Castilian*, would not serve; for kingdomes are not vied to be pleaded for by *Blood* and *Ancestors*: The English and Portugall joine their forces. To the Duke (by reason of his wises preference,) made did voluntarily submit themselves; all did not, for *Dan* * *Alvarez de Peres* on the behalfe of his Lord, the King of *Spain*, offered to stoppe the Duke in his march to *Burgos*, and was overthrowne. Other adventures that were afforded, but sicknesse hapning in the English Armie, consumed many of the principall, and among them the Lord *Fitzwater*, with other Lords, Knights, Esquires, and men of armes, almost three hundred. Moreover the penurie was such, that sundrie rooted to the enemy to get reliefe, which being a feene of the King of *Portugall*, he told the Duke he would set upon them as Enemies, but hee did no, for that hee knew they did it onely for lacke

A. D. 1389.
Aug. 12.

The King de-
clares himselfe
of age, and
takes the govern-
ment upon him.

He was founder
of the two Uni-
versities
in Oxford and
Winchester.

* *Saint*, *Isidore*,
Archbishop, *Tyson*,
1389.

* *Henry*, *Portugall*,
1389.

* *Proisor*.

* *Tyson*.

The Duke of Lancaster in his attire collect 7000 Gold, and is rich.

* Rich. Sec. quia 1294.

Conditions of perpetual alliance between the R. of Spain and the Duke of Lancaster.

* Trin. 17 Feb. in R. 2.

* Fabian, Cap. 10.

* Mainfr. pag. 419.

* Trin. 17 Feb.

* Mainfr. The Duke of Lancaster doth good offices.

The Duke of York's courage worthily praised.

A.D. 1390. An. reg. 13. The Duke of Lancaster made Duke of Aquitaine.

Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, was crowned King.

* A. R. 13. mod. lib. 121.

* Trin. 17 Feb. 1440.

ibid. p. 145.

* Trin. 17 Feb. 1440.

of food. Thus having said, he held downe his head as he late on horsebacke, and wept most bitterly, secretly pouring forth his prayers to almighty God, and most humbly beseeching mercy. From which time forward his affairs in Spain succeeded happily.

(85) The warres had bene * sharpe and tedious, but the end acceptable. For Don Juan king of Castile, a Prince of no evil conscience, seeing the right which the Duke of Lancaster vrged, and foreseeing what calamities might happen hereafter, if (as was feared the French should match with him, fought and obtained a firme peace. The Principall conditions were: That the Lord Henry, his sonne and heire, should marry the Lady Katherine, daughter and heire to the Duke and Countesse his wife; That the Lord Henry (during his fathers life) should be called Prince of Asturias, and Katherine his wife Princessse; That * for default of issue betwene the young Princely couple, the Crowne should come to the Lord Edward Duke of York, who had married the other daughter of King Peter. That the king of Spain should lade * eight Cares with wedges of gold for the Duke, or (as some write) pay two hundred thousand nobles, toward the defrayment of the Dukes boage charges; That finallye he should give sufficient Caution for an Annuitie of ten thousand pounds, during the lives of the said Duke and Dutchesse, to be duly paid to their wives at the City of Bayon in Gasconie.

(86) The King, at such time as the Duke of Lancaster returned, was at Reading, whither he had commanded the Peeres to repaire. To that meeting the Duke makes hast, aswell to present his dutie to his Sovereign, as to be an anchor of love and peace betwene the king and Lords, against some of whom the King was not thought to be verie favourably disposed. Which he graciously effected, as seeming to addit his mind to offices of piety and publike benefite. Certainly the wisdom and moderation of the Duke of York his brother, were such, in all the late, and other tumults, that he is not so much as once named among the factions; which Christian spirit if it had reigned in all therest, England had never bene polluted with such inhumane bloodshed of her noblest Children; neither had the goodlie fabricke of state, laden with innumerable trophies,aine vnder that most hideous Chaos, which succeeding ages law and lighted for.

(87) The King vpon the Duke of Lancasters returne, whether he felt the keeping of Aquitaine an unprofitable burthen, or the absence of his vncke the Duke, a thing worthe to be purchased at any rate, certaine it is, that in a Parliament held at London, he vested in him that famous Duchy, by deliuering the Cap of State, and Ducal Rod; whether hee shortly went to take possession. His Counte, Henrie of Balliolbrake Earle of Derby, loath to spend his houres in sloth, but desirous to pursue renouwe by martiall Acts in forreine parts, failed ower to the warres in Prussia, where in sundry enterprizes against the Lithuanians, he was greathonor, which, by comparison of King Richards Calmes, prepared a way for him in the Englishes affections, to points more eminent.

(88) The Pope now vnderstood, that the English State began againe to be sensible of Romish encroachments, and as in a * former Parliament they had enacted against all Collations of Bishoppicks and dignities by the Pope, with banishment to all which did accept such Collations, and death to all that brought in any excommunications from the Pope, to hinder the execution of that Act; so in this last Parliament, * another severe Act was made, against such as went to the Pope to procure any such provisions. A Proclamation also was made at London, * that all beneficed men then being in the Court of Rome, should retorne by a day prefixed, or lose all their livinges. The Pope himselfe (Guth walsingham) troubled with * so great a thunder.

clap, sent with all speed into England, to perwade the King, that such Statutes as had bene thus made in their preiudice, who followed the Court of Rome, and such other clausies as tended to the damage of that See, should be made void; whereto the Kings answer was, that the Pope Nuncio must expect till the next Parliament. At which Parliament the King, as also the Duke of Lancaster, seemed to haue some respect to the Pope, (whose messenger were their Presence) but the * Knights of the house would not in any wise giue their consents, that such Rome-gadders should without due punishment pursue their wanted course, longer then till the next Parliament. To furnish the Duke of Lancaster into France, for treatie of a peace, and vpon condition that the King should that yere invade Scotland, large contributions were there made, both by Clergy and Laity. Hereupon the Lord * Henry Percy, Hotspur (who had redeemed himself) was called from his charge at Calis, and made Warden of the Marches against Scotland; Thomas Mowbray Earle of Nottingham succeeding in the Captaineip of Calis. The Dukes chargefull employment in France bare no other flower, then a yeres short truce.

(89) The Kings wants still encreasing with his implemments, the Londoners (carried away with euill counsell) did a thing most vnworthy of their Citie and themselves, and it might to them haue proved as hurtfull, as it was vnworthy, as such time as the King * desired thelone but of one thousand pounds: which was not onely charitably denied, but a certaine Lombard, honestly offering to lend the same, was badly vied, beaten, and almost slain. Their liberties for that and other disorders are seized and their proper Magistracy dissolved, (Guardians being giuen them, first Sir Edward Dallingway, then Sir Baldwin Radingway) and their Maior, and some chiefe Citizens layed in prisons farre off from London. The punishment brought the fowlenesse of their errors to their sight, but by the Duke of * Gloesters intercessions (who did not vnwillingly lay hold vpon such occasions of popularity) the king and Queene are wonne to enter the City, which gaue them triumphall entertainment. The sea is not sodainly calmed after a tempest, neither a Princes anger. By degrees yet, and not without deare repentance, they were at last restored to their former condition in all points.

(90) The king declaring his purpose to crosse into Ireland, had an aide of money conditionally granted: foure yeres truce by the trauaile of the two Dukes of Lancaster and Gloester being concluded in France. This yere was farther notable for many great Funerals. Countesse Dutchesse of Aquitaine and Lancaster, a Lady of great Innocency and deuotion: the Countesse of Derby her daughter in law, Isobel the Dutchesse of Turke, and a Lady noted for too great a finenesse and delicacy, yet at her death shewing much repentance and sorrow for her loue to those peisilient vanities, left this present life. But all the griefe for their deaths did in no sort equal that of the kings, for the losse of his owne Queene Anne, which about the same time hapned at Sherburne in Surrey, whom he loued euen to a kind of madness: but Ladies onely died not; for Sir John Hawkwood, whose cheualrie had made him renowned ouer the Christian world, did in this yere depart an aged man out of this world in Florence, where his ashes remaine honoured at this present with a stately Tombe, and the statue of a Man at Armes, erected by the grauitude of that State and City, which chiefly by his conduct, courage and valour (to this day admired amongst them) was preferred. The Italian Writers, both * Historians and * Poets, highly celebrating his matchlesse prowess enlyne him, Anglorum decus, & decus adde genti Italia, ita tuus profuturus; Solo.

Englands prime honour, Italies treasure, Who upheld all Italie from sinking downe.

A.D. 1391

* Trin. 17 Feb.

* Ranke.

* Trin. 17 Feb. 1440. his Exile of Northumberland.

A.D. 1392. London is distressed with the King.

* Trin. 17 Feb.

* Fabian & Cap. 10. but, from with the editions of other disorders.

* Trin. 17 Feb.

A.D. 1393.

A.D. 1394.

* Trin. 17 Feb. The death of Queen Anne and many great Ladies.

The famous Sir John Hawkwood death.

* Paul. Iulianus R. 13. 14. Iulianus Froben.

But the Duke of Lancaster having all things ready, sets sail to Burdeaux, there, with the consent of the State to take possession of his lately granted Duchie.

(91) The King doth the like for Ireland; where that sort of the Irish which are called the wild, had greatly infected the English Pale, and other good Subjects there, to the great damage of the Crown of England. In the times of Edward the third, Ireland yielded to the Kings coffers thirty thousand pounds yearly, but now things were so grown out of order, that it cost the King thirty thousand Marks by yeere. To reduce the rebellious, his life conducts thither an Armie, attended upon by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earles of March, Nottingham and Rutland, all the Irish being commanded to aid out of England. The terror of the preparation, & shining presence of a King (which above all worldly things is pleasant to the Irish) had such effects that sundry great men were compelled to submit themselves. To supply the Kings wants, grown in the Irish expedition, Edward D. of York, the Kings vncle, and Cuyler or Warden of England, called a Parliament at London (whither the Duke of Gloucester repaired to declare the Kings wants) and hath contributions granted. Nevertheless, so strong a party against the Clergy, & Fryars abuses of those times discovered it self therein, that the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and others, preit over Sea to the King at Dublin, beseeching him to returne, the sooner to repress the Lollards (so called they the embracers of Wickliffes doctrine) and their fauourers, who sought not onely (as they vntuly pretended) to wring away all the possessions of the Church, but that which was worse, to abrogate and destroy all ecclesiasticall constitutions, whereas they aimed onely at the redresse of exorbitancy in the Papal Clergy. The King hereupon returnes: by whole arrival and authority, those consultations of the Laity were laid downe. Sir Richard Storie a servant of his had been forward against the Prelates: of him therefore hee takes an oath upon the holy Gospell, that he should not hold such opinions any longer. The Knight takes that oath, and we (saith the King) doe sweare, that if thou dost break it, thou shalt die a most shamefull death. The rest hearing the Lion roare so terribly, drew in their horses, and would be seen no more.

(92) The King caused the body of the late Duke of Ireland to bee brought into England. His exceeding loue to him was such, that he commanded the Cyprusse chest wherein his body lay embalmed, to be opened, that hee might see, view, handle, and openly expresse his affection. The dead remains of that noble young Gentleman, (by his birthright Earle of Oxford, and by race a Vere) were buried at the Priore of Cole in Essex, there being present the King himselfe, the Countesse Dowager of Oxford, the Dukes mother, the Archbishops of Cantuarbie with many Bishops, Abbots, and religious persons, but few of the Lords, for they had not as yet digested the hate they bare him.

(93) The Duke of Lancaster was this while in Aquitaine, where he had sought to winne the people with incredible largesse, to accept of his Sovereignty, according to the tenor of King Richards grant. Little did he then thinke, that within lesse then sixe score and three yeeres after, an Ambassadors of King Henry the 8. should write thus of Burdeaux it selfe, the Capitall City of Gasaigne and Guien: *Anglorum nulla feri vestigia remanent, &c.* There are (saith) that learned Gentleman) scarce any foot-prints of the Englishmen remaining. In the Churches, and other places newly refurnished and redified, such Armoies of the English as had, were utterly blotted and defaced: yet in the Church of the Fryers Preachers, the Armoies of the Duke of Lancaster stand entire in a Glass window, and in the eldest wall of the City those also of England, though consumed in a manner with age: The Lawes, Statutes and Ordinances which were made

by the English, are notwithstanding observed at this day. But the Dukes eye could not looke so farre into the times to come. Nevertheless wee that see these things must confesse, that the best kingdome vnder heauen is not so worth the getting, as that with the willfull contempt of God and conscience any man should seeke to purchase it.

(94) But while the Duke was thus busied in Courting the Gasaignes good will, who had sent into England, to seeke causes why they should not returne to the Duke, (and yet were wrought at last to the point of yielding, hee receives a commandement from King Richard to returne, that hee might goe with him into France; which he obeyed. The King keeping his at Lawley in Hartfordshire, the Duke was there entertained with more honour (as it was thought) then loue. Being licensed to depart for a time, he repaired to Lonsme, where he a widower, married his old loue the Lady Katherine Swinford, now a widow. Mended wonder at it, but hee therein obeyed the remost of a Christian conscience, without respect to his owne vnequall greatnes; for having had sundry Children by her in his former wises time, hee made her and them now the only sufficient amends, which the law of God or man enioineth. And farther in a Parliament held the yeere following, the Duke procured an Act to passe, by which, such children as hee formerly had by his new Dutchesse, were legitimated; and intimated them Bonas, being foure of them, John, Thomas, Henrie, Iane, the second of which was by the Kings bounty created Earle of Sommerfet.

(95) The King, being specially accompanied with those his vncies of Lancaster and Gloucester, at a most sumptuous and chargefull enteruie between him and Charles King of France, in the parts of Calis and Guyen, espoused the Lady Isabella, daughter of the said Charles. At the delivery of her, King Richard, in the presence of all the greatest Princes, Peeres, and Ladies of either nation, gave the King his father in law great thanks for a gift so noble and acceptable, adding, hee tooke her vpon the conditions made betweene the two nations, so the intent that liuing in peace and rest, they might attaine to the establishment of a perpetual amitie, for avoyding the effusion of Christian blood, which would in likelihood haue followed, had not at that time amitie bene contracted betweene them. The young Lady was not above seven or eight yeeres old, but the truce was taken for thirty yeeres. Her person therefore was committed to the Dutchesse of Lancaster and Gloucester, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to Calis. From whence, after a short stay, the King, his young Queene (with whom hee had great riches) and all the glorious companie came over into England. Their persons arrived safe, but the Kings gorgeous Pavilions, and a great part of his stuffe was cast away by tempest in the transportation. This iourney (besides his losses at Sea) cost the King above forty thousand marks.

(96) The outward felicity of England seemed at this time verie great, and the rather seemed so, because it was likelie to continue. In the Duke of Gloucesters peris that bright prosperitie was first overshadowed. He, for fearfullum & precipitum ingenij (as a Flyder censures him) a most fierce man, and of an headling wit, thinking those times, wherein hee had mastered the King, were nothing changed, though the King was above thirty yeeres old, forsooke noe roughly, not so much to admonish, as to checke and schoole his Sovereigne. The peate with France displeased him, that therefore hee calumniates. The King had reformed Brest in Brittain to the Duke, vpon reembracements of the money lent; he tels the King that hee should first conquere a Towne, before hee parted with any; yet the King answers, that hee could not in conscience detain the same, now that the Duke had repaid his loane. There were other things which could not so well be answered. For a vaine rumor

*Freisford.

The Duke of Lancaster married the Lady Katherine Swinford.

*Swynford, created an Ioynt Lady.

A peate and marriage with France.

A.D. 1397. Arg. 30.

*Flyder, a Flyder.

*The wife.

p.

*Tynd, N. 1397.

An.D. 1396.

*Dell. Taylor as a masterpiece of the vinity of worldly ambition in France.

An exceeding sum concerning the vinity of worldly ambition in France.

*Tud. Hist. Grafton. Chm.

* that he should be chosen *Emperor*, put him belike into such a vaine of spending, as carried a proportion with that maichly his coffers in all short time founding like empty Caskie, there was no great monied man in whole debt he was not, nor any in a manner to meane to whom hee was not barthenous.

(97) The King had heretofore complained of this vice to the Earle of Saint Paul a Frenchman, (then in England,) whose iudgement was, that such infolency was to be reueged; but complaining to his other vncles of *Lancaster* and *Torke*, they wisely aduised the King, not to regard his words but his heart, which he and they knew sincere vnto him. Neuerthelesse, partly to weaken the intollerable humor of their brother, who like a constant Admirer of his owne wises, thought nothing well done, but what himselfe either did or directed, and partly to auoid the scandall of the Kings bad courtes, they withdraw their preferences from the Court. The King notwithstanding is the same man still, as the Duke of *Gloester* thinks, wherefore, he breakes his minde to such as he durst trust. *Arundell* in *Suffex* is appointed the Constable-place, where he, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, *Marshall* and others, take an Oath of Secrecy, and conclude to raise a power to remove the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Torke*, and such other as they thought beill from about the King, so to enact a reformation.

*Folium. Com. ar. 115.

*A French pamphlet apud Joh. Scrove at Nottingham. pag. 485. Lancaster Episcopus.

*155. Angli. 130.

*The 17th folio. Grafton in Scrove. Lond.

(98) They are charged by some to have plotted the imprisonment of the King and Dukes, and the death of all other Councillours: which, howsoever it was perhaps no part of their intention, might yet have been a necessary consequent. The blunting Duke had breathed out dangerous words, as, 'that he would put the King (of whole courage he spake contemptible) into some prison there to spend his daies in ease and peace, as himselfe thought best. His brethren hearing herof, brotherlie admonish him to beware; but, as it seemes, they found him deafe on that side. This though some of the late Authors write, yet there are both *old and *new, who mention no such matter, but the contrary, not obscurely teaching vs, that the Dukes ruine was but an effect of old malignities.

(99) *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* and *Matthail*, a party in the reported plot, though some in law to the Earle of *Arundell*, reueileth the same to the King. The Duke of *Gloester* is hereupon surprized by *Mowbray* * (lying in wait in the woods where hee was to passe) sent to *Calis* (where *Nottingham* was Captaine) and there imprisoned; the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke*, the Lord *John Cobham*, and *Sir John Cheiney*, are arrested. Proclamation is then made that they were not committed for any old matters, but for heinous things newly contriued, as in the next Parliament should be made manifest; though the event (as **Walsingham* truly faith) declared the contrary. But the Duke of *Gloester*, and the two said Earles are ended at *Nottingham*. The King to maintain the accusation of treason objected, had (as some say) libornd *Edward* Earle of *Arundell*, *Thomas Earle Marshall*, *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, *John Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of *Somerset*, *John Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord Spencer* and *Sir William Scrope* Lord Chamberlaine.

*Hill. ap. 435.

*Tud. Hist.

(100) In September begins the Parliament at *London*, where the king had a great guard of *Cheshire* men to secure his person, and the Lords attended also not without sufficient numbers. The Kings chiefe Agents were *Sir John Baskin*, *Sir William Bagard*, and *Sir Henry Grene* knights. In the first act (after the liberties of the Church and people confirmed,) we find these * words. The Commons of the Parliament have shewed to our Sovereign Lord the King, how in the Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the first day of *October*, in the tenth yere of his reigens. *Thomas Duke of Gloester*, and *Richard Earle of Arundell*, trait-

ours to the King and his Realme and his people, by false imagination and compassing caused a **Commission* to be made, &c. and that the said Duke of *Gloester*, and Earle of *Arundell*, did sende great man and Peere of the Realme in message to our Lord the King, wthin their part said, that if he would graunt and assent to the said *Commission*, HERE SHOULD BE IN GREAT PERIL OF HIS LIFE: and so, as well the said *Commission*, as the said Statute touching the said *Commission*, were made by contriuing, &c. Wherefore the Commons pray their Sovereigne Lord the King, that the said *Commission* &c. be vnterly annulled, as a thing done TRAITEROUSLY, &c.

*2nd 1st ed. d. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

(101) The sanctuary of former lawes, and all particular Charters of pardon being now taken away from the Duke, Earle, and others, they lay open to manifest ruine. The Duke of *Lancaster* late in judgement as High Steward upon *Richard* Earle of *Arundell*, where, for no other but for the old attempts, (though the other accusations seeme to have been auerred by the eight *Appellants* by which, as yehave heard, so many were displaced and put to death, hee araigned him to die that foule death of a common Traitor: but the King iustified himselfe with onely his head, which was as one stroke taken at *Tower-hill*. *T*hus he was a traitour either in word or deede, he utterly did deny, and died on that demill. The counte- nance of his Earles carriage aswell at his arraignment, passage, and execution, (as in which he did not discolour the honour of his blood with aue- degenerous word, look, or action) encreased the enmie of his death upon the prosecutors. The Earle of *Warwicke* confest with teares, (and as some say, drawe by faire hope of life) that in adhering to the Duke of *Gloester* in those ridings and assemblies hee was guilty of treason. The same sentence was there- fore pronounced upon him. The King neuerthe- less did only banish him into the Isle of *Man*. But the Duke of *Gloester* (whom, as the peoples saying, it seemed not safe to bring to a publicke trial) was secrete- ly smothered at *Caie* with pillows and feather- beds.

*Hut. fol.

The Earle of *Arundell* beleueid.

(102) The great Parliament (for so it seemes to haue beene called, by reason of the extraordinary numbers of Peeres, and their retinues, which came thertunto) was helpen by adournment at *Sloughbury*. In it, those Luthians, who were partly put to death and partly banished, but all attainted (as such time as the Duke of *Gloester* and the rest were in armes,) do all of them stand thereby cleared from dishonor, and such * Articles as they subscribed, (being, together with their answers, set downe in the Act) are publicly ratified, and the offenders against them pronounced Traitors. Amongst these Articles, one, concerning the great Lawyers iudgements concerning the orderly proceedings in all Parliaments, is very obseruable: **That after the cause of such a felony is by the Kings commandment there declared, such Articles as by the King are limited for the Lords and Commons to proceed in, are first to be handled; but if any should proceed upon other Articles, and refuse to proceed upon those limited by the King, till the King had first answered their proposals, contrary to the Kings command; such doing herein contrary to the rule of the King, are to be punished as Traitors.* But the King, to content all parts, and to kindle new lights in the place of such as hee had extinguished, having first created himselfe * Prince of *Chesler*, made his cousin *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, Duke of *Hereford*; the Earle of *Notland* Duke of *Somerset*; the Earle of *Nottingham* Duke of *Northfolke*; the Earle of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*; the Earle of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exeter*; the Earle of *Somerset* Marquesse of *Dorset*; the Lord *Spencer* Earle of *Gloester*; the Lord *Neville* Earle of *Westmorland*; *William Scrope* Earle of *Wiltshire*; *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Warwicke*. The King also (saith *Walsingham*) added to his *Stewards Regall*, the armories of *Saint Edward* King and confessor.

The Duke of *Gloester* murder- ed.

A. D. 1398.

Lib. 2^{da} d. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

*The Wolfe.

*Book of *Barthol.* d. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

*The Wolfe. The King's first wife, for treason, was executed at *Caie*.

Arg. 11:

*Ebor. 1100. d. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

(103) The softmost in this goodly ranke, being *Henry Duke of Hereford*, not long after accused *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, of certaine words sounding to the kings dishonour, which hee should privately venter to the said *Henry*. **Polydore* (though very negligently hee makes *Admiral* the *Attorney*, and *Hereford* Defendant) may yet be heard in reporting the effect of the words, as *That King Richard held the Peeres of the land in no account, but as much as lay in him sought to destroy them, by banishing some, and putting others to death. That hee neuer troubled his mind with considering how his Dominions were diminished through his Idleness. Finally, that all thing; went to ruine, as well in peace as war. But the Duke of Norfolk, (who vntill it had bene to seele how the Duke of Hereford's heart was affected to the king, had little reason for to complain) most constantly denying that euer he spake such wordes; it should haue come to a combat within liits; but the king to auoid as hee pretended such deadly fewds as might rise in the families of two such potent Peeres, but (indeed to bee rid of an enemy with the losse of a friend) banished *Norfolk* for euer, and *Hereford* first for ten yeeres, then for life. *Walsingham* saith that this censure was giuen against *Norfolk*, vpon that very day in which the yeere before, he (by the kings commandement) had taken order for putting to death the Duke of *Glocester* at *Calis*, whereof the said Duke of *Norfolk* had the Captainship.*

(104) Fearefull were the tragedies which ensued these times; and beare now what is written of some Portents or wonders, prefiging the same. The **Bay* or *Laurell* trees withered ouer all *England*, and afterward re flourishd, contrary to many mens opinion; and vpon the first of Ianuary, neere *Bedford* towne, the riuer between the villages of *Swelfton* and *Harrisonford* where it was deepe, did vpon the sodaine land fill, and so diuided it selfe, that the bottom remained drie for about three miles space, which seemed (saith *Walsingham*) to portend that reuolt from the King, and the diuision which ensued.

(105) *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, hauing in the yeere before, while hee too much* trusted to his owne Forces, been slaine with very many others, by **O-Bria*, and the *Irish* of *Leinster*, at a place called *Kenil*; *King Richard* determines in person to reuenge the blood of his Noble kinsman, being the man to whom hee meant the *Crowne of England*, if illuse failed to himselfe. Hee remembered not how broken an estate hee had in *England*, where the peoples hearts were strongly alienated, not onely for the death of the late great Lords, and banishment of the Duke of *Hereford*, (whose calamitie encreased his popularity) or for the like passed exasperations, but for that (to furnish his Irish voyage) hee had extorted money on all hands, taking vp carriages, widuall, and other necessities, without any recompence, whereby the hatred of his government grew vniuersall.

(106) But the euill fortune which hung ouer his head, laid forth an alluring bait to haste his destruction, by occasion of the Duke of *Lancaster* decaile, which happened about Candlemas, and the absence of his banished soune and heire Lord *Henry*. The king (most vniually) stretch vpon the goods of that mighty Prince his vine, & as if all things now were lawfull, which but liked him, he determines to banish the new rightfull Duke of *Lancaster* *Henry*, not for a few yeeres, but for euer; for which cause hee reuoked his *Letters Patents* granted to the said *Henry*, by which his *Attorneys* were authorized to sue his *Liuitie* (and to compound for the respite of his homage at a reasonable rate, whereby he made it seem plaine to the world, that hee had not banished him to auoid dissensions, but (as many said) to fill vp the breaches which his riote had made in the royal treasures, with plentifull (though an vndue) excheate, as that of his deceased vnclies fortune.

(107) The one steadfast base and buttresse of all lawfull Empire, is Iustice; that supports the kinglie throne. This hee ouerthrew, and how then could himselfe hope to stand long? Hee lands at *Waterford* in *Ireland* with a Naue of *two hundred ships, hauing with him the sonne of the late Duke of *Glocester*, and of the now Duke of *Lancaster*, to secure himselfe the rather. *His forces consisted much of *Cheshire* men. But that king is deceived, who repossesseth his lifeline in violence. It was no great matter hee did there, that which fell out to bee done elsewhere, was great indeed. His warre in *Ireland* was more dammagefull, then filthing with an hooke of gold, for here the baite and hooke was not onely lost, but the line, rod, and himselfe, were drawne altogether into the depths of irreconcilable ruine. Duke *Henry* sees the advantage which *King Richard* a blence gaue him and vseth it. In his Companie were *Thomas Arundel* the banished Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and his Nephew the sonne and heire of the late Earle of *Arundel*, and aboute fifteen *Lessiers*. His strength was (where the Kings should haue bene) in the peoples hearts. Nearethelste, the Duke did not sodainly take land, but boated vpon the Seas, shewing himselfe to the Country people in one place now and then in another, pretending nothing but the recovery of his rightfull Heritage.

(108) *Edmund* Duke of *York*, whom *King Richard* had left behind him to gouerne *England*, bearing this, call vnto him *Edmund Stafford* Bishoppe of *Chichester*, Lord *Chanceller*, the Earle of *Wiltshire*, Lord *Treasurer*, and the Knights of the Kings Councell, *Baister*, *Baget*, *Greene*, and *Russell*. Their conclusion was to leue a force to impeach Duke *Henry* entrance. The assembly was appointed to be at *S. Albans*, which came to worse then nothing, for the protestation that they would not hurt the Duke, whom they knew to bee wronged was generall. This made the *Treasurer* Sir *John Baskie*, and Sir *Henrie Greene* flee to the Castle of *Brighthelm*, Sir *William Bagot* to *Chichester*, from whence hee got shipping into *Ireland*. Meane while Duke *Henry* lands at a village heereofore called *Raneshire*, to whom repaired *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, his sonne *Henry* Lord *Percie*, lands at *Newell* Earle of *Westmerland*, and many others, who (saith *Walsingham*) greatly feared *King Richard* tyrannic. With an Armie of about threecore thousand (multitudes offering their seruice) they come to *Brighthelm*, besiege the Castell, take it, and in the same the foresaid *Treasurer* *Baister* and *Greene*, whose heades (at the cries of the Common) were the next day after their surrender scured from their bodies.

(109) *King Richard* was in the City of *Dublin*, when these most heauie newes arrived. His courage which at no time seemed great, was shortly none at all. Somewhat must be done: hee leaues the sons of Duke *Henry*, & of his late vncle of *Glocester* (which hee retained as pledges for his owne indemnity) in the Castell of *Trim*, and retournes himselfe into *England*, intending to encounter the Duke before his force should bee too much established. The great names which accompanied him, were his late noble Creatures, the young Dukes of *Aumale*, *Excester*, and *Surrey*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincolne* and *Carlisle*, and many others. There had bene some hope for vpholding his right, if hee had not made the worlde know, that tenne yeeres space was not able to burie in him the appetite of reuenge, which made many forget their owne loyalty to him, and the Crowne. Princes see in him the vice of obliuion: but some conscience of euill defers seeming to haue taken from him all confidence, hee dismissteth his Armie, bidding his Steward Sir *Thomas Percy* & others to retrue themselves for better dayes.

(110) His last refuge is in *Parke*. For that cause there repaired to him, at the Castell of *Canney* in *Northwales*, (for thither he was now come) the late Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of

**Annal. Wilelm. apud Cambd.*

**The IVth of*

**Reg. Hen. III. in.*

**2nd Hen. III.*

An.D.1399.
An.Reg.22.

**2nd Hen. III.*

**The IVth of 2.2.*
**Annal. Wilelm.*
**apud Cambd.*

Northumberland at the Kings appointment; *The form of his demands were, that if hee and eight, whom he would name, might have honourable allowance, with the assistance of a quiet private life, he would resigne his Crowne.* This *Northumberland* did swear should be: whereupon he forthwith departs to the Castle of *Fleet* in their company. After a short conference there had with the Duke, they all ride that night to the Castle of *Chesler*, being attended by the *Lancastrian* Armie. If, to spare his peoples blood, he was contented to tane to quie his royall right, his fact doth not onely not seeme excusable, but glorious; but men rather thinke that was sloth, and a vaine trust in dissimulation, which his enemies had long since discovered in him, and for that cause, both held his amendment desperate, and ran themselves into these desperate Treasons.

(111) The King did put himselfe into the Dukes hands vpon the twentieth day of August, being both the forty and fiftieth from the Dukes first landing. From thence they traueiled to *London*, where the King lodged in the Tower. Meane while writs of Summons are sent out in King *Richards* name, for a Parliament to bee holden at *Westminster*, *Crasno* *Michaelis*. The tragical forme of *Registration*, you haue * had already in *Edward* the second, of whom this King is a Parallel. There are named to haue been present at this wofull-joyfull Act, *Arundel* *Archbishoppe of Cantuarie*, *Richard* *Scrope* *Archbishoppe of York*, *John* *Bishoppe of Hereford*, *Henry* *Duke of Lancaster*, (who in this serious play must seeme as if hee were but a looker on) the *Earles of Northumberland*, and *Westmerland*, the *Lords* *Burcell*, *Barclay*, *Beaumont*, *Wyllingby*, and *Abegrenne*, the *Abbot of Westminster*, &c.

(112) In their presence *Richard* as yet a King, and in his Tower of *London*, but not otherwise then as a prisoner, reads the Instrument of his surrender, with a seeming cheerefull countenance, as if he were glad the hower was come, in which hee might taste what it was to be a priuie man, and (having others wise first done and laid what then he could to put all right out of himselfe) subscribes it with his hands; but prays, that his Cousin the Duke of *Lancaster* might succeed him in the regall gouernement, and in token that it was his desire (for hee must seeme to desire what hee could not hinder) hee * plucked off his Signet ring, and put it vpon the Dukes finger. Then did hee consecrate the *Archbishoppe of York*, and *Bishop of Hereford* his Procurators, to declare to the whole Body of Parliament what he had done, & how willingly, where every one * except the loyal & magnanimous *Bishop of Carlew* being particularly asked, did particularly accept of the resignation. Nevertheless, it was not thought enough to haue his Crowne, y^e selfe they also published his name. Thirty * and two Articles are therefore openly (but in his absence) tend; of which, it was said (for then men might say what they listed) that he had confessed himselfe guilty. In the front was placed his abuse of the publicke treasure, and vnworthy waste of the Crown-land, whereby he grew intolerably grieuous to the Subjects. The particular causes of the Dukes of *Glanester* and *Lancaster*, the *Archbishop of Cantuarie* and *Earle of Arundel* filled sundry Articles. They charged him in the rest with dissimulation, falsehood, loss of honour abroad in the world, extorsions, rapine, deniall of Iustice, rasures, and embestelling of Records, dishonourable flouts, wicked Axiomes of state, crarke, couerousnesse, subordination, lasciuiousnesse, treason to the rights of the Crowne, priuacies, and briefly with all sorts of vaukingly vices, and with absolute tyranny.

(113) We may be assured, that nothing could then be objected so vntrue or incredible, but would haue gone for current and vnderstandable with affections so thoroughly prepared. Hereupon it was * concluded, that in all those thirty and two Articles, hee had broken the Oath of Empire taken at the Coronation,

& at the Statutes of the Kingdom (strange that so many should concur in disloyalty vnder pretence of equity) being asked what they thought; did hold that those causes seemed notorious, and sufficient to depose King *Richard*. Commissioners were therefore nominated by consent of the whole house, to pronounce the sentence of Deposition, which were, the *Bishop of Asaph*, the *Abbot of Gloucestre*, the *Earle of Gloucestre*, the *Lord Barkly*, *William* *Thynne*, *Chief Justice of the common Pleas*, and some others. The forme of pronounciation was, IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. *The Iohn Bishop of Saint Asaph*, *John* *Abbot*, &c. Commissioners specially chosen by the Lords Spiritual and temporall of the Realme of England, and Commons of the said Realme, representing all the States of the said Realme, sitting in place of iudgement, &c.

(114) The definitive sentence of Deposition given thus in open Parliament, there were further named certaine persons, amongst whom * *William* *Thynne* *Chief Justice of the Common Pleas* was thought the fittest man, by whose lawlesse mouth that vniuersall doome should be delivered to the King, and who on the behalfe of the Realme, should renounce to the said *Richard* the realties and homages heretofore made vnto him, and to make relation of the whole manner and causes of their proceedings. The Regall seate was now reported void; whereupon Duke *Henrie* riseth from his place, and stands vpright, that hee might be scene of the people, then * signing himselfe with the signe of the Crosse vpon the forehead and breast, and invoking the name of Christ, he challenged the Crown and Realm of England, with all the members and appurtenances. His words are said to be these.

In the name of God, Amen. *I, Henry of Lancaster*, claime the Realme of England, and the Crowne, with all the appurtenances, as coming by the blood royall from King *Henry*, and by this iustice which God of his grace hath sent to me, by the helpe of my lawfull and friends, for recovery of the said Realme, which was in point of perdition, through default of Government and breach of Lawes.

(115) Which challenge and claime being thus made, all the States of the Kingdome doe with one consent grant, that the said Lord Duke should reigne ouer them. The *Archbishop of Cantuarie* (brother to the late *Earle of Arundel*) takes him then by the right hand, and the *Archbishop of York* (the late *Earle of Westmerland* kinsman) being his assistant, placeth him in the royal chaire, with the generall acclamation and applauses of the people. Lastly, in full complement of the present solemnity, the *Archbishoppe of Cantuarie* (that we may see how the Diminuty as well as the Law of those times were degenerated into temporizing Policy) made a Sermon vpon these words in *Samuel*, *A Man shall raigne over the People*. By occasion whereof * hee describeth out of the holy Scriptures, the happiness of that Kingdom which is gouerned by a man, and the misery of those Realms where a child (whether in age or discretion) wields the Scepter. *He* saith likewise as they had dangerously felt under the late King, so they hoped abundantly to enioy the other in King *Henry*. To all which the whole Auditorie ioyously answered Amen. Then rose the affable new Monarch, & among a few other words, hee gave the world to understand, that none should thinke he would as by way of conquest, dishonour any man, certaine had members vnlesse excepted.

(116) From henceforth hee was taken for King, and all Writs issued, and went forth in his name: which disorderly matters being orderly related to the deposed Prince in the Tower, by *Thynne* the Chief Justice, hee only used these words, *I but hee looked not after such things, but (saith he) my hope is, that (after all this) my cousin will be my good Lord and friend.* The *Archbishop* (otherwise law inexcusable in those proceedings) yet in his said Sermon seemeth greatly

* Ad. 5. 13. 4

King Richard
1. Signes vpon
his last day.
AD. 1340.

* Bishop of York

* D. Heyward
Nov. 4

* Fabie. Corrad.
last touch history
and eight.

* The. 10.

* Typ. 10.

* Typ. 10.
Nov.

Typ. 10.

* Feb. 1. Concord.
15th Mar. 13.
13 Feb.

A necessary pre-
liminary.

graciously and fully to have described the cause of this effect; for (quoth he) *the elaid or support* (which are with him quaquamable) *draweth the forces and delusions w^{ch} are vniuersally, and pernicious to immortall men, which they are mingled with, will not be consumed and wrapped in all danger, as utterly the experience thereof hath bene apparent to all our sights and knowledges, and not without the great danger of all this Realme.* Being thus brought downe to the floor, and little-accid of a priuate man, we leane him to draw his comfort out of holy meditations, as one whose violent death embled before him, and turne ouer to his politike and martiall Successor.

(117) Yet, in our way, we may not quite over-
pass a cutbly considering of the affairs of the
Church vnder this King, which, for anoking often
interruptions of other argument, we haue put off to
this last place. For albeit the Kingdome indured
great crosses in the affaires of State, yet "some haue
thought that it found as great blessings in matters of
religion, which in those daies tooke fo deepe root
in this our laud, by the preaching of *Iohn Wicliffe*, that
the branches thereof did spread themselves ouer o-
uer the Seas: Nor were the common people oniy af-
fauored with his doctrine, (though the *"Londons fa-
uoring of him* is thought by *Walsingham* to haue de-
ferred the Prelates from proceeding against him, and
a scholler of his in *Leicester* is said to haue drawn
by his preaching, *"all the Laymen in that Country*; but
(in the same Authour reporteth) *floodie of the Fry-
ers* themselves fell to him and embraced his opini-
ons, amongst whom one "being alio the *Popes Chap-
lain*, fo discovered by preaching the *murders, lawres
and treasons of Fryers* of his owne *Hause*, that the
common people were *affauored with the horror thereof*,
and cried out to haue them *all utterly destroyed*, which
his acculations he particularly insuflued by publicke
writing, professing be come forth of that Order, as
out of the *Drinels nest*. But that which *Walsingham*
much more "admiris, is that, *Wicliffes opinions* were
not onely entertained in ordinary Cities, but euen in the
Vniuersity of *Oxford* at *Wile*, where was "the very top
of *science and learning*; and where not only two Chan-
cellors successively. "Doctor *Nicholas Hereford*, and
"Doctor *Robert Rugey* were most earneſt maintainers of
Wicliffes doctrine, but alio, when the pope (to sup-
presse the same doctrine) sent his *Bull* to the Vniuersity
threatning the prauation of all their *priviledges*, the *Pro-
ctors and Regents* thereof were very doctifull, whether
they should receive the *popes Bull* with *com*, or rather
resist it with open *diffidence*. Yea, the whole body of
that *glorious Vniuersity* (as the Pope there calls it
in his *Bull*) gave a glorious "Testimony (vnder their
publicke seale) of *Wicliffes* religious life, profound
learning, orthodox opinions, exquisite writings, all
farreth from any flaine of heresie.

(118) And therefore no marvelle, if not only the Duke of *Longueville*, with sundry Princes and great ones, but King *Edward* himselfe, were (as *Copinger* testifieth) a fauourer of him, and * King *Richard* 4. and the whole Parliamente did (according to his insubligions) much labour to abrogate the Popes Transubstantiation power, which was a principall cause of the Popes hatred against him. Norwithstanding to discontentance the truth which he taught, in defence of *English Supremacy* against *Papall superstition*, (as also against the *Mass*, *Transubstantiation*, *Merci*, against *Adoration of the Image of Saints*, *Images*, and *Reliques*, against *Episcopall Orders*, *Pilgrimages*, *Indulgences*, many new opinions by misconstruction (as his bookes * yet extant, shew) are fathered on him, say some so monstrous and diabolicall (as * that *Men say* yea, * that *God himselfe* ought, to dye the Diabell) that that say man which heareth them, will presently beleeue (without further perswasion) that they are but malicious figments. This famous Doctor * dying of a palfie, hath this charitable *Ensigne* *Exposit* bestowed on him by a *Student*. The *Divels* *Instruments*, *Churches* *Enemy*, *Peoples* *Confusion*, *Heresies* *Idoll*, *Hypocrites* *mirror*, *Schismes* *breacher*, *heretics* *sewer*, *tyr* *tyr* *tyr*, *Flatterers* *fancie*, who, at his death did *see* *his* *Cane*, and *break* on by the horrible judgement of God's *treacher* forth his *wicked* *law* to the *dark* *manif* * of the *blacke* *diabell* : Whereby, Gods beild children may learne, not to regard, whiles they live, the malice of the wicked, nor to respect after their death ought to tell but their slanderous rancor. And thus we conclude the rage, though not the life of King *Richard* 4.

Häufig wof.

(119) The first wife of King Richard the second, was Anne, daughter unto the Emperour Charles the fourth, and filster to Wenceslaw Emperour, and King of Bohemia, who was crowned Queene the 22. of January 1354. Having bene tenne yeres his wife shee dyed, without any issue, at Sheen in the County of Surrey, 1394. whence her body was conveyed and buried at Westminster, the seventh of the Ides of June.

His second Wife

(120) *Isabel*, daughter vnto *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, was a virgin about fifteen yeers of age, when shee was affianced vnto *King Richard*, 1396. Neither had her husband (at firstemeth) anie nuptiall fruition of her, by reason of her tender age, before such time as his traitorous Lords, (to compass their owne disloyall purposes, and gratifie an vsurpers ambition) had dethroned him. What became of this young Ladie, we shall further see in the ensuing storie.



HENRIE



Henry III.

HENRIE THE FOVRTH. KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE ONE MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSE.

Monarch 51



CHAPTER XIIII.



HENRIE of that name the fourth, hauing thus obtained the title of king, in full accomplishment of all rites pecaliar to Maieſty, had the Crowne of England ſet vpon his head, with all worldly magnificence and honour at Weſtminſter, by Thomas Arundel Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury, vpon the ſeſſe day twelue moneth, in which hee had formerly beene baniſhed vnder Richard the ſecond. *Power and fauour can ſet up and maintaine a King, though they cannot create right.* But ſuch tranſcendent courtes deuſing from all due regulation of Iuſtice, haue been too frequent in this Kingdome. What right had William ſurnamed the Conquerour? what right, (we ſpeake of a right of Equity,) had his ſonnes William the ſecond, and Henry the firſt, while their elder brother liued? what right had that valians and

princely Stephen? what was the intereſt of Henry the ſecond, during the life of his mother Matilda? or that of King John, till his Nephew Arthur Duke of Britaine died? yes, or that of Henry the third, till Arthurs ſiſter died in her priſon at Briſtow? How be it, in this preſent caſe, not only Richard the laſt king, but the houſe of Marſimer, claiming from the onely daughter and heire of Lancel Duke of Cleuer (an elder brother of John D. of Lancaſter) doubly might haue withſtood the legall challenge of this Prince! That obſtacle which grew by Richard, was in appearance greateſt, but the other was onely dangerous. Richard had no iſſue but the line of Marſimer (engraſſed by marriage into the houſe of York) ſeeing it ſelfe vnable to preuaile, and during Richards life time, hauing no right, ſecretly foſtered in it ſelfe thole fires, which afterward brake forth, and taking hold of the rooſe-tops of both the royall houſes, neuer left burning, till no one principall timber was vconſumed in either, all the Male-Iſſues which could claime by a direct line, waterlie lopt downe

Cccc by

The 17th page.

by mutuall massacres and extinguiſhed.

(2) But this wife and valiant Prince *Henry*, besides all other helps toward the possession of the Crowne in present, had as much strength, as the vordinate affections and siding of a factious greater part could give, for translation of a right from one familie to another; which strength (as the bulls of his vniuersally reared building) he endeavourth by all the policie means he may, to make perpetuall. During therefore the former Parliament, (for Parliament, as *Kingdome*, give their voice with power, and he who hath the force, doth commonly carry the effect of right) he * provided for their indemnities, who either came in with him, or did afterward adhere to his sides, and doth vicerly abrogate, and make void the Acts made in the ooe and twentieth yeere of the late King *Richard* the second, for so much as concerned the Attendants disinheritions, or other forfeitures of any persons therein named, or (in generall words) compelled. Thereby, his vnice, *Thomas Duke of Gloucester*, who had been postdeath at *Caler* without any orderly condemnation, *Richard Earle of Arundel* beheaded at Tower-hill, and others, were freed from the infamie of that corruption in blood, which folloves executed malefactors. And the Statute made in the eleventh yeere of the said *Richard*, was againe fully set on foot and reuiued.

(3) In these things King *Henry* did (as it were) sacrifice vnto the people, as well as to the weale publique: The said *Thomas Duke of Gloucester*, meaning the reformation of the State, in that eleventh yeer of King *Richard* procured (as is before touched) an Act of Parliament, to * lettle a Superroyall power for a yeere, in certaine Peeres, by vertue of which commission the intended reformation was so farre procured, that sundry great persons and others (favorites of the vnfortunate King) were put to shamefull death banished and confiscated.

(4) But *Richard* * afterward (by the Duke of *Anmaris* instigation) reexamines all the former passages and proceedings, and finished his pleasure and displeasure, as already haue bene shewed. The Articles in those times sent oced for treasonable by the most eminent Lawyers, did extend themselves so farre, that the Prince seemed to haue too great means left to worke mischief to the Peeres and people: and that wee may see the constant humor in Lawyers to iodge with the will of the greatest, * the Lord *William Thuring* Chief Iustice of the common Bench, the Lord *John Clifton* Chief Iustice, and others, being demanded their opinions vpon the same Articles, for which Sir *Robert Tresilian* had lost his life, and for which others had so terribly bene censured by the Gloucesterian faction, affirmed (as *Tresilian* and others did) that the said Commission was against the royall Prerogative, and the procurers thereof were all Traitors.

(5) King *Henry* therefore, in this his first Parliament, redueth the state of treasons (being crimes of the highest and lowest nature) to a more certaine head, vicerly abolishing all such as were established by the late King *Richard*. The words of the * Statute it selfe are; *Whereas, in the Parliament holden the one and twentieth yeere of the late King Richard, divers pannes of treason were ordained by Statute, in as much as therein as no man which did knowe howe he ought to behave himselfe, in doe, speak or say, for doubt of such power. It is accorded, and assented by the King, the Lords and Commons, that in no time to come any treason bee judged otherwise, then it was ordained by the Statute, in the time of his noble Grandfather, King Edward the third, whom God assile.* So was that net broken, he perillous estate of Subjects reduced, the people well gratified, and the King hereby became gracious and popular.

(6) And that his indulgent magnificence might as well appeare, as his ciuill prudence, hee (in this Parliament) created *Henry* his eldest sonne Prince

of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, & Earle of *Chesler*, by * assent of all the States. To his friend the Earle of *Northumberland* hee gaue the life of *James*, as that which he had attached by Conquest, (so the * cited Record (speakes) of Sir *William le Scrope* Knight Earle of *Wiltshire*, beheaded at *Bristol*. The Earle of *Northumberland* had it granted to hold by the seruice of bearing *Lucas* his sword on the left hand of the King at the Coronation. Vpon the Earle of *Wiltshire*, hee bestowed the Earldome of *Richmond*. Lastly, as a binding knote, hee causeth the * Crowne to bee entailed vpon the heires of his body, hauing at that time foure sonnes a-lieue, *Henrie* Prince of *Wales*, *Thomas*, *Iohn* and *Humfrey*.

(7) Now, as in the workes of nature, what the Sea drawes from one Coast, is casteth to another, others were diminished, as these encreased; the King becauing enemies, to enrich his friends and followers. From *Anmaris*, *Surrey* and *Essex*, the titles of Dukes were taken, and generally all the great ones of that colour or faction, were reduced to the same estate (for honour and fortune) in which they stood, when first the late Duke of *Gloucester* was arrested. The Castles, Honours, Mannours, and the rest of things, which afterward grew to them out of the ruine of that Duke and his friends, or otherwise by the late Kings gift, from the day of that arrest, were by authority of this Parliament taken away, or put into the present Kings mercy. It was likewise made vnlawful for them to giue lineries or badges to retiners, or to keepe any about them but necessary seruants: They were also forbidden, vnder paine of high Treason, to goe about by any way to renewe the late King against the authority of this Parliament, in which the sentence of his depopulation was giuen and enacted. Finally, (a thing which had them open to infinite vexations) whereas, in the time of their late greatestte, they and theirs were charged to haue done, and patronized manifold wroogs and oppressions, all people (vpon proclamations to that purpose) were willed to come io, and declare their griefes, to the intent they might haue redresse and remedie. With these punishments of his aduersaries, King *Henry* contented himselfe; but * not the Commons who inoigned against the Archbishops of *Canterburie*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and other Lords of Council, because the said *Anmaris*, *Surrey*, &c. were not also put to death, as persons who stood deepe in the peoples hatred.

(8) These provisions for his honour, safety and advantage, King *Henry* very fecingly contrived, and established at home; but not ignorant vnder what grievous constructions his actions might fall to foreign parts, sends honorable Ambassadors to * *Rome*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, to giue a reason of his doings. To * *Rome*, the Bishoppe of *Hereford*, Sir *Iohn Cheney* Knight, and *Iohn Cheney* Esquier. To *France*, the Bishoppe of *Dorchester*, and the Lord *Thomas Bezie* Earle of *Worcester*, and * *William Heron* to *Spain*, the Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, and Sir *William Par* Knight. To *Germany*, the Bishoppe of *Beze*, and others. These were armed with all sorts of instructions for iustificacion of their new advanced King.

(9) In *France* * was worthily found the greatest difficulty of giuing satisfaction, for that the French Kings daughter (the designed wife of the late King) did thereby leese the honour, profit and pleasure of a Monarchies fruition. Shee was as yet scarce twelue yeeres of age, and therefore, * till shee attained to more maturity, the late King had the rather sheltered himselfe in *Ireland*. *France* therefore took the newes roughly, and it seemed that matters tended to Armes, which yet came to nothing, for that King *Charles* relapsed into his old disease of frenzie, and a warre to bee made against so politicke a Captaine as King *Henry*, required a sober man, and not a mad

* 2d Stat. 18.
1 Hen. 4. c. 14.

* 2d Stat. 18.
1 Hen. 4. c. 14.

* 2d Stat. 18.

* So is he and the
rest called the
Statute 18. Hen.
4. c. 14.

* 2d Stat. 18.

* King Henry crea-
ted his sonne
Henry Prince
of Wales.

* Hen. 4.

* *Cambria* *John*
in *translucida*
pag. 247.

* *Hen. 4.* *2d Stat.*
18. c. 14.

The late King
sends ambassa-
dors and diplo-
mats.

* *Hen. 4.*

* *Hen. 4.*
The *Stat.*

* 2d Stat. 18.

* *Polid. 2d Stat.*

* *Refines*
the *Stat.* 18.
c. 14.

a mad one. Certainly, in the death of *Richard* which shortly followed, all those tumultuous designs for revenge, immediately expired.

(10) They of *Aquitaine* (among whom the unfortunate *Richard* was borne) bare the late king great love, as being their Countinman. These discontentments were so publike, that *Bordeaux* (the capitall Citie and Presidentiall feat) strooke not openly to say, (as * *Polydore* hath it) *that first the world began there was never a more cruel, unresonable, nor wicked fall done; that the good Prince was betrayed by faithlesse men, and that all law was violated.* Thus do they exclaim, calling to God for vengeance with one voice. Neuertheless the French were deceived in hoping to convert these popular passions to their advantage; for partly by the chiefs * Magistrates wisdom, and principally by the comparison which the people made of the two sortes of government, English and French, that of the English being farre the more sweet and gentle, they continued here. Much good labour, and many faire promises *Lewis* Duke of *Burbon* was forced to spend in vaine, who by such baites cast into the troubled wits of the Gascoignes, traiailed to draw them to a revolt. The mischief was the better, and more strongly encountered, by the arrival of *Sir Thomas Percy* * Earle of *Westmer* with competent numbers of men, sent thither to withstand the French practises, and core the peoples affections, by applying to them the fouraige balm of reason, or with force to compell obedience.

(11) The first prosscution which was given to King *Henric* was by the Scots, who during the last Parliament exercised themselves in *England*, and took the Castle of *Wark*, whose Capitaine *Sir Thomas Grey* at that time gave his attendance at Parliament about the common affaires; and the whole North of *England* being also infested with peldence; the Scots had the more opportunity to range vnrconoured. Cause of other causing enemies which afterward broke forth, was (as it * seemeth) for that King *Henric* tooke into his protection *George* Earle of *Dumbarre* and other Scots, who fled out of *Scotland* to avoide the displeasure of *Robert* their King, and partly to take open vengeance for wrongs done vnto them. Such offences as the corruption of humane nature, that it will not pardon priuate injuries for the publike benefit, but thrust the pietie due to our Country vnder the inferior respect of particular interrestes. Princes also vpon oblique reasons of state (so had men call them) which is neuer well founded vpon iustitice, are (for their owne seeming good) contented to hold their neighbours in awe, by possessing meanes of their disturbance, which when time seruethe also, they are not slacke to vie, the profite whereof is seldom or neuer durable.

(12) But King *Henric* was scarce warme in his new achieved souerainty, when a nest of powerfull enemies beganne to hatch his destruction vnder the shadow of his owne wings. The deposed *Richard* was yet alive, and howsoever rough and headstrong men of the Kingsdome approovd his downethrow, all others did not; for some moued by ocerence of blood, as the Earles of *Kent* and *Huntington* his halfe brothers by one mother; some doubtlesse in confidence (because howsoever *Richards* actions were vnworthie of the Scepter, yet the right was onely his, and besides *Henric* seemed to them not the next heire) others transported with enie at *Henric* supereminence, and not a few with remembrance of receiued benefites, or hope of better fortunes in the change of times, inclined to let him againe vpon the English throne. But they whoeuer seeke the deliuerance of a Captiue Prince, doe commonly nothing else but hasten his death.

(13) It was our purpose in many great things to haue forborne the testimony of *Walsingham* (other

wife a great light of these times) as one who dedicating his works to King *Henric* the fifth, sonne to this *Henric*, may be feared to speake the best and most he can, for setting forth the honour of that line; but the leuicy and dissonance of later writers, enforceth (though with some warinesse,) to follow his light, for that, concerning this great conspiracy it selfe, our late Authors doe foollie encounter one the other, and some of them (as it muft needs be) the truth. The principall Conspirators (if such in iust a cause may be so entiled) were such, whose hoar in the last Parliament had beene spared, though manie lockes in their periwigs of worldly honour were plucked away. *John* Holland Earle of *Huntingdon*, *Thomas* Holland Earle of *Kent* and (as * some say) *Edward* Earle of *Hereford*, * three the late Dukes of *Excester*, *Surrey*, and *Gloucestre*; *John* Montague Earle of *Sarubury*, *Thomas* Lord *le Spencer*, late called Earle of *Gloucester*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, *Sir Bernard* Breke, *Sir John* Beche, (or *Shelley*) Knight, *John* Audley, the *Pseudo* *Richard*, or * Counterfeiter King *Richard*, whose Chaplaine hee had been, and resembled him verie neerely. The * Abbot of *Wellesham* is (by some) not only named a Conspirator, but the hirl wheele of all the practise, as mouing the rest; and with him they adde to the former, *Sir Ralph* Lumley, *Sir Thomas* Blunt, *Sir Bonedil* Celic Knight. There were sundry others, but those Earles and others first named, were vndooubtedly the chiefe.

(14) The maine point of the plot was to * kill King *Henric* and his sonne, and thereby to restore *Richard* to his rightfull dignity; which the more powerfully to effect, (because, though *Henric* were murdered, yet they were assured that the huiusselfe would not take end in a day, or a death) they resolved * to call the French into their succors, which they had reason to expect, for that the young Queene *Isabel* daughter to the French King, remained at that present in *England*. There was nothing keele or improbable in all this deuse; the difficulty was how to come so strong into the presence of King *Henric*, that they might ouerlie the *Assassins*, thereby to finish their enterprise, which as they could not hope for, but with the helpe of a multitude, nor a multitude bee assembled without conuenient Colour, it was resolved, that the pretence of some extraordinary shew in *Christmas* was the fittest.

(15) Not long before the time of intended execution, the whole Coniuration was discovered, some say by the late Duke of *Anmari*, and afterward by the Maior of *London*. Discovered it was, but with so short a warning, that the King scarce found himselfe out of danger, when the Earles of *Kent* and *Salisbury*, (not vnderstanding that the bad odour of their conspiracy was come to the King) enter with 400. armed men about * twilight into *Windsore* Castle, from whence hee was departed to *London*. But God (whose peculiar Word and Pupils Princes are) hauing deliuered the King out of that most certaine perill, did also sodeinly dissiuage the further enterprises of the Conspirators. The Lord *John* Holland Earle of *Huntington*, one of the chiefe, was not in this feast at *Windsore*, but honored in *London*, attending the sacrifice, there to raise meanes and men, and to worke such other matters as he could; and afterward (for we credit *Walsingham* who liued in that time, and knew the place and law, and diligetly noted things, rather then some o-thers) vpon the certaine report of the Kings falseife sought to flee away by water.

(16) The two Earles missing their hoped pray, though greatly grieved, yet necessarie and new hopes bid them to dare further. They therefore come to *Swinsay*. There the young Queene *King* *Richards* (spont) lay where hauing spoken certayne hig words, to little other purpose then to giue the poore Ladie a short comfort, and taken King *Henric*es Badges from such as wore them, saying King *Richard* was at libertie, and in the midst of an army of one hundred thousand

They of Aquitaine discontented and rebelled.

* Hist. Angl. lib. 1. c. 16. lib. 1. c. 16. lib. 1. c. 16.

* To Ralph Grey.

The English government better than the French.

The French practises frustrated.

* Hist. Angl. lib. 1. c. 16.

The Scots.

* Hist. Angl. lib. 1. c. 16. lib. 1. c. 16.

An. D. 1400. An. Reg. 1.

A conspiracy for delivery of Richard begun.

The chiefe Conspirators names. John. Audley.

* John. Sturges. An. 1. c. 16. lib. 1. c. 16. lib. 1. c. 16. lib. 1. c. 16.

The chiefe points of the conspiracy. To kill King.

* To Ralph Grey.

* In. 1. c. 16. lib. 1. c. 16.

* Thomas. Walsingham. See such in the History of Charles.

* Hist. Angl. lib. 1. c. 16. lib. 1. c. 16.

The Earles conspire upon their place delivery.

thousand friends *Amfret*, they proceed to *Wallingford*, then to *Abingdon*, and so to *Gloucester*. The rumors vied by them to encrease their numbers were; that *Henry of Lancaster* (meaning the King) was fled with his *James* and friends to the Tower of London, and that *King Richard* was escaped. *Maudlin* also, one of *Richard's* Chaplains, wrote upon him the person of his said Lord, the more strongly to seduce the multitude, by so bold and perilous a fiction. Thus formed they to fit their words and sate their Arts to the place. At *Wallingford*, *Richard* (they said) was at *Amfret*, for there the gaile had been transparent; but at *Gloucester*, *Richard* was not at *Amfret*, but present.

(17) Howbeit the success was not answerable to the desire I for, besides that *King Henry* was in the heart of his strength at *London*, where six thousand men were put into a readiness, and would come upon them like a storm; the Townsmen of *Gloucester* assailed the Lords, took them, and (because their Town was fired of purpose by some of their followers, the better to recover them while the quenching found the people employment, yielded them forth, and without longer tarrance secured their heads from their bodies: The Earle of *Huntington*, with a trustie Knight of his, *Sir John Stewell*, hazing (after the faile at *Wallingford*) in vaine attempted to escape by Sea, was taken by the Commons at *Widford*; perhaps *Prattel* in *Elfric*, brought first to *Chelmsford*, and lastly to *Widford*, the house of the late Duke of *Gloucester* (whose Ghost a tragical Poet would suppose did haunt his persecutors for revenge, where, partly also by this Earles infatigation, the said *Gloucester* was first arrested. The Commons (out of whole hearts the image of that Duke was not vanished) at the Countesse of *Hereford's* infatigation who was the Dukes widow, took his infatigation upon the Earle, with the efficacie of his head, which there was sundered from his shoulders. The Lord *Spencer* called Earle of *Gloucester* (one of the Conspirators) had like execution done upon him by the Commons at *Widford*. Some other of them were put to death at *Oxford*, and some at *London*, where *John Maudlin* (the Counterfeite *Richard*, who as it seemes was a beautiful and goodlie person) and one *William Ferly* were drawne, hanged and headed. The Bishop of *Carlisle* notwithstanding the holy eunencie prefered used aine after the condemnatory sentence. There were a ninetee in all (whereof two had bene Dukes) put to death for this conspiracy, most of which were men of official note.

(18) The deligens and misfortunes of *King Richard's* friends being made known unto him, could not but worke strongly in a soule oppress with griefe; but whether so strongly as to make him resolute by voluntary abstinence to starue himselfe (as the same went) may be doubted, though it be past doubt that *King Henry* was not forrie hee was dead howsoever. That he was starued seemes verie plainethough, as it is not certain (neither yet unlikely) that *King Henry* was privity to so foule a parricide, so neither is it knowne, but that *Richard* might as well be starued of purpose, as starue himselfe. Master *Stow* (a man for honest indolry very praiseworthy) saith that *King Richard* was fiftene daies and nights together kept in hunger, thirst, and cold, till he died. How true that was in the circumstance, who knows? but in the point of staruing hee is clearely with *Wallingham*: and a Knight living about those times callith it a death neuer before that time knowne in *England*. *Harding* also, living vnder *King Edward* the fourth, agrees of the rumour of staruing. Master *Cambden* saith of *Amfret* Castle, that it is a place principall cause of *longine infamie*, but seemes to insinuate, that some other torments were most wickedly practised upon this King, as made out of the way with hunger, cold, and vexation of torments. A Polydore therefore may in this be beleaved, who writes of this poore depoeled Monarch, that, (which may well

be called vexation of torments) his diet being served in, and set before him in the wonted Princely manner, he was not suffered either to taste, or touch thereof. Idle therefore seemes "his dreame, who writes hee was murdered in the Tower, and not more credible "theirs, who tell vs of *Sir Peter of Exeter's* assault, and the murder basely by him acted upon this most miserable Prince: but much more are they to blame who negligently for credit of the fable quote *Wallingham*, in whom no syllable of such a thing is found. Onely *Heller Tacitus* will vs to believe that *Richard* fled disguised into *Scotland*, was discovered to *King Robert*, and honourably entertained, but *Richard* who would no more of the world, gave himselfe wholly to contemplation, and both lived, died, and was buried at *Strathclyde*. Which fond fable hath needlesse faine what in it, for that some personated *Richard* might be doe is neither impossible, nor improbable, and indeed it was so.

(19) The late *King Richard* thus cruelly and helplessly murdered (for in regard of pining death he termed fable of his fight with *Sir Peter of Exeter* was a sport, it being both noble and full of comfort, for a man of honour and courage to die with weapon in hand) *King Henry* causeth his dead body to be brought up to *London*. O *Henry*, if thou wert Author, or but priue, (though for thine owne pretended safetie, and for that errors cause which is lewdly mis-called *reason of state*) of such a murder, I woe not see, how the shewing of the people his vacanted face in *Paul's*, did either concale or extenuate the execrable crime. But to let the world know that there was no hope nor place for a *Richard*, that course was vied, which may rather confirme the triph of his enfamilment: for a violent death by braining could not but deform him too much: and it is most probable that such a death would bee sought, as might least appaare. Surely he is not a man, who at the report of so exquisite a barbarisme, as *Richard's* enfilment, feels not chilling horror and detestation; what if but for a iustly condemned galley-slave so dying? but how for an anointed King, whose Character (like that of holy Orders) is iudicible? The tragical spectacle of his dead body (perhaps because it moued too much both pite and chaire) was after a while transported without honor to *Langley* in *Hertfordshire*, where the last rites were performed by the Bishop of *Chelms*, the Abbots of *S. Alban* and *Waltham*, but neither *King Henry* present, (as at the exequies in *London*) and the great Lords and such other as were had nor so much as a funerall feast bestowed on them for their labour. But *Henry* the fifth, in the first yeere of his raigne with great honour did afterward cause those royall remains to be interred in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors at *Westminster*. Among the rising Latine verses of his Epitaph, yet may marvel to reade thee, considering vpon what points he was tried out of *Mairie* and *Stair*:

*Exilem fatis platis suppeditant,
Lacrimis prostrant regalia quo voluit.*

Fabians English of them.

*The Church befaunted, casting the proud to ground,
And all that would his small State confound.*

The said Author therefore *Robert Fabian*, observing the scope of those lines (to dampe their force) doth vnderwrite and annex this Stanza, with much greater discretion then elegancie:

*But yet alas, though this meeter or rime,
Thou dost embroill this noble Princes rime,
And that some Clerke which favoured him sometime,
Lift by his cunning thus to enhance his name,
Let by his story appeare in him some blame:
Wherefore to Princes is fast memory,
Their lines to exercise in vertuous confluence.*

The Edition of *Tacitus* revised in *King Richard's* *Langens* *Chen* in 1474.
"Fab. Cant. Chron.

"Heller p. 117.

"Elfric p. 116.

A counterfeite *King Richard* is said in *Scotland*.

The "P" of *St. Alban* and *Waltham*.

Altho' dead body Drowned especially at *London*.

From thence he carried to *Langley* in 1474, and thence was sent to *Westminster*.

"Thom. Walling in 1474.

"Fab. Cant. 117.

"St. Alban. apud 1474.
"Heller p. 117.
"Elfric p. 116.

"Heller, Chron.

"Heller, as others have it.

"Fab. Cant. 117.

"Heller, apud 117.

"Heller, Chron. 1174.

"Fab. Walling.

The late King *Richard* Starued to death.

"Frad Hall
"Heller, in 1474.

"St. John For. 1174.

"Chron. 1474.
"In Yorkshire pag. 147.

"Heller, apud 1474.
"In 1474.

More rare and furer is the cenſure of *Gower* vpon this Prince, one of whole verſes * *Steu* gives vs thus,

So God doth hate ſuch rulers as here viciously do liue.

That beautifull picture of a King fighting, crowned in a chaire of eſtate, at the vpper end of the Quier in Saint *Peters* at *Wyndſor*, is ſaid to be of him, which witneſſeth how goodly a creature he was in outward lineaments.

(20) King *Henry* to diuert the humors and eyes of the people from the remembrance of this Tragedie, prepareth now a puilliance, therewith to invade *Scotland*, ſome ſubjects whereof, together with their Admirall Sir *Robert Legu* a Scotch Knight, were taken at Sea by certaine English ſhips. But *K. Henry* may ſeeme to haue done any thing rather, then to haue made a warre, for altho he had ſome hurt by * walling the Country, yet did not the Scots offer battle, and therell will wel appear in thoſe words of * *Boetius*, *He did ſmiliaritate to the people therof: for he deſired might but his banner to be erected on their walls. He was more a pleaſant enemy, and did great humanity to the people in all places of Scotland where he was lodged. Finally hee ſtoode to the Lords of Scotland, that hee came into their Realme rather by counſell of his Nobles, then for any hatred he bore to Scots. Some after hee returned into England.* Whether the remembrance of the curtheſies ſhewed to his Father Duke *John*, or the feare of his owne great lance ſo neere to an overthrow by the late furious conſpiracy, wrought theſe gentle effects, it was not long before the euent ſhewed, that his providence in not creating new acerbities was therein needfull.

(a 1) For altho the face of England ſeemed ſmooth, yet God thruſt a thorne into King *Henrie* ſide, when and where hee little expected; for the *Welſh*, whom former Kings of England had ſo yoked, and ſubiected, diſcourtesy to all mens expectation, brake forth into open acts of hoſtility, vnder the conduct of a Gentleman of that Nation ſurnamed *Glendower*, of the Lordſhip of *Glendower* in *Merionethſhire*, whole owner he was; the wrath and iuſtice of heauen is alwayes fowell furniſhed with meanes to exerciſe the mightieſt, thoſe chiefly at whole amendment God aims by chaſtiſement. The original of ſo great an euill was in the ſeed but little, as but this: *Owen Glendower*, * whom the *Welſh* call the ſonne of *Gruſſeth Vabon*, deſcended of a younger ſon of *Gruſſeth Vabon*, Lord of *Braunſfield*, was at firſt a Student of the common laws, and an *Vtter Baſilisk*, (but not therefore an apprentice of law, as Doctor *Fowell* miſtakes, for an apprentice of the law, is hee that hath beene a double Reader) and afterward ſerue the late King *Richard* in place of an Elſquer, & was well beloued of him, but in King *Henrie* time (reſtoring himſelfe as it ſeemes to his Mannour of *Glendowry*, the L. *Gray of Rother* entred vpon a peece of common, which lay betwene *Rother* and *Glendowry*, which *Owen* (deſpite the Lord *Gray* while *Richard* continued King) had formerly holden, though not without coſtutation. *Owen* (a man of high courage, and impatient of force) armes heretupon, and encounters the Lord *Gray* in the field, whete he ſcattered the ſaid Lords people, and tooke him priſoner, as hereafter will elſe where be touched.

(22) It ſeemes herein that hee had forgotten the lawes which hee had formerly ſtudied, and when hee had been a licentiate; for ſhortly after, as hee had troden law vnder foot, ſo did hee alſo caſt off loyaltie, burning & deſtroying the Lord *Gray* in heruitances, and killing ſundry his ſeruants. The King a diuerted hereof, paſſeth with an Army into *Wales*, b urnes, kills, and takes ſuch reuenge as that time would permit. Meanewhile, *Owen* (whom pride & folly armed to the farther ruine of his Country) with his trueſt friends (which were not few) withdrawes into the inextinguishable ſiſtence of *Edmond*, where during this tempeſt, he kept his head ſafe. Shortly

after the King with ſuch riches and ſpoiles as thoſe Parts had afforded, returns. His next moſt neede action was peaceable. For one of the houſe of *Palatines*, and Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, came into England to pray ſome ſuccour againſt the *Turke*, and vpon the day of S. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, was met at *Blackheath* by King *Henry*, highly deſired, richly preſented, and his charges borne till departure. But as *Tibull* * ſaith of his ſucceſſe in France, *verbi Opromiſſantantum aduentu eſſi*, ſo here his ſpeed was not much better, the point of armed aides, being only therein aſſiſted with words and promiſes.

(23) In a Parliament held the next yeere, * by reaſon of the numbers of *Lolards*, (ſo called) *merging*, the puniſhment for them enacted, was burning. And in the ſame yeere alſo, the Articles of peace being firſt agreed vpon betwene the two Nations, *Engliſh* and *French* (norwithſtanding that they had denied to match with the young Prince of *Wales*, * becauſe the former marriage with *Richard* thriued ſo badly) the Lady *Iſabel* who had been crowned Queene of England, in ſpoile of the late King, was now ſent backe into France after a moſt princely manner, hee being not as yet * twelue yeeres old, had * no dowrie allowed her in England, for that the marriage was neuer conſanitated. Before ſhee was reſtored to her friends, the Lord *Henry Percie*, before the Ambaſſadors of both the Nations, where they were met betwene *Calais* and *Belogone*, proſtelled. That the King of England had ſtill kept her to be delivered to her Father cleare of all bonds of marriage, or otherwiſe, and that hee would take it vpon his ſoule, that ſhee was ſound and entire, even as ſhee was the ſame day ſhee was delivered to King *Richard*, and if any would ſaye the contrary hee was ready to prove it againſt him by combat. But the Earle of Saint *Paul* ſaying, hee beleued it to be true, the Lord *Percie* tooke her by the hand, and delivered her vnto the Earle, and then the Comiſſioners of France delivered certaine letters of receipt and acquitall. She was afterward married to Charles Duke of *Orleans*.

(24) *Owen Glendower* perſiſting in his pride and diſobedience made inſurrections vpon the Engliſh, doing them great harme, and returning ſome with out any, but *K. Henrie* danger was greater at home; for treaſon had crept into his moſt ſecret Chamber. In his bed there lay hidden a *Gallipot* or *Envy* with three ſmall yron pikes, lung, ſlender and paſſing ſharpe all of them with their points fer vpward, but (God ſo diſpoſing) in the King before hee laid himſelfe downe, perceiued them, and thereby avoided that hidden miſchiefe, but who was actor therein it doth not appeare.

(25) This appeares that the ſplendors of his new regality had drawne vp many thicke and poiſonous cloudes of enuie and praethie, to darken if it were poſſible the farther brightneſſe thereof. Neither was it long before it grew to ſome extremity. For *Owen Glendower* vpon the cauſe beforeſaid, waſting the Lord *Reynold Gray* lands, was encountered by him, as preſuming that *Owen* and his friends might eaſily be overcome, but the contrary hapned, for there in fight hee loſt very many of his companie, and was himſelfe taken Priſoner. This fortune made the ſwelling mind of *Owen* overflow in vaine hopes, who compelling the ſaid Lord to marry his daughter, yet obtained hee not his liberty the ſooner, but died (ſay ſome) in the power of *Owen*, if perhaps our Author miſtake not the Lord *Gray* for *Edmond* Lord *Murmer* Earle of *March*, who indeed did marrie ſo after hee was alſo overthrowne by the ſaid *Owen* with the ſlaughter of about a thouſand principall perſons of *Herefordſhire*, aſſembled vnder his conduct, to reſiſt the *Welſh* inuafions, and there alſo himſelfe was by treachery taken priſoner.

(26) *Walsingham* doth * write, that about this time ſundry conſpiracies were diſcovered in the yoke (as it were) or embrion; the whole hopes whereof reſted vpon calumniation, and forgery, for

* *Walsingham* ſaith that *Henry* ſent *Iſabel* into France.

* *Chene* doth ſay, *Francorum*.

An. D. 1401.
An. Reg. 2.
An. 2. 1401.

* *Polip* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *The* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *The* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *The* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

An. 1402.

* *The* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *The* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *Walsingham*

* *Walsingham*

* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *Owen Glendower* was the *Welſh* ſon.

* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *Walsingham* ſaith, *an. 1401.*

* *Engl. Arg.* l. 10.* *History* 42. 10.The last King
Richard though
dead, suffered not
to Henry to reb.

by the first they *adrued (in libels) *Henries* actions, so to make him hateful, and by the second they dis-
 tinguished that * *Richard* was still alive, thereby to raise
 an head of separation. *Henry* thus galled in his hon-
 our, and endangered in the main, resolved to spare
 none, upon whom the crime or concealment was
 found. The first of them that fell vnder his iustice,
 was a Priest of *Worce*, with whom was taken a list, or
 roll of names which hee had gathered, supposing
 them such as in regard of benefits received, would
 live and die for King *Richard*, which vanine of his
 created trouble to many, till it appeared that he had
 therein wronged them, as persons who were vntill
 ignorant both of the man and matter. Whereupon
 hee was drawne and hanged. The like fate had *Walter*
Baldock Prior of *Leander*, who confessed that he had
 concealed others counsels against the King, though
 himselfe had acted nothing. A Prior *Minor* also
 being taken with some other of his Order for like
 iocundments, was asked, what he would doe if King
Richard were alive and present? he confidently an-
 swered, that he would fight for him till death against a
 ny whom so; which cost him his life, being drawn
 and hanged on his Fryers weeds. Neither did this hard
 fortune fall only upon the Clergy, for Sir *Roger*
Clarendon Knight, (reputed the balde foote of *Edward*,
 late Prince of *Wales*) together with an Elquies and
 servant of his, finished the affection which they bare
 to the deceased *Richard* by hanging. Not long after
 eight *Franciscan Fryers*, or *Admirites* were taken,
 conspired, hanged, and headed for the like causes,
 which made the King an heavy Lord to that whole
 Order. It is said that somewhat before this knot was
 discovered the diuell appeared in the habit of a *Mini-
 ster* at *Dunbury* Church in *Essex*, to the incredible
 astonishment of the parishioners, for at the same time
 there was such a Tempest & thunder with great fire-
 bolts of lightning, that the vault of the church brake,
 and halfe the Chancel was carried away.

The story of the
Diuell ap-
pears in Essex.* *Camd. in Wor-*
thamb. p. 471.* *Engl. Arg.* 10. 11.

(27) But howsoever these out-branches were
 pared away, the rootes of all the practise lay deeper
 out of sight, for the * *Perceis*, *Henry* Earle of *North-*
umberland, *Thomas* Earle of *Worcester*, and *Henrie*
Baillie * *Perry*, because perhaps they thought
 they had done wickedly in helping to set up *Henry*,
 beganne to imagine that bloody mischief, which
 afterward was profecuted. This malice, the late fac-
 cels of *Owen* Glendore against the Lord *Mortimer*
 Earle of *March*, (taken prisoner, as it said, with
 no little slaughter of his *Herefordshire* men) did perhaps
 nourish; for that hee saw an enemy appeare, who
 was not vnkely to prove an able member of a greater
 rebellion. Certainly the King having in *Septem-*
ber led an Armie into *Wales* to take revenge upon
 his Rebels was in great danger to have perished with
 foudaine stormes and raines, the like whereof none of
 his people had euer felt or feared, so that after he had
 done some waits upon the Countrey hee returned.
 The common fame went that *Owen* was a Coniurer,
 and had raised those hideous tempests by hellish arts;
 they seemed so excessive, which (whether true or
 false) did yet impart no little strength to the Welsh
 faction.

* *Hist. Brit.* l. 16.

(28) The Kings fortune was happier in the North,
 where his Lieutenants had two faire victories, the
 one at * *Nisbet*, and the other at *St. Albans* - hill, ac-
 cording to a village called *Waller*. And although the first was
 not a small one, yet the other destroyed the name of
 a iust battell and garrison. To the Scots, having with
 above ten thousand men vnder conduct of * *Archibald*
 Earle of *Douglas*, whom the Scots called named
Tyue-man, because he neuer wanted field, though
 no sort of true manhood was wanting in his person;
 made great spoiles in *England* as farre as to *New-
 castle*, and were now vpon returne; *Henrie* Perceis Earle
 of *Northumberland*, the noble *Henry* Beaufort Lord
 Perceis his sonne, and *George* Earle of *Dumbar* (who
 fled as you have heard out of *Scotland*) with the forces
 of the Countreys there about, not meaning to let

them to passe in so slight a sort, opposed themselves.
 The chiefe feat was wrought by the English Ar-
 chers, who first with their stille, close, and cruell
 stormes of arrowes made their enemies footme
 breake, and when the noble *Douglas* descended to the
 charge with his choicest hand, himselfe being in
 a most rich, and excellently tempered armour, and
 therewith singularly well appointed, the Lord *Perceis*
 Archers making a retreat, did wuhall deluier their
 deadly arrowes, *ten times, ten times, ten times*
 (saith our Monke) so lively so courageously so grie-
 uously, that they ranne through the men of *Armes*, bo-
 red the helmets, pierced their very bowels, broke their lan-
 ges to the earth, and easily slew those who were more
 lightly armed through and through. There were taken
 prisoners the Earle of *Douglas* himselfe, (who not-
 withstanding his armour of the best Steele, had five
 wounds, and lost an eye.) *Mordeke* *Stewart* Earle
 of *Fife* (eldest sonne to *Robert* Duke of *Albanie*),
George Earle of *Angus*, the Earle of *Marrey* and *Orkney*,
 the Lords *Montgomery*, *Erskin*, and *Grane*, with
 about fourscore Knights, besides Esquiers and Gen-
 tlemen. There were slaine the Lords *Gardens*, and
Suynton (Scotishmen better call them Knights) with
 sundrie other men of honour and mark, beside
 flore of common soldiers. The river *Tweed* doth
 it selfe more English, did likewise fight for them
 by swallowing about five hundredth in his unknowne
 depths, as they, who fled from the battell, sought
 to passe. This victory hapned vpon *Whitsunday*
 in harvest. The troubles which afterward hapned, did
 not only hinder the Lord *Perceis* from farther pro-
 tection of such a victory, but eclipsed the honour
 hee had gotten now and gave his dayes a bloody &
 foule Catastrophe.

Henry Beaufort
attains against
the Scots.The inward kin
force of the old
English Archery.The fortune of
the great victory
at Halidon-hill.* *The Wolf*.* *Engl. Arg.* had
not a word in
particular of this
so great action.

(29) The Lord *Edmund* *Mortimer* Earle of *March*
 next gentill heir in blood to the Crowne of *Eng-
 land* after the death of *Edward* the second, having
 through feare of *Owen* (whose prisoner hee was) or
 hope of recouering his right, or for reuenge (because
 the King did not ransom him, married *Owen* his daugh-
 ter, by which hee must necessarily declare himselfe
 an enemy to King *Henrie*, entertained intelligence
 with his neere kinsmen the *Perceis*, and sundry other
 his friends in *Cheshire*, and elsewhere, to what pur-
 pose will shortly appeare. The night in which this
 Lord *Mortimer* (though some refferre it to *Owen*
 birth) was born, all the horses in his fathers stable, are
 said to have bin found hanging Belly-deep in blood.
 A fearful prodigie as then tho't seemed, but ver-
 rified afterward in the fate more fearful euents,
 when (vpon the quarrell of *Mortimer* title, by
 which the house of *Turke* claimed,) the houses of
 warre did not onely stand belly-deepe in blood, but
 also swam therein. The mischief was already be-
 guo: for *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* (when
 now his owne and his houses strengths were mighti-
 ly encreased by this late victory against the Scots,
 which he vnder-hand seemed to haue counteracted
 to his secret priuate end,) closely * animated his brother
 the Earle of *Worcester*, and his fiery spirited son,
 against the King, to both their confusions.

The Lord *Mor-*
timer does a pri-
 vate wrong to
the King.* *Camd. in Wor-*
thamb. p. 471.

(30) The King tooke to wife the Lady *Jane* of
Newarre, widow of *John* de *Montfort* Duke of *Bri-*
taine named the Conquerour (* who died the yeere
 before) by whom she had issue both sons and daugh-
 ters, both by the King none. He met, and married
 her at *Winchester*, and crowned her Queene at *West-*
minster. The King was not trusted with the custody
 of any but three sonnes, *John*, *Richard*, & *Arthur*, who
 remained in *France*.

A. D. 1240.

* *J. de Tilman* ch.

(31) Eueots are the best interpreters of pro-
 phecies and prodigies. Strange was that which
 * *Walsingham* hath written of a small *Spaw* from *As-*
parion in the winter time betwene *Bath* and
Buckfild, where sundry monsters of diuers or di-
 lours, in the shapes of armed men were often seene
 to issue out of the woods at morning and at noon
 which to such as stood there off seemed to encourage

* *Engl. Arg.* 10. 11.
 in *History*.A strange pro-
 dige appears
of war.

one the other in most terrible manner, but when they drew neer, nothing was to be found. Of another nature were the fury attempts of the *Percees*. The first of them who discovered in armes his mortal hatred, was the noble *Haifur*, who (under colour of the Scottish warre) made head about *Chesler* and the marches of *Wales*. To him (by the private of *Haifur* father,) repaires the naughty old man the Earle of *Worcester*, leaving the young Prince of *Wales* and the Princes household, over both which (for their better Government) the King had placed him. Now was the torch of warre lighted up, and began to blaze, for though the chiefe plot-maister the Earle of *Northumberland* was not joined to them, as hee did intend, yet were their numbers growne mightily, with which they meant to enter the Towne of *Shrewsbury*, to make thereof a Seat of warre.

(12) Colourable causes of their armes were the ordinarie paintings of the like attempts. Care of common-wealths reformation, and their owne satisfactions, for having first professed their intentions not to be the breach of loyalty, they pretend and by letters sent about, doe signifie. 1. That as the publique weale was not employed upon the pretended defence of the kingdom, but vainly wasted. 2. That by reason of bad tongues about the King they durst not approach him, to declare their innocency, while the Prelates and Priores of the Realm did first guard for them. 3. That they take armes onely to guard their owne heads, and to see the Kingdom better governed. These Articles had the place of the Hooke, but the kernell of the enterprise had principallie theie. 1. To thrust King *Henry* out of his seat, and consequently to deprive him of life. 2. To advance the title of the Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March* to *marry* *Albion* for the Earle of *Northumberland* had married *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Lord *Edmond Mortimer* the elder, Earle of *March*, by Philip daughter to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*. 3. To take away from King *Henry*, for seeking to drawe the shewe benefit to himselfe of the victory at *Halidowne* hill, whose principall prisoners be required, and for such other private grudges. 4. To share the Kingdom betweene *Mortimer*, *Percey* and *Owen* *Glenclower*. Concerning which partition it is in some found written, that Indentures tripurite were sealed, showing that *South-England* should remaine to *Mortimer*, *North-England* to *Percey*, and *Wales* beyond *Severn* to *Glenclower*. But *Archibald* Earle of *Doerglas* (who did his Countrey good service by making one in our Combustions,) by common consent was allowed for his share to be free from ranfome, and to have *Berwick*.

(13) This (in our English Adages) is called to reckon without our holt, or to count our chickens before they are hatched. But though at this time God would have it so, yet who doth not easily see what a wild horse a kingdom (so gotten) is, and how hard to tie, and not to manage onlie? Yet it seemeth, that if *Mortimer*, having to iust a tide to the Crowne, had openly professed the cause of his attempt against King *Henry*, it might iustlie have beene exempted from all blame of diabolical. But this partition is said to have beene wisely built upon a found Welsh prophetic of *Mortimer*: as if King *Henry* were the *Mortimer* cursed of Gods owne mouth, and *Mortimer*, *Percey* and *Glenclower* the *Dragon*, *Lyon*, and *wolf*, which should divide this Realm betweene them. Surely the Welsh dividing any hand in such a partition, it is not likeley they could thinke it had the right secte, if it stood not upon the supposed *Mortimer* his ridiculous coineages and riddles. The English (not to be behind in leasings) doe in the meane time every where spread that *Richard* was safe alone in the Castle of *Chesler*. Who can wonder that this name should be so gravisous, as if alone it were enough to have shaken *Henry* out of his Seat? when *Nero* himselfe had so many favorites, that twenty yeeres after his death an obscure fellow faining himselfe

Nero, was so backt and countenanced by the *Partians*, and others, * that not without much difficulty the *Romans* could get him into their hands.

(14) On the other side King *Henry* affiailed with so unexpected jeopardies, defends his cause by letters, and strongly puts the blame upon the accusers, saying, *I* had hee marvelled exceedingly, seeing the Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Henry* his Sonne had the greatest part of the publique money delivered to them, for defence of the borders against Scotland, by they should make that a quarrell, which was a mere exactione. Meane while the King armes with all speed against the enemye, the rather at the counsell of *George* Earle of *Dunbar*, who (like a valiant man at Armes, and a wise friend) advised him so to doe, before their adversaries numbers were too mightily augmented. The King with his sonne the young Prince of *Wales*, and a very noble fellowship, was now advanced within sight of *Shrewsbury*, as the gallant *Percey* stood ready to assaile the Towne. But so soone as the roiall Standard was discovered, that enterprise was left off, and he drew out his people (being about fourteen thousand choice and hardie bodys of men) to try the fortune of war against a well trade warrior.

(15) Peace notwithstanding (by the exceeding tendernes of the King) had ensued, but that the mischeuous Earle of *Worcester*, by miteporting and falsifying his Soveraignes words, did precipitate his Nephew into sudden barrel. If there were any praise or good example to bee drawne out of so detested bloodshed, as that of civil warre, we would willingly describe unto you the order and actions, but we cannot too soone passe over such mournfull objects, which are rather to bee celebrated with teares then triumphes. There is no doubt but *Percey*, *Doerglas*, and the rest fought terrible. Why should we admire that in them? So doe *Lions*, *Tygers*, & *Bears*, and yet wee admire them not. Where was dutie, where conscience, where the other respects, of which onely we are called men? Let none of us honour, or imitate them, in whose eyes the price of English blood is so vile, as that (for private families) they can be content to confound all regards, and make sport for common foes, with mutual massacres. Therefore we will content our selves with the knowledge of Gods part in this daies workes, who gave the garland to the King, though the first arrowes flew from the *Percey* Archers.

(16) The Kings courage was not small in the fight, neither was the danger, the yong Prince of *Wales* alio (being then first to enter himselfe into the schoole of blood and battell) gave no small hopes, that perfection which afterward shone in him, being wounded with an arrow in the face. The Lord *Percey* and Earle *Doerglas* (then * whom the wide world had not two braver Champions) in freed of spending themselves upon the multitude, set the point of their hopes upon killing the King, as in whose person they were sure ten thousand fell. For this cause they most furiously rushed forward with speares and swords; but the noble Earle of *Dunbarre*, discerning their purpose, drew the King from the place which he had chosen to make good, and thereby in likelihood for that present saved his life, for the Standard royall was overthowne, and (among other valiant men) the * Earle of *Stafford*, *Sir Walter* *Bass*, the Kings Knight and the Standard-bearer himselfe was slaine, such was the fury of these fisdine thunderbolts. That day the *Doerglas* flew with his owne hands three in the Kings Coat-armour, (perhaps some in *Heralds* Coats) though * *Nature* yet saw a fourth. Sure it is, that manke of the subjects thought the King was slaine, and not a few * ranne

* *Sert. in Mr. G. B. 1640.*

Thomas Percey Earle of Worcester the sonne of the Countess of Shrewsbury.

The terrible battell at Shrewsbury.

* Thomas Percey, Shrewsbury and Doerglas were jointly taken to accompany the Kings petition.

* The King.

* *Th. H. 16.* Many thousands together both of King and

* *Henr. Percey, 1640.*

Causes of the Lord Percey dangerous rebellion.

* *Thom. Worcester.*

* *Caused in Percey's rebellion.*

The Kingdom of England to be divided among the conspirators.

* *Henr. Percey, 1640.*

The late dead King Richard's gains against Henry.

* *Henr. Percey.*

out of the field. Who notwithstanding, like a valiant Prince, did reinforce the fight, performing marches in arms with his own hands. The slaughter could not be small on both sides, the Archers shooting so continually, and the men of arms doing their utmost for about the space of three whole hours.

(17) That which gave an end to this wofull worke was the death of *Hatfield*, who riding in the head of the battell in defiance of danger and death, was (by an unknowne hand) suddenly killed, with whole fall (as if his whole army had had but one heart) the courages of all others fell into feere, which now altogether they trusted to. But the King abhorring to make farther execution of the misguided multitude, suffered them to shift for themselves. The Earles of *Worcester* and *Douglas*, Sir *Richard Ferrers*, the Baron of *Kindlamore*, and divers others were taken. Of the Kings side was slain (besides the Earle of *Stafford*) ten new Knights, whose names (as dying in an honest cause) deserve immortality, and were Sir *Hugh Shurly*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Calvain*, Sir *Nicholas Gaisel*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Calverly*, Sir *John Maltre*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, Sir *Robert Gaisel*, and Sir *Thomas Wendesley*, who dyed of his hurt not long after, as most of the other did about the Strand; all which fighting for their spure, (as being knighted but that morning) bought them with the honourable losse of their whole bodies; there were also slain many Esquires, & Gentlemen, and about one thousand and five hundred common souldiers, besides three thousand forely wounded. On the other part, (omitting that second *Mars*, the Lord *Percy* (who drew a rune after him futable to his Spirit and greatness) there fell most of all the Esquires and Gentlemen of *Cheshire*, to the number of two hundred, and about five thousand common souldiers. This battell was stricken nere to *Shrewsbury* upon a Saturday, the one and twentieth of *July*, and the day of Saint *Mary Magdalen*.

(18) The Earle of *Worcester* (the seducer and destroyer of his noble Nephew *Hatfield*, and therefore if but for that, very worthy to have dyed) Sir *Richard Ferrers* Knight, and the Baron of *Kindlamore* had their heads cut off upon the Monday following. *Hatfield's* body had beene buried by permission, but upon other advice, the King caused it to be drawne out of the graue, beheaded, quartered, and the parts sent into divers Cities of the Kingdome. The Earle of *Northumberland* (pretending to come with forces to the Kings aide) was embached by the Earle of *Westmerland*, and *Robert Waterline* who had raised a great host. *Northumberland* taking neither of them for friend, wheels about, and returns to his Castle of *Warkworth*. But what can be secure to a subiect against the victorious armie of a martiall King? The Earle knew as much, manifestly feeling the irreconcilable maines of his house in the losse of his sonne and brother, and therefore shaped his court accordingly. The King therefore being altogether as prudent as fortunate, having fed the flare of things in the Marches about *Shrewsbury*, sets forth to the City of *York*, from thence to take order for such perils, as he foresaw might happen. He fed himselfe the more seriouslie and enervic to this needfull worke; for that his Ambassadors had effected an abstinence from warre with *France*, till the first of March, which pausing space though it might seeme little, was not a little welcome to the King, the Realme of *England* being then so full of dangerous perturbations. While hee was at *York*, he commands the Earle of *Northumberland* to come thither in person, which he accordingly did upon the morrow after the day of Saint *Lawrence*, and that also with a small traine in the nature of an humble suitor. He could not in reason hope for the wonted familiar favour of the King, neither had he yet, for it was accounted matter of grace, that his life was pardoned, though his meanes and liberty was abridged, the King allowing only necessary maintenances. The

life of Princes is like a perpetual motion. The Northern Countreys are now settled, but hath the King therefore any the more rest? Nothing left; for *Wales* & the troubles thereof call him thither. What should hee doe? Money the Cement and foldure of all such actions, (for Armies cannot otherwise bee held together) utterly failes. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* sees the needs and vices of his Sovereign, and like a Father supplies him with a Tenth, which the Clergy at their Metropolitan motion, consent to give: upon the strength whereof, the King knows how farre hee may proceed against the *Welsh* in his goodtime.

(19) Toward the reliefe of these his necessities, the valiant exploits of *William de Wyndesore* an Esquire, who was in the meane time abroad for the King upon the narrow Seas, brought some assistance, certainly store of contention; for hee tooke forty lawfull prizes laden with yton, oyle, soap and *Ruchell* wine, to the number in all of a hundred tunne upon the Coastes of *Britaine*, and in his returne set forth aule on fire; and to make the *Britains* know that hee was not only a man of his hands at Sea, hee comes on shore at *Fenarch*, burnes Townes and houses about six leagues into the Countrey, and afterward did as much for them at the Towne of *Saint Mathewes*, which hee consumed with flames and washed the land for three miles about. The French not to seeme slow to like mischiefs, land at the *Wyght*, but were compelled with losse to beake themselves againe vnto their Fleet, with farr worse success then the *Britons* vnder the conduct of the Lord of *Castell* had not long before, who landing at *Plimmouth* invaded, tooke and burnt it.

(20) The King having humbled the Earle of *Northumberland* in such sort as you heard, looks againe upon him with an eye of compassion and favour, not without a secret respect to his owne safety; and hee had little appetite to augment enemies, but to allay them rather, whereas by this gracious vantage of that Earle, (for hee restored him fully to all) hee now thinks those North parts sufficiently secured. This reconciliation was made to the Earle in the Parliament holden at *London* about the midst of January, where the King obtained an vnusuall Taxe or Subsidy, of which (that it might not be drawne into example) no record, nor writing was suffered to remaine. Some part of the gold which the King thus drew into the Exchequer, hee had occasion to bestow at this time. For, three hundred themselves vnto him a boisterous troupe of plaine *Welshmen*, who brought to the kings view three Lords, and twenty knights of note; These were prisoners, whom the Countrey people about *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire* had gotten in plaine fight. The king was therefore pigen to understand, that the Lord of *Castell* the *Briton*, who had formerly burnt *Plimmouth*, thinking to doe the like at *Dartmouth*, came on shore with his forces, where these and the like people fiercely encountered him; at which time their *warrens* (like *Amazons*) by hurling of flints and pebles, and by such other artillery, did greatly advance their husbands and kindred victory. The Lord of *Castell* himselfe and many besides were slain, these other were slaine as more of them might have beene, but that the ignorance of language alike confounded the cries of indignation and pity. They therefore in reward of this hazard and service, doe pray they might reape some commodity by their Captivities. It was thus returned; wherefore the King, who tooke pleasure to talke with the lusty *Welshmen*, himselfe, amongst their parties to be slaine with golden Coyne, releasing the prisoners to repay himselfe with advantage out of their ransomes. The like good fortune against *Owen Glendower* and the *Welsh* would have gladdened him indeed; but they burne and destroy the Marches, they kill and captivate the people, and partly by force, partly by fraud, get many Castles, some of which they rase, and fortifie others.

The King richly rewarded mercifully.

*Mistake, p. 173, John lists names also Sir Nicholas Langford, and calls the two Gaisels, Sir Gaisel and his brother.

The great destruction of the poor Gentlemen.

*Mistake. The Earle of Northumberland pardoned of his life.

By the aid of the Countreys takes a thousand tunnes of good commodities.

AD. 1404. The Earle of Northumberland released.

The Countreys about Dartmouth kill the French General, and prisoner the King with his household prisoners.

Owen Glendower and the Welsh waste the Marches.

others. Neither came these evils single, for the *Flemings* and *Britons* took certaine Merchant ships of *England*, and either flew or hung the *Sailers*.

(41) It is more strange that King *Richard* was not suffered to be dead, after he had so long a time been buried. *Serle*, who had beene a Gentleman of his Chamber, having heard that King *Richard* was secretly abiding in *Scotland*, left the favour of the French Court to see him, but it was not worth his so much loase and labour for hee that bare the name, was but an impostor. Loath yet that led the opinion die, because it might do King *Henry* harme; *Serle* assumes that *Richard* was alive. What cunning madnesse is so great which hath not some great fooler or other to support it? The old Countesse of *Oxford* (mother to the late Duke of *Ireland*) will needs perswade her selfe and others in *Essex*, that *Richard* was alive; certaine it is, that she desired it might be true. To make others more firmly beleue the same, she secretly gave siluer and gilt Harbs (the badges which King *Richard* used to bestow vpon his followers) as tokens. Hitherto the deuise held out, for it had no great danger in it; but *Serle* seeing the necessity of greater friends, which appeared not, grew weary, and knowing that Sir *William Clifford* Knight, Captaine of *Berwick* had refused sundry favours from King *Richard*, hopes by him to be furnished with money, to beare his charges out of *Scotland* into *France*. *Clifford* farre otherwise minded, seizeth vpon *Serle*, as a fit meane to reconcile himself with the King, in whose high displeasure he stood, (for that hee had conspired his charge in *Berwick* contrary to expresse commandement) and carrieth him to the King, who was then come to the Castle of *Wimbor*, being weakened with these rumors, and suspecting that the chiefe nest of danger lay in the North; whither the Earle of *Northumberland* brought his grandchildren (as pledges) to assure the King of his loyalty: thither also Sir *William Clifford* brings poore *Serle*, who both confesseth the practise, as also that hee had a guiltie hand in the murder of the Duke of *Gloucester*, which made him farre more odious then the other forgery. The crimes being manifest, *Serle* is drawn fro *Wimbor* beginning his pain, where he had his doom, & at *London* knies vp the Tragedie in an halter. The Countesse of *Oxford* for this foolish losst of her goods being morouer committed to close prison. To make this imposture the more probable & passable, *Serle* had caused K. *Richards* signet to be counterfeited, wherwith he sealed sundry consolatorie and exhortatory letters to his friends, indeed in K. *Richards* name; wherupon many in *Essex* gave credit to the Countesse, & among the rest four Abbots of that Countie. Into this smokedd al the deuise evaporate.

(42) And no lesse smoke was both the deuise & successe of certain in the Parliament held this year at *Conway*, & called the "lack learning Parliament" either for the want of sense of the persons, or for their malice to leaured men; where to supply the Kings wants, a bill was exhibited against the *Temperances* of the *Clergy*, but by the conrage of the Archbishop of *Canterburie* (who told them, it was at the conuincing of themselves, not of the King, which they respected in their sacrilegious petitions) and by the gracious care of the King, (who vowed to leave the Church in better state then he found it, rather then in worse,) their motion vanished to nothing, but the infamous memory of the attempters. It is obserued, that a Knight the chiefe speaker in this bill against the *Clergy*, had bene himselfe a *Deacon*, and so himselfe first advanced by the *Clergy*. With great reason therefore did our forefathers distinguish the people into the learned and *learn*d, inferring truly that such commonie were *learn*d, who were not learned, and that *learn*d and *wicked* were but two words of one signification, as in this Parliament well appeared, whose *Commons* might enter *Common* with their cattle for any vertue which they had more then brute Creatures.

(43) Twice after this, betwene *Christmas* and *Palmesunday*, the King assembled the *Seates againe*; once at *London*, and then at *Saint Alban*, for the cause of money; but with much default, the Peeres of the land rising from the last Session thereof meanelly contented, as it well appeared not long after, though to the enterprises ruine. *Thomas Marbrey* Earle Marshall, one of the chiefe men which disliked the carriage of publike matters, draws *Richard* the *Scrope* Archbishoppe of *York* into a conspiracy, in full hope that *Henry Percie* Earle of *Northumberland* the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *York*, and the common people would assist their cause, which was gloied with the specious pretence of redressing publike abuses, hapning through the Kings default. The Earle of *Westmerland* hearing of this attempt, wherein the Earle Marshall and the Archbishoppe were leaders of the people, gathers a force to encounter them, but perceiving himselfe too feeble, he betakes himselfe to fraud, and by feining to like the quarrell, got them both into his power, and presented them as an acceptable oblation to the King, who about *Whitsontide* comes to *York*, where (albeit the Earle of *Westmerland* had promised them their liues) aswell the Archbishoppe, as the Earle Marshall were beheaded. But the next yeere the Pope excommunicated all such as had a hand in putting the Archbishoppe to death. It was said of *Thomas Casler* in a Satyricall libel, *regnat sanguine manib.*

Ad regnum quousq; venit ab exilio.
Who, first Exil'd, is after crown'd,
His rage with blood will much abound.

(44) Thus the King veried in his person, who coming out of banishment, could not support his Title and estate, but by shedding much blood of subjects. For not contented with those two liues, he pursueth the Earle of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf* with an invincible Armie of fiftene and thirty thousand men: but they vnable to make head against so mighty a force, take *Berwick* for refuge. Thither the King marcheth, at the found whereof, they both distrustfull of their safety, flee into *Scotland*, where the Lord *Fleming* entertains them. *Berwick* vpon hope of succours out of *Scotland*, (which gladly nourished the English miseries, and the English thies) refused to render, wherupon the King plants a battering piece against a Tower in the walls, which as it threw downe the halfe thereof with one shot, so did a quire overthrow all the defendants courages, who presently yielded the place vpon hard and desperate terms, for they were partly hang'd, and partly emprisoned. After *Berwick* was thus recovered, the King takes *Alnwick*, & all other Castles belonging to the Earle, and thinking the like happines would shine vpon him in *Wales*, he crosseth over thither, where it fell out far otherwise, not by the manhood of the *Welsh*, but by the sodaine rage of waters which destroyed his carriages and about fiftie wains (as was said, laden with much treasure: therefore he returns to *Worcester*. *Owen Glendowr* the chiefe captain of the *Welsh* naue, expecting & fearing a reuenge bad before this time condescended himselfe with the French, who in 140. thies arrived at *Malford* haven to the aid of *Owen*, having well nere fift loth all their horles in the passage for want of fresh water. The Lord *Berkley* and *Henrie de Poy* (by what meane appears not) burnt fiftene of that number in the harbour. They made the entrance of their warre by laying siege to the Towne of *Carmarthen* in *South Wales*, which, the Garrison being permitted to depart with baggage and baggage, was yielded.

(45) The King being againe in need of money, after long unwillingnesse and delay, the Parliament furnished him, rather overcome with wearinesse in contradiction, then for any great good will. Some of his treasure was employed, as it seemes, vpon secret practises with the *Scots*, that the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolf* might be deliuered into his hands, in exchange for some *Scots*.

An. 1405.

Marbrey Earle Marshall and *Scrope* Archbishop of *York* are to redresse abuses, and loth these heads.

* *Thomas*, *Clifford*, *Clifford*.

The King pursues the Earle of *Northumberland*.

The first time that a garrison is victor in England. *Thomas*, *Clifford*, *Clifford*.

The French with *Glendowr* thies arrive at *Malford* to aid *Owen Glendowr*.

A.D. 1406. An. R. 57.

A new false King *Richard*.

Into a *Wimbor* of that imposture delivered on the King.

* *Thomas* in the *Wimbor*, *Thomas*, *Clifford*.

* *John* *Clifford*, *Thomas*, *Clifford*, *Clifford*.

whereupon they fled into *Wales*, and the *seats* misting their purpose, slew *Daniel Lord Flemming* for discovering their intention to his distressed guests, (as by the laws of honour and hospitality he was obliged) which filled *Seotland* with civil discords. To avoid the dangers whereof, and to better his education, the King of *Scots* sent his sonne and heire by sea into *France*, whom, together with the Bishoppes of *Orkney* certaine Mariners of *Clay* in *Norfolke* surprized at sea, and presented to the King, who committed him prisoner to the Tower of *London*. Meanewhile the French prosecuting their affaires in *Wales*, sent thither eight and thirty shippes full of souldiers, of which number the English tooke eight (the rest escaping in great feare to *Wales*), and not long after other fiftene shippes laden with waxe and wine. This fortune though good, was nothing in regard of the service which *Henry Fay*, with certaine shippes of the Cinque Ports, and about fiftene other, employed vpon a great Fleet, containing sixscore sail, whose loadings were yron, salt, oyle, and *Rachel* wine. The same times was a felon put to death for hating in many places of *London*, dared secretly to set vp bills, containing newes that King *Richard* was alive. The fearful plague of pestilence flew multitudes of people through the Realm, chiefly in *London*, where, within a short space is destroyed thirty thousand. That most renowned Captain *Sir Robert Knollys*, who had led so many laing men to their honourable deaths in battell, was now captured himselfe by death vpon the fiftenth day of August. His fame grew principally by martiall deedes in the great warres of *France*, vnder *Edward* the third, but speed and felicitie itselfe by good workes, among which the goodly stone-bridge at *Rechefer* in *Kent* was one.

(46) In the meane space, the wars of *Wales* were managed by Prince *Henry*, who tooke the Castle of *Aberystwith*; but *Owen Glendower* soone after got it againe by faire fraud, and thrust into it a Garrison of his owne. Thus *Owen* prospered for a time; but the Earle of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf* forsaking *Wales*, and seeking to raise a force in the North, were encountered by the Sherife of *Turkesbury*, who after a sharpe conflict slew the Earle in the field, and so wounded the Lord *Bardolf*, that hee died thereof. The Earles head was cut off, which being first ignominiously carryed through *London*, was fixed vpon the Bridge. The King hauing thus vanquished his chiefe enemies, went to *Turke*, where iniquities were made for the Earles adherents, of which hee condemned, ransomed, and imprisoned many. The Abbot of *Hales*, because hee was taken fighting on the Earles behalfe, had sentence to die, which was executed vpon him by hanging. In forraigne and transmarine parts, the Kings affaires had mixt success; for *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, at the siege of *Brant* in *Britaine*, was stricken with a quarrell into the head, whereof hee died; but yet after hee had first taken the said Castell, and leuid it with the earth.

(47) The peace of Christendome hauing bene long tempestuously troubled by a Schisme, raised by ambition of opposite Popes, whereof the one was chosen at *Rome*, the other at *Auinion*, by contrarie factions of the Cardinals: A general Council was summoned to bee held at *Viza* in *Italie*, whither the King of *England* sent his Ambassadors, and the Clergy elected *Robert Alton* Chancellour of *Oxford*, & Bishoppes of *Sarum*, to signifye, "that unless both the Popes would give ouer their *Papacie*, neither of them should be acknowledged for Pope. The King in his letter then sent to Pope *Gregory*, chategeth him (as *Platina* likewise doth) with *Pernery*, and that this Papall emulation had bene the cause of the murder of ^{more then two hundred} and thirty thousand Christians in warres. There assembled a great number of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishoppes, and mired Prelates, who elected a new Pope, *Alexander* 5. (a man^{trained vp at Oxford}, where hee

tooke degree in Theologie) reiecting the two others, who long and bitterly had contended for the place. The King also calls his Parliament to find out means for more money, to the subsidy and charge whereof hee ordained *Sir Henry Scroppe*, creating him Treasurer, as *Thomas Beaufort* the Kings halfe brother, Lord Chancellour. In which Parliament was renewed the sacrilegious Petition of spoiling the Church of *England* of her goodly parsonages, which the pietie and wisdom of so many former ages had consigned. But the King (who was bound by oath and reason to persecute the flourishing estate of the Church) detested their wicked proposition, and for that cause denied all other their requests. The Duke of *Burgundie* provisions which hee had made to reduce *Calais* to the French dominions, & stood at *Saint Omers*, were consumed with casual fire or silber.

(48) About these times the great and bloody factions betweene the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleanse* brake forth. The cause was for a murder committed vpon *Lewis* a brother to the French king, and father of the said Duke of *Orleanse*, as hee came late one night from the Queens lodging, who at that time lay in of a child. The murderers to preuent pursuit, strewed galktrops behind them. The Duke of *Burgundie* iustified the fact, for that *Lewis* had (as hee said) laboured with the Pope to put the King from his seat, vpon pretence that hee was as vniu to gouerne as *reuer Childerike* was, whom Pope *Zacharie* pronounced against. This prepared the way for that keorge wherewith God meant to chastise the pride and sinnes of *France*. Each partie fought to forfice it selfe with friends, atwel at home as abroad. The Duke of *Burgundie* had the King and the Dolphin on his side; the other had the Kings of *Nauarre* and *Aragon*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Britaine* with many of the mightiest Earles and Lords. The Duke of *Burgundie*, (who together with the King and the face of gouernment, kept in *Paris*) perceiving his adueraries strengthes to bee more then his owne, offers to the King of *England*, a daughter of *France* in marriage with the Prince, and many great promises, so as hee would be in defence of the King, & send ouer competent forces; whereunto hee is said to haue answered: *Our aduise is, that you should not in this case adventure battell with your enemies, who seeme to prosecute a just reuenge for the death of his Father; but labour to assuage the displeasure and anger of the exasperated young men by all the good means which are possible. If that cannot bee, then stand vpon your guard, and draw into place of meet safety, with such force of men as may best serue for your defence. After all this if hee will not bee appeased, you may with the better conscience encounter him, and in such case we will not faile (more fully) to dispe, according as your request. For the preiut hee sent ouer the Earls of *Arundell* and *Kyme*, and many men of Armes, with plenty of English Bow-men, who came first to *Paris*, where they in nothing diminished the ancient glory of their nation, but behanded themselves valiantly.*

(49) The Duke of *Orleanse*, and the Peeres of his faction, seeing their successe, consule how to draw the King of *England* from their enemy, and thereupon send ouer one *Falconet* and others, with solenne letters of credence, whom they made their irreuocable "Procurators, to entreat, agree, and conclude, (on their behalves) with the most excellent Prince, *Henry* by the grace of God King of *England*, and his most noble sonne, &c. for the restitution and reall redemerme "of the Duchie of *Aquitaine*, with all the rights and "appurtenances, which (as it is affirmed) are the inheritance of the said most excellent Lord the King of *England*, by them to bee made and done, &c. The Ambassadors hauing shewed forth this *Prose*, exhibited the points of their negotiation in their Articles, by which we may fee how farre the desire of reuenge will transport great minds: 1. They offer their bodies to be employed against all men for the seruice of the

2. Thos. Ormon.
Iacob Tho. Gaf.
caput. 115.

An.D. 1411.

"Paul. Anst. in
Caroli.

The Duke of
Burgundie sends
for and to the
King.

The Kings wife
and Christian
adversaries in the
Dukes request.

Alles sent by the
King to the Duke
of Burgundie.

An.D. 1411.

The Duke of
Orleanse sends
to the King for
surrender.

"The words of
the Duke
inter.

The great office
of the Orleanse
faction in the
King.

A.D. 1407.

King Edward
spend on his life

Sir Robert Knollys
death.

An.D. 1409.

Platina.

"Paul. Anst.
p. 106.
"Anst. Brian.
p. 106.

"Wolff. Traft.
p. 106.

An.D. 1410.

"Anst. Brian.

King of England, saving their faith to their owne Sovereigns, as knowing the King of England would not otherwise desire them. 2. Their sonnes, daughters, nephews, Nieces, and all their Consens to bestow in marriage at the King of England's pleasure. 3. Their Castles, Townes, treasure, and all their goods to be at the service of the said King. 4. Their friends, the Gentlemen of France, the Clergy and wealthy Burgers, who are all of their side; as by proofs (they say) shall well appeare. 5. They finally offer to him the Duchy of Aquitaine entire, and in as full a manner as ever his Predecessors enjoyed the same, without excepting any thing; so as they themselves will hold, and acknowledge to hold their lands in those parts, directly of the said King, and deliver as much of them as they can into his possession, and will doe their utmost to conquer the rest for him. Upon condition on the other side. 1. That the King of England and his Successors should assaile the said Duke, against the Duke of Burgundy for the murder committed upon the person of the late Duke of Orleans. 2. That he should assaile against the said Duke of Burgundy and his followers, till they had repaired all the losses which they, their friends and servants had suffered through that occasion. 3. That he should help to settle the quiet of the realme &c.

Their demands.

The King for-
sakes the Duke
of Burgundy and
joins the Duke
of Orleans.

(10) These Offers being put into the balance with the Articles, upon which the Duke of Burgundy had obtained succours, outweighed them so farre, that about the middle of August, before all those which had been sent with the Earle of Armadolet to the contrary part, were returned into England, aydes were decreed to the Duke of Orleans, to the wonnet of all men, who understood not the secret, so that Thomas Duke of Clarence, Edward Duke of York, the Earle of Dorset and very many other principall men with a competent puissance were sent over to ayde the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Angoulême remaining hostage in England, for the sure payment of one hundred and nine thousand Crowns for performance of the other Articles: They came on shore in Normandy; but, whether the confederates moved with the perill into which their Country & Nation should by these means be precipitated, or for some other causes, (though none indeed so just, as the sorrow and shame for their so disloyall a combination with the Capitall enemies of France,) the Duke of Orleans (contrary to agreement) came not at the appointed time and place, whereupon the English burnt, spoiled and took much riches in the Castles, Countrey and good townes, therewith to satisfie themselves, till the Duke of Orleans should see them payd. At last yet the Dukes of Clarence and Orleans came to a treaty, after which the English campe toise peaceably and march into Aquitaine there to winter it selfe, the Duke of Orleans returning to his owne. While these matters were in hand, the Lord of Heyle Marshall of France with many other Lords, and about foure thousand men of armes layd siege to a certaine strong place in Gascoigne; which Sir John Blunt Knight, with three hundred soldiery not onely defended, but drave them also from the siege, taking prisoners twelve of the principall and about six score other Gentlemen. The King liued not to see the carriage, and fortune of these warres, for falling sicke at Eltham in the Christmas time (at which our ancient authors begin to draw the circles of their yeeres) but recovering himselfe a little, he repaired to London about Candlemas, there to hold a Parliament; the end whereof he liued not to see, but upon the twentieth day of March finished his short, but politicke and victorious reigne, in peace and bonour, had not the infirmity of his first entrance left a dishonourable stayne upon his worthiest actions.

(51) The vulgar Chronicles tell vs a strange Story, the truth whereof must rest upon the reporters. The King, say they, lying dangerously sicke, caused his Crowne to be set on a Pillow at his beds head, when suddenly the pangs of his Apoplexie seizing on him so vehemently that all supposed him

dead, the Prince coming in, took away the Crowne; which, his father reviving, soone mist; and calling for his sonne, demanded, what he meant, to bereave him of that, whereto hee had yet no right? The Prince boldly replied; Long may you live Sovereign Father to waste your selfe; but all men deeming you were departed to inhabit another Crowne, this being my right, I tooke as mine owne, but now doe acknowledge for none of mine; and thereupon he set the Crowne againe where he found it. Oh sonne, (quoth hee) with what right I got it, God onely knoweth, who forgiveme the inane, but woe it was got, sayd the Prince, I meant to keepe and defend it, (when it shall bee myne) with my sword, as you by sword have obtained it. Which the King bearing, hee entered discourse of aduise, shewing him that hee feared some discord would arise betwixt him and his brother Thomas Duke of Clarence, who with better respect had borne forth his youth then Prince Henry had done, and whose distemper was like to breed great troubles, if it were not in time stayed. If my brethren (quoth Henry) will be true Subjects, I will honour them as my brethren, but if otherwise, I shall as soone execute iustice upon them, as on the month of birth in my Kingdom. The King reioicing at this unexpected answer; both prudently and Christianly charged him before God, to minister the law indifferently, to ease the oppressed, to beware of flatterers, not to deferre iustice, nor yet to be sparing of mercy. Punish (quoth hee) the oppressors of thy people, so shalt thou obtaine favour of God, and love and feare of thy Subjects, who whilst they have wealth, so long shalt thou have their obedience, but made poore by oppressions, will be ready to make insurrection. Reioyce not so much in the glory of thy Crowne, as meditate on the burthens, moos care which accompanieth it; mingle love with feare, so thou as the heart shalt be defended in the middle of the body: but know, that neither the heart without the members, nor a King without his Subjects helpe is of any force. Lastly my sonne love and feare God, ascribe all thy victories, strength, friends, obedience, riches, honour and all, unto him: and with the Psalmist say with all thanks, *Nisi datus es Lord, non erat tibi laus* thy help *nonne te gressu laudat et prae*.

(12) Upon what foile these most Christian, true and excellent Councils fell, the following life will shew, being nothing else, but a full representation in act, of such things, as are here in precept only, shewing to the world how diuine a deautie Christian goodnes hath,

His Wives.

(13) The first wife of King Henry the fourth, was Mary one of the daughters and heires of Humphrey de Bohun, Earle of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, Countesse of England, &c. Shee dyed An. D. 1394. before she came to the Crowne.

(14) His second wife was Isabe, Queene, daughter to Charles the first King of Navarre, here being the widow of John de Mautford, Surnamed Strete, Duke of Brittain, and died without any Children by King Henry, at Haunting in the Tower in the County of Essex 1437. the tenth day of Iulie in the fiftieth yeere of Henry the first, and was buried by her husband at Canterbury.

His Children.

(15) Henry, the Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earle of Chester, and afterward King of England, whose glorious life and acts next insue.

(16) Thomas, Duke of Clarence, President of the Councell to King Henry the first (his brother,) and Steward of England. He was borne at Beaufort in Aulieu without any issue. He married Margaret daughter

* Pol. Voy. lib. 22.
* John. Hist. Chr.

The English
burne and spoile
in Normandy till
the Duke of Or-
leans came.

* homines de
armis.

A.D. 1413.
A. reg. 14.

The King dith
having rejoyd
thirtene yeeres
and six months
wanting his
dales,
saith P. V. fol. 10.

Wall.
1413 fol. 10.

daughter to *Thomas Holland*, Earle of *Kent*, the widow of *John Bedford*, Earle of *Somerset*.

(57) *John Duke of Bedford*, Regent of *France* in the time of King *Henry the sixth*, Duke also of *Normandy* and *Alençon*, Earle of *Cambray*, *Harcourt*, of *Kenilworth* and *Dreux*, *Vicomte Beaumont*. He married first with *Anne*, daughter to *John Duke of Burgundy*. Secondly with *Isabella*, daughter to *Peter de Luxembourg* Earle of *Saint Paul*. And died without any issue.

(58) *Humfrey*, was by his brother King *Henry the fifth* created Duke of *Gloucester*, was Protector of the Kingdom of *England* for 25. yeeres, in the time of King *Henry the sixth*, in whose first yeere hee styled himselfe in his Charters thus: *Humfrey by the grace of God, Sonne, brother, and uncle to Kings, Duke of Gloucester, Earle of Hereault, Holland, Zealand, and Pembroke; Lord of Bretagne, Great Chamberlaine of the Kingdom of England, Protector and Defender of the same Kingdom, and Church of England*. Hee was a man, who nobly deserv'd of the common wealth and of lear-

ning, as being himselfe very learned, and a magnificent Patron and benefactor of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, where hee had bene educated; and was generally called, the *Good Duke*. Hee married first *Isabella*, heire to *William Duke of Barrois* Earle of *Holland*, who (as after was knowne) had first bene lawfully troth-plighted to *John Duke of Brabant*, and therefore was afterward disoerced from the said *Humfrey*. His second wife was *Elisauer* daughter to *Regnauld*, Baron *Cobham de Scarborough*. Queene *Margaret*, wife to King *Henry the sixth*, repining at his great power in swaying the King & state, secretly wrought his ruine, hee being murdered in his bed at *Burne*, dying without any issue, 1446. His body was buried at *Saint Albans*, yet the vulgar error is that he lyes buried in *Saint Pauls*.

(59) *Blanche* married to *William Duke of Barrois*, and *Emprouit*.

(60) *Philip* married to *John King of Denmark* and *Norway*.

Camd. Brit. in
Glouc.



HENRIE

Henry V.

HENRIE THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE TWO AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE

Monarch 52



CHAPTER XV.



Monst the many Monarchs of this most famous Empire, none is found more complete with all heroicall vertues then is this King, whose life by order and successe of story wee are now to write, which is Henry of that name the fifth, the

renowne of England, and glory of Wales. Of whom, what was spoken of Titus in the flourishing times of the Romans, may for the time of his raigne be truly verified in him: both of them being the lowly darling, and delightfull toy of Mankind. But as Titus is taxed by his Story- Writers, to youth to have been riotous, profuse, wastfull and wanton, for which (as he saith) with the dislikes of men he slept into the throne; so if wee will beleue what others have writ, Henry was wilde whilst hee was a Prince, whose youthfull pranks as they passed with his yeers, let vs haue

leave here to rehearse, and leaue them motiues to our owne vse, as hee made them for his.

(1) His birth was at *Mansfield* in the Marches of Wales, the year of Christs assuming our flesh, 1388 and the eleuenth of King Richards raigne, his father then a Subiect, and Earle of Derby, Leicester, & Lincoln, afterwards created Duke of Hereford, inright of his wife, then of Lancaster, by the death of his father, and lastly by election made the Soueraigne of England, (that vnfortunate Richard) being deposed the Crowne. His mother was Mary second daughter and coheire of Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford, and Northampton, high Constable of England, as we haue said.

(2) His young yeeres were spent in literature in the Academie of Oxford, where in Queenes Colledge he was a Student vnder the tuition of his vncle Henry Beauford, Chancelour of that Vniuersity, afterwards Bishoppe of Lincoln and Winchester, and lastly made Cardinall by the title of Eusebius. But his Father obtayneing the Crowne, and himselfe

Edw. Hal.

Henry boorne at Mansfield in Wales.

* Here at Tower, 4 Mar 5.

John of Gaunt, in his dayes.

Prince Henrys Education.

Summe 1500, Th. 1. 6.

* Th. 1500. 70.

Hidde.

come to the age of twaine yeeres, had the succesi-
on thereof entailed on him by Parliament, and ac-
cordingly was created Prince of *wales*, Duke of
Cornwall, and Earle of *Chesler*, and presently had
the Title of the Dukedome of *Aquitaine* conferred
vpon him, the better to effect the thing then intend-
ed, which was to have obtained in marriage young
Queene *Isabel*, late wife to the murdered King
Richard, daughter of *Charles* the sixt, King of
France.

Richard Grayson.

Edward Hal.

(4) From *Oxford*, Prince *Henry* was called to
Court, and the Lord *Thomas Percy* then Earle of
Worcester made his Governour; but being himselfe
false to the Father, could give no good example vnto
the sonne, whose hostile attempts in the field of
Sherburne cost that disloyall Earle his head, and al-
most had done Prince *Henry* his life, who in battell
against him was wounded in the face with an arrow.
This mark of his manhood, with the overthrow
of *Hotspur* in that bloody conflict, were hopeful
signes of his following successe, which presently
were seconded with as fortunate proceedings a-
gainst *Owen Glendower* that scourge of his Countrey,
and Arch-rebell vnto *Englands* peace, whom this
Prince so pursued through the vast mountaines of
wales, that from the Denues of those deserts hee
durst not shew his face, but therein pestilish by fa-
mine, & naturall other wants, though the Prince had
then scarcely attained vnto sixteen.

Thom. Walshy.

Rich. Grayson.

(5) But growne from his tutors command, or
control, and come to the yeeres for dispole of him-
selfe, as his youth stood affected, so were his con-
sorts, and those (many times) whose conditions
were worse of the best; whether led by an inclinati-
on of youth (which commonly lets the raine loose
vnto folly) or, to know that by proove, which other
Princes doe by report, I will not determine: yet
vnto the latter doe I rather incline, knowing that
Salomon the wisest of Kings did so himselfe, and ra-
ther by *Rosell* am lead, who writeth that Prince *Henry*
in *Oxford* had in great veneration, such as excelled
in vertue or learning, and among many, two bee na-
meth, *Thomas Radclou* of *Merton Colledge* a great *A-*
scholar, by him preferred to the Bishopricke of *S.*
David in *Wales*, and *John Carpenter* of *Oriel Col-*
ledge, a learned Doctor of *Theologie*, whom hee ad-
vanced to the See of *Worcester*. But let vs heare how
his wilde mates were spent, and with what increase
the harrell was got. The translator of *Liuis*, who
wrote the storie of this worthy Prince, and dedica-
ted his paines to King *Henry* his sonne, affirmeth for
truth, that many actions hee did, farre vnfitting his
greatnesse of birth; and among other, doth take
him with no better then theft, who in the raigne of
his Father, accompanied with such as spent their
wits vpon other mens spoiles, laide waite in the way
for his *Renes* recievers, and robd them of that which
indeed was his owne, when sometimes in shuffling hee
nothing was spared, but bare away many knocks.
The kinder whereof hee would frankly reward,
when they complained vnto him of their losses re-
ceiued, which euer were abated in the foot of their
accounts.

Sir The. Eliot
Governour.

(6) Outlearned Knight *Eliot* seeing his pen to
portraire a perfect Governour, recordeth a story re-
taining this Princes great fame, the credit whereof
lee is vpon himselfe. It chanced (saith he) a ser-
uant of his to be arraigned for felony at the *Kings*
Reuch-Barre, where standing ready to receive sen-
tence of death, the Prince had intelligence, and po-
sted thither, where finding his seruant made sure for
flaring, commanded his feters to be stricke off, &
the fellow arraigned to be freed the Court. All men
amazed at this his approach and speech: the *Chiefe*
Iustice hood vp, and shewed the Prince that his late
was the *Kings*, that lawes were the lawes of the
Common-wealth, that himselfe was sworn to doe
Iustice, and must yeeld an account for all that hee did,
that hee honored him as the eldest sonne of his Soue-

raigne, and Prince, but to let free the prisoner, hee
could not, having so apparently endangered his life
to the law, and therefore desired the Prince, if hee
held him in such esteeme, to save him by pardon
from the King, and not to infringe the law, which he
told him plainly he should not doe.

(7) The Prince enraged to haue the deniall affai-
d himselfe to let free the Prisoner, which the *Chiefe*
Iustice forbadd, commanding him vpon his al-
legiance to cease from such riot, and to keepe the
Kings peace: whereat Prince *Henry* in a fure threpe
vnto the Bench, and gaue the *Iudges* blow on the
face, who nothing daunted, first still, and with a bold
countenance, spake thus to the Prince, *Sir I pray you*
remember your selfe, this seat of iudgement which you
I possesse, is not mine, but your Fathers, to whom and
to his lawes you owe double obedience. If this I misse
be thus contemned, and his lawes violated by you, that
should sweare your selfe obedient to both, who will obey
you when you are a Soueraigne, or minister execution
to the lawes that you shall make? wherefore, for this
attempt, in your Fathers name, I counsel you prisoner
vnto the Kings Bench, there to remaine until his Ma-
iesties pleasure be further known. With which words
the Prince greatly abashed, stood mute by the *Iudges*,
and fixing his eyes vpon his reuerend face, presently
laid from him his weapons, and with humble o-
bedience done, departed to prison. The King vn-
derstanding the whole circumstance, greatly reioy-
ced that hee had some of such obedience to his lawes,
and a *Iudge* so vp-right to administer them without
either fauour or feare of the person; notwithstanding
for this, and other like actions of his youth, hee
removed him from being *President* of his Princes
Council, and placed in his stead *Thomas Duke of*
Clarence his second brother; to Prince *Henric* it
little grieued and discontented.

Rich. Grayson

(8) Howbeit his followers were nothing dimi-
nished, but his Court frequented more then his fa-
thers, which bred some suspition in the crazie kings
head, left among his other wild parts, hee would at-
tempt to play with his *Coyne*, which was increas-
ed by his domestick flatterers, who dayly buzzed
new ialousies into his eares. This made Prince
Henry (as *Ottherbourne* noteth) to strengthen him-
selfe with his chiefe friends, and well-willers, and with
such a troupe repaired to his fathers Court, as a greater
in those dayes had not bene before. The trans-
lator of *Liuis* reports the manner of his approach, e-
uen from him that was an eye witness, and the same
no lesse then the Earle of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, whose
relation is this.

Tho. Ottherbourne.

(9) The King somewhat craie, and keeping his
Chamber, hearing newes dayly of his sonnes loose
exercises, too meane for a Prince, and their contri-
butions euer made to aine at his Crowne, hee both be-
ganne to withdraw his fatherly affection, and to
feare some violence against his owne person: which
when Prince *Henry* heard of, by some that fauoured
him of the *Kings* Council, in a strange disguise hee
repaired to his Court, accompanied with many
Lords and noble mens sonnes. His garment was a
gowne of blew Satten, wrought full of *Eyot-holes*,
and at every *Eyot* the Needle left hanging by the
silke it was wrought with: about his arme hee wore
a *daye-roller* full set of *S.S.* of gold, the *Treat* ther-
of being most fine gold. This comming to *West-*
minster, and the Court of his Father, having com-
manded his followers to aduance no further then
the fire in the hall, himselfe accompanied with some
of the *Kings* household, passed on to his presence,
and after his duty and obedience done, offered to
make knowen the cause of his comming. The king
wakened with sicknesse, and suppling the word,
commanded himselfe to be borne into a withdraw-
ing Chamber, some of his Lords attending vpon
him, before whose feet Prince *Henry* fell, and with all
reuerent obsequies, spake to him as followeth.

(10) Most gracious Soueraigne and renowned
father,

"father, the suspicion of disloyalty, and dimnished reports of my dangerous intendments towards your royall Person and Crowne, hath enforced at this time, and in this manner, to present my selfe and life at your Maiesties dispose. Some faules and mispent time (with blithes I may speake it) my youth hath committed, yet those made much more by such fleeing pickthinks, that blow them through into your vniwilling and distillie care. The name of *Soveraigne* ties allegiance to all, but of a Father, to a further feeling of natures obedience; so that my finnes were double, if such suggestions possessed my heart: for the Law of God ordaineth, that he which doth presumptuously against the Ruler of his people shall not live, and the child that smiteth his father shall die the death: so farre therefore am I from any disloyall attempt, against the person of you my Father, and the Lords appointed; that if I knew any of whom you stood in the least danger or feare, my hand according to duty shall be the first to free your suspicion; yet I will most gladly suffer death to ease your perplexed heart; and to that end I have this day prepared my self both by confession of my offences past, and receiving the blessed sacrament. Wherefore I humbly beseech your Grace to free your suspicion from all feares conceived against mee, with this dagger, the stabbe whereof I will willingly receive here at your Maiesties hand, and to doing, in the presence of these Lords and before God at the day of iudgement, I clearly forgive my death. But the King melting into teares, cast downe the naked dagger (which the Prince deliuered him) and raising his prostrate soane, embraced and kissed him, confessing his eares to have bene over-credulous that way, and promising neuer to open them againe against him. But the Prince vanisished, infinitely desired, that at least his accusers might be produced, and if convicted, to receive punishment, though not to the full of their demerites; to which request the King replied, that as the offence was capital, so should it be examined by the *Peeres*, and therefore willed him to rest contented vntill the next Parliament. Thus by his great wisdom he fastid his father from further suspicion, and recovered his loue that neuerly was lost. Hetherto of *Henry* as he was Prince (some ocher of whole youthly actions we will forbeare in his fathers raigne) and now to his Acts after he was King.

(11) *Henry* ordained successor, and overseer of his dying Fathers Testament, had in his entrance to fortunate proceedings, as hee seemeth to exceed all his Predecessors; his Nobles proffering the oath of their Allegiance, before him selfe had made his, for the iust goauernment of the *Common-wealth*, which lo farre was from *separation*, that hee desired God neuer to admit him to the Crowne, vntill he should to his glory raigne, and rule the Scepter to the good of the *Subiects*. The day of his entrance and of his Fathers death, being the twentieth of March, and yeeke of Christs Incarnation, according to our accounts, 1412. on the ninth of Aprill following hee was solemnly crowned at *Westminster*, *Thomas Arundell* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* performing the roiall Ceremonies: which no sooner was ended, but to beginne a good gouernment, hee beganne with himselfe, banishing from his preiſence and Court the vnbridled youthes which had bene his comforters, commanding them richer to change their manners, or neuer to approach within ten miles where hee lay. Then chose hee worthy and prudent men for his *Councell of Estate*, and aduanced his *Chapley* with dignity and power: being himselfe as zealous in *devotion*, as liberal in building, and indowing of places for deuotion of others. His Iustice was found of all that sought it; for every day after dinner for the space of an houre, his iustice was to leane on a cushion set by his exchequer, and there himselfe received petitions of the oppressed, which with great equity he did redresse.

And for a further testimony of his tender and compassionate heart, the slaughtered body of *K. Richard* once-meane entered at *Langley*, in great estate hee removed into *Saint Peters Church* at *Westminster*, and there laid him enshroued by *Queene Anne* his first wife (as him selfe had desired and prepared) founding a weekly memoriall to bee celebrated, and six shillings eight pence thereon distributed vnto the poore, and yeeleie twentie pounds giuen vpon his anniversary day, besides foure tapers to burne before his monument day and night for euer. And so neerely did his death touch this innocent King, that hee sent to *Rome* to bee absolved from that guilt of his fathers Act, by the Popes holinelle, then accounted another God; whose penance enioined, he willingly performed, and afterwards purposed to haue made warre in *Palestine* against the enemies of Christs; for which end, hee sent *Sir Hugh de Lang* of *Hennault* to *Ierusalem*, to discover the state of things there; but before his returne he was departed to the heavenly *Ierusalem* himselfe.

(12) The obsequies of his Father being solemnized at *Canterbury*, and the King in person attending the Corps, sice occasion was giuen vnto Archbishoppe *Arundell* to complain of the *Witchbishops*, (then termed *Lollards*) great rube in the wayes of the Clergies pride and proceedings; whereof *Sir John Oldcastle* was thought a chiefe, who by his marriage contracted with a kinswoman of the Lord *Cobham* of *Chesham* in *Kent*, obtained the title thereof, a man strong and valourous, and in especiall fauour with his Prince. This Knight in their Synode assembled at *London*, immediately after the Kings Coronation, was accused by them to haue rent Christs sacrament, in maintaining *Wickliffes* doctrine to bee taught, especially in the Diocesse of *London*, *Becheles*, and *Hereford*: against whom also some chollie *Inquisitors* at *Oxford*, appointed for *Heretics* (though that whole Vniverſitie had formerly vpheld both *Wickliffe* and his doctrine,) informed and presented his name with two hundred forty sixe conclusions, which they had collected to be *hereticall*.

(13) The King incensed (by the Archbishops suggestions) against these discontented dilapliners, was further made beleeue that they themselves had set vp billes in diuers places, threatening that an hundred thousand persons were ready for armes, against all that withstood their reformation, and among these that *Oldcastle* his Knight was repeated the chiefe. The King graciously inclined, heare the Archbishops complaint, and being at *Kennington* promised to conferre with the Lord *Cobham* himselfe, which accordingly hee did, infinitely willing him to submit himselfe to the censure of the Church and obedience of the Archbishoppe: but *Cobham*, no tyme coere from his profession, haumbly told the King he owed his subiection only vnto his Maieaty whom God had placed in these his Dominions, as his onely *priegerent* to gouerne his people and Subiects, and that himselfe forced nothing *Rome* lesden sword, vntheated by the Pope (that *Anichrist*) against the Lords seruants, nor would suffer the key of *Canterbury* to open the closet of his conscience, where the spirit of God was residing, bearing witness with his conscience stood in the truth for whose defence as his Champion, he was ready to liue or die.

(14) This answer received, was so deliſtered vnto the Archbishoppe, with power to cite, examine and punish, as their owne Canons in such cases had decreed. The Lyon thus laid for, whose paw they still feared, was leried by proceesse to appeare in the Archbishops Court, and the same deliuered by one *Bulwer* a leuant of the Kings Priuy Chamber, for that the bold *Sumner* durst not dole himselfe, and the Archbishoppe (diligent lest he should forget the day) caused his letters citatorie to be set vpon the gates of the Cathedral Church of *Becheles*, which were preliently tumbled down, and others againe set vp, were againe pulled off, to the

Rich. Fabian.

Fabian.

Vpon Trinity Sunday.

With Pignour, in last del. a. 1412.

Encheiridion and Memorabilia. Of a Christian King.

Thom. Walsley.

Acts and Monuments.

Deut. 32. 7. London. 1412.

The Otobers.

As Record.

John. Stow.

Rich. Fabian.

An. D. 1413.

Thom. Walsley.

Olden's pre-
sented on his
table.

The Wolf,
and the Lion.

It is the
Wolfe's
Bishop.

Archbishop de
Arundel's death.

"See it in Paris
Martyrology

The effect of
the Lord Cobham.

Edw. Falcon.

Touching Olden's
immunity from Taxation,
see *Paris Martyrology*.

John Stow

John Fox in *A21*
and *Martyrology*.
When called
"the Bishop of the
Bishop."

"See Fox at
large.

Spalding's Wolf.

The Wolf
Bishop of Saint
Dunelm.

great offence of the Clergies eye, and the rather, for that the Actor could not be knowne. The Knight not appearing (as knowing their malice and his own danger) was condemned of contumacie, and afterwards in a Synode at Rochester, was by the Archbishop pronounced an Heretike, where himselfe then enacted that heretikal decree, that the holy scriptures should not be translated into the English tongue. But marke the iudgement that fell vpon his own tongue, whose rootes and blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speake nor swallow downe meat, but in horror lay languishing, till lastly he so dyed starved by famine.

(15) In the meane time the Lord Cobham wrote his *Belief*, which was very Christunlike, and presented it himselfe to the King, who (being much prepossessed) in no wise would receive it, but suffered him to bee summoned in his presence, and priuie Chamber, when the Knight for his purgation offered an hundred knights and Esquires, which would not be accepted; then, according to his degree of Order, and law of Armes, he required the single Combat to fight for life or death, with either Christian or Heathen in the quarrell of his faith, the King and Council onely excepted. This notwithstanding could not be suffered, but needs must he appeare before the Archbishop his Iudge: where, after diuers examinations (in all which hee most religiously iustified himself & his profession) he was condemned of Heresie, and committed Prisoner vnto the Tower of London, whence shortly he escaped, and got into Wales.

Vpon which escape great feares were conceived, especially of the Clergy, the causes of his troubles, and mortal Enemies to him & his wellwillers, for the king was confidently (but as it seemeth maliciously) informed; that *Oldcastle* with his adherents laid for his life, & that in *S. Giles* Fields neere vnto *Holborne* twenty thousand were to assemble in hostile manner, with an intent to destroy the Monasteries of *Westminster*, *Saint Albans*, all the religious houses in London, and the Cathedral Church of *Saint Pauls*. The King therefore in person himselfe after midnight with a great Army came into these fields, where (if we will believe their professed enemies) fourescore of that faction were apprehended, who sayd they came to seeke the Lord Cobham. But as the answerer of *Copius* from more ancient times hath observed, that in daies of persecution, such assemblies often had beene made to heare the Gospel preached, which otherwise they could not enjoy: so in this place * then overgrown with bushes and vnto for battell, those few were in likelihood assembled vnto *John Beuery* agodly man their Preacher, without any intent of treason, having for their Chieftaines no greater persons then *Sir Roger Allan* a Knight of no great account, a Minister, and a male man. But their Apologies we lue to authors, onely the Lord Cobham could not be found, though the King by Proclamation had promised a thousand markes to his taker, besides many liberties to the City or Towne, that would disclose him; & whereby (*John Walsley*) it may be guessed, that the whole Kingdome, well were, embraced his opinions which that Fryar calls his madnesse. Thirty feares of that assembly were condemned, whereof of scaues were consumed with fire and strangled, *Allan*, *Beuery*, and *Mary* were likewise executed.

(16) As the zeale of this King is much commended for his fauours towards his Clergy, so is his Princely pietie in the commiseration of young *Perce* distressed, whose father *Haywar* slaine at *Shrewsbury* (as we haue said) and hee by his Grandfather sent into *Seotland* for security, was there notwithstanding detained a Prisoner, for that *James* their King was forcibly kept in *England* by *Henrie*, and as they rooke it against all Iustice. But his occasion being offered for young *Perce* release, and exchange made betwene him and *Abride* sonne of *Robert Duke of Albany* (who had bene taken prisoner at the Battell of

Halidon) the king restored him not only in blood, and to grace in his Court, but also inuested his person with the Title and State of his Grandfather, to his owne no little honour, and faithfull seruice attained of that honourable family.

(17) Vpon Archbishop *Arundels* death, starved by famine as we haue said * *Henry Chicheley* a stout Champion also against *Walsley's* doctrine, was with the Kings consent, by the Monkes of *Canterbury* elected their Archbishop, which the politticke Elec neither accepted nor reuiled, but left it to the will and pleasure of the Pope: who first tooke snuffe that it so farre proceeded without his direction, yet was soone pacified by *Chicheley's* submission, and (as faith mine Author) with other Gratiulations besides. The man though not so rich by birth as *Arundel* was, yet as strong for the Clergy, and more gracious with his Prince as the feble proud.

(18) The first allies of both was made knowne in a Parliament holden at *Leicester*, where in a Bill exhibited, complaint was made, that the temporall Lands giuen to religious houses and spiritual persons for deuotion were either superfluous, or disorderly spent; whose reuenues (if better imployed) would suffice for the defence of the Land, and honor of the king; fifteen Earles, fifteen hundred knights fixe thousand two hundred Esquires, and one hundred Almshouses, for the reliefe of impotent and diseased persons, and vnto the kings Cofters twentie thousand pound by yeere. Which Bill (*John Hall*) made the fat *Abbot* to sweate, the proud *Prior* to frowne, the poore *Friars* to curle, the silly *Nunnes* to weepe, and indeed all her Merchants to feare, that *Rabell* would downe.

(19) To stop the breach of which searching spring, no better meanes could be found, then to direct the Parliament with other businesse, and to driue other proiects into the kings munde, whose head (as this new Archbishoppe there tolde him) "had the best right to the Crowne of France: for not onlie the Dutches of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, and *Arroun*, the Counties of *Gales*, *Gascon*, *Mein*, and the rest, were his lawfull though vnlawfull "detained inheritance; but therewithall the whole "R Realme of France, as true heire vnto his great "Grandfather king *Edward* the third, and vnto "Philip the faire, in right of his mother *Queene Isabella*, the only daughter and Child liuing of the "said French king. As for the law *Salique* alleged "against the English claime, he affirmed, that Text "touched only those parts in Germany, which lay "betwixt the riuers *Elbe*, and *Sala* conquered by "king *Charles* the great, who placing his French "there to inhabite, for the discomfort of those "Germane women made this law. *In terram Salicam Mulieres non succedant*, which the *Gloss* did "falsly expound for the whole kingdome of France.

Whose practise notwithstanding he shewed to be the contrary, by many experiences both in king *Peppin* which depouled *Childericke* by the claime of heire General (as defended of *Walsley* daughter to *Clotwars* the first), and by *Hugh Capet*, who, viurping the Crowne vpon *Charles Duke of Lorraine* (the sole heire male of that line from *Charles* the great) to make his claime good; which indeed was "stark naught) deriued himselfe as heire to the *Lady Lingular*, daughter to *Charlemaine*, sonne to *Lewis* the Emperour, that was sonne to *Charles* the great. King *Lewis* also called the Saint; (who was the heire to the viurper *Hugh Capet*) could not bee fauished in conscience, how he might iustly keepe and possesse the Crowne of France, till he was falsly instructed that *Isabel* his Grandmother was lineally descended of the *Lady Ermengard* daughter and heire to the aboue named *Charles Duke of Lorraine*, by the which marriage the blood and line of *Charles* the great was againe vntied, and restored to the Crowne of France. Whereby (said "the Archbishop) most manifestly appeared, that the

* Henry Chicheley made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas Walsley.

A complaint against the Clergie's exorbitance.

Edw. Hall.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

Is. Strow.

The Law Salique.

touched the Germans.

but not the French.

Their claiming by the same title.

"the title of *Peigne*, the *Claine* of *Capet*, the possession of *Lewis*, yea of the French Kings themselves to this day, deriue their onely rights from their heires femall, and that this pretended Law *Salique* was but a shifting device to debarre the English Kings from the claine of the French Crown. Which exclamation howsoever they pretend to be right, yet the law of God (say he) hath made it mere wroong, which with better regard of the Sex alloweth the woman to inherite her fathers possession, as we see in the practise of that state, where of Christ himselfe is called king, where the five daughters of *Zelophead* for want of heires males, were admitted to succede to their fathers inheritance, allotted them in the Tribe of *Manasse*; and a law made by the Lord himselfe, that if a man died and had no sonnes, then his inheritance should be transferred vpon his daughters. Neither is it to be doubted but that the daughter of *Shebam* was the sole heire vnto her fathers patrimony, he dying without issue male, though shee married an Egyptian, whose posterity had their possessions among the Tribe of *Isacharn*, to the Captiuitie of *Babylon*: so that if such a law were, as in truth there was no such, better were the breach by the warrant of diuine direction, then the continuance by colour of such prescription, seeing God hath ordained as well for the daughter as for the sonne.

(20) The Archbishops vnexpected but not vnprepared Oration thus ended, so stirred the blood of the young Courageous King, that his heart wasall on a flame; and so tickled the eares of his Auditory, that they presently conceived that *France* was their owne, the Title whereof descending from *Isabel*, the mother of the famous third *Edward*, and thence the daughter and suruating heire vnto *Philip the faire*, his right was, lineally deriued thence as followeth, first *Philip* by *Isane* his first wife intirely Queene of *Nauarre*, had three sonnes and one daughter, namely *Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*, all three successiely Kings, and this *Lady Isabel*, by whom the English claine: his second wife was *Constance* the daughter of the King of *Sicily*, who bare him a sonne after his owne decesse which liued not many daies after his father. *Lewis* his eldest sonne and tooth of that name succeeded *Philip* in the Kingdom of *France*, and by *Margaret* his wife the daughter of *Burgundy* had his daughter *Iane* intirely Queene of *Nauarre*, who made claine also vnto the French Crowne, but neuer attained it; so that her Title fell with her death. *Lewis* by his second wife *Clarence* of *Sicily*, had a sonne named *Iohn* borne vnto him, but presently both father and sonne departing this life, left the Scepter to his second brother, who by the name of *Philip* the first, a while wore the Emperiall Crowne, of *France*: his wife was *Iane* the daughter of *Burgundy*, who bare vnto him only foure daughters.

(21) Vnto King *Philip* succeeded his brother *Charles the faire*, the fourth of that name, whose first wife was *Blanch*, detected of incontinency and brought him no fruite, his second wife was *Mare* daughter to *Henry Luxemburg* the Emperour, who bare him a sonne that dyed soone after birth, and the mother likewise shortly came to her graue, *Margaret* the daughter to the Earle of *Euroux*, was his third and last wife, who at his death hee left with Child, and thus the three sonnes of *Philip* were breached, reigned, and died, whom Queene *Isabel* their sister succeeded, and in that right her sonne King *Edward* the third, by his royall consanguinity whilst the Crowne stood thus at suspense, till a Prince should be borne, claimed to be Regent in the *Interregnum*, and in the anage of the looked for issue, against which, *Philip de Valois* sonne of *Charles* the hardy, who was brother to *Philip the faire*, being a second branch from *Hugh Capet*, and first Prince of the blood of *France*, maintained that the Regency of the male (if so he were borne) as also of the Realme

(if a daughter or the sonne dyed) belonged onely vnto him as the next in blood. The state thus standing, and a daughter borne, *Philip* was saluted and proclaimed King, no other right alleged then this foisted and falliey termed fundamentall law *Salique*, for no otherwise doth *Ottoman* the French famous Lawyer esteeme of that vngodly and vniuelt Ordinance, if any such had bene ordained.

(22) The Kings right thus apparent, and sufficient possessions to be had in *France*: the Bill of complaint against the Clergies excesses was quite dashed, and all mindes addicted for the affaires that way; thinking it vnreasonable to pull the Provisions from their animes and brethren, when as the Circuit of their inheritance extended more large in compass and therefore with the *Daniers* they determined no longer to sit so pent with increase, seeing God had giuen them another Kingdome, but would free their own straitnesse by dint of sword, and spread their Tents wider in the Continent of *France*: Neither was there any motine more forcible in conference, then was the successe of those intruding Princes, who assailed the Crowne by that vniual claine of law *Salique*.

(23) For did not the sword of God (rather then man) in the hand of King *Edward* the claimer cut downe the flower of *France* in the Battell of *Crecie*, with the slaughter of *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, of *Charles* the French Kings brother, of *James* Dapkin of *Viennois*, the Dukes of *Lorraine*, and *Barben*, the Earles of *Armorie*, *Sauoy*, *Montbelliard*, *Flanders*, *Niuer* and *Harcourt*, the Grand Priour of *France*, the Archbishop and *Zancinus* and *Neyone*, of Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500 with 30 thousand of the French Souldiers, and *Philip* not able of himselfe to defend himselfe, inciting *Dauid* of *Scotland* to invade and weaken *England*, therein did but only vex his owne spirit, for in that attempt the Scottish King was taken prisoner and brought so to *London*, leaving *Philip* to struggle with his hard fortunes in *France*, which with bad successe hee died to the day of his death.

(24) *Iohn* his sonne by the same title and elaine felt the same brooke of iustice from the hand of that thunderbolt in warre *Edward* surnamed the blacke Prince, the sonne of *England* *Mary*, who farre inferior to the French in number, farre exceeded them in marshall power, when at the battell of *batliers* the French royall Standard was stroke downe, an hundred English wonne by the English the Constable, Mattheall and great Chamberlaine of *France* with fifty two Lords and seuen hundred Gentlemen slaine in the field. King *Iohn* himselfe, his sonne *Philip*, two Bishops, thirteene Earles, and one and thirty Lords taken prisoners by the Prince, to his great praise and confirmation of his iust cause.

(25) Nor was the possitment of the father any whit lessened in King *Charles* the sonne then reigning, who besides the intestine warres in his own dominions was by Gods iust iudgement strake into a Linnacy, being vnable to gouerne himselfe much lesse his Kingdome, vpon which advantage (as the French would haue it) King *Henry* now playd; though it be most certaine he sought his right farre otherwise, for so it standeth vpon record dard the ninth of February and first of *Henry* the fifth his reign, that he sent his Ambassadors vnto the French King, who could not be admitted to his presence, and him whom they employed to procure access was by the French committed to Prison: wherat King *Henry* most iustly conceived a grudge, *Paulus Emilius* their owne Scoy-writer faith, that *Henry* King of *England* sent honorable Ambassadors to demand in marriage the Lady *Katherine* daughter vnto the French King: which (as he faith) was neglected with this answer, that the King had no leisure to thinke on that business: whom *Franciscus* *Rosellinus* doth further enlarge, saying, the King scornfully snubbed answered that *France* was neither destitute of Dukes, nor hee as

Number 3.

An addition.

Chap. 34.

Lewis Meier.

July 14.

In France.

In France.

In France and Spain.

In France.

In France.

Engagement de
Manfred.Nich. Vignour,
M^r. Parvada,
in Arm. de Bur-
goin.
Cervin Chene,
Bismar.

least to thank of the Prophecy; and being jealous lest Burgaigne would match his daughter with Henry, sent him a command to the contrary, and again at their Conclusion of peace, expressly enioyned the said Duke, and all other Princes of the blood, not to make any alliance of marriage with England, whereby K. Henry was further exasperated against France. And lastly, by his counsell and conference vpon the Archbishops Oration sent a Summons and demand of the Dutches of Normandy, Aquitaine, Guyen, & Anjou, in derision thereof, as Caxton recordeth, the Dukes of France, sent him a Tonne of Tennis Balls, as Ballets most fit for his tender hands, who had spent his youth (as he thought) more among Rackets, then regard of his person or matters of State: so forward is man to be an Actor in common miseries, when the Fates haue made the Subject of the Scene Tragical, that hee drawes the hand of Desdemona, sooner to strike, and heavier to fall vpon that proiect decreed to bee cast downe: for by these dildaius and vnprincely dealings the Crowne of France was graft by the English hard hand, and that faire soile stained with her Natiues owne blood: for the Prince receiued as it was sent, had promise to bee repayed with balles of more force, whose stroke should bee such as the strongest gates of Paris should not be sakers sufficient to bandy the rebound.

(26) Grudges thus growne, and warres in preparing, the French thought it fittest to make Scotland their friend, whom they incited to molest the English Marches, which accordingly was done, and that with such violence, as it was a question decideable, whether of the Kingdoms was first to be dealt with. Westminster thought it safest to checke the Scots as the ancient and continual backe-friends. But Essex held it better policy to beginne with France the stronger, especially now disquieted through the factions of Burgundy and Orleans, and vnto this the most voices gaue way, whose forwardness was such, that the Clergy granted a Truce, and the temporall Lords their aides to the King, as followeth.

The Earle of Northumberland, 740 men at Armes & Westminster, 120 Archers a peece

The Earles of Warwick, 220 men at Armes, and 40. Stafford, Archers a peece.

The Earle of Suffolke, a shippe, 30. men at Arms, and 40. Archers.

The Earle of Abergaunoy 20. men at Armes, and 20. Archers.

The Lords { Lancell. Barkley. Fowls. Camels. S. John. Barrell. } A shippe, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Lords { Fitzwater. Dorce. Seymour. Rafle. Wellingborne. } Halfe a shippe, 20 men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Lord Morley, 6. men at Armes, and 12. Archers.

The Lords { Seales. Randolph. } Proffered to attend the King in their persons without entertainment.

The whole number thus granted and appointed, amounted to of Men at Armes, 346 Archers, 512 Ships, 91

To put back the Scots, Sir Robert Pymfrenle was sent who in a skirmish vpon Mary Magdalens day tooke

360 of them prisoners, and with great spoile returned to Rockberough Castle whereof hee had charge, the news whereof K. Charles vnderstanding, and the great preparation made against France, being better aduised vpon the dangerous content, sent his Ambassadors into England, whereof the Archbishops of Bourges was principall, who at Winchester made offer of money, and some other Territories (but none of the best) with the Princess Lady Katherine to be giuen in marriage vnto King Henry, so that he would dissolue his Arme, and conclude a peace. To this Oration the Archbishops of Canterbury made answer, that his King demanded the Dutches of Aquitaine and Anjou, with the other Seignories anciently appertaining to his Progenitors the Kings of England, which as they were his most rightfull and lawfull inheritance, so would hee wish all possible diligence endeavour (if not otherwise) by fire & sword to recover, which his assertion the King himselfe in presence confirmed.

(27) But Burges the Archbishops presuming more vpon his Prelacy, then respectiue vnto whom hee spake, with an vnreuerend boldnesse (liberty obtained) seconded his Ambassage with the termes of an Herald, and with bended bowes thus spake to the King: *I thinkest thou & King wrongfully to put downe and destroy the most Christian, the most renowned, and the most excellent King of all Europe, both in blood and preeminence, or thinkest thou that our mighty Soueraigne Charles hath offered thee lands, summes of money and possessions with his most beautiful daughter, either in feare of thee, of thy English Nation, or of all thy well-willers whomsoever? I tell thee no, but moved in pity as a leuer of peace, and to save the shedding of christian blood, hath made thee these offers: & his cause being supported by equity and truth, God and his good Subjects be trusteth will set a period forme to thy quarrell. Wee therefore his Ambassadors demand thy safe conduct to passe out of thy Realme, and that thou wilt write thine answer, and send it vnder thy seale.*

(28) Henry now whil daunted with his big looks and words, answered the Archbishops with milder and better set termes: My Lord (said he) little esteeme of your gallant brauadoes, and lesse weigh your imagined power or French bragges. I know my owne right to your Region, and so doe you: felues, wileste you will deny a most apparent truth: the strength of your Master your dayly see, but mine as yet you haue not tasted, he (you say) hath many louing subjects and friends, and (God be thanked) I haue both as well affected to mee, with which, ere long I hope to make the highest crowne in your Country to stoop, and the proudest Miter to kneele downe: And say to the Viceroy your Master, that within this three monethes, I will enter France, not as into his land, but as into mine owne lawfull patrimonie, intending to conquer it not with bragging words, nor flattering orations, but by power and dint of sword, though Gods assistance in whom I trust: and I assure you I will not speake the word, the which I will not write and subscribe, nor will I subscribe to that to which I willingly will not set my seale. Therefore your safe conduct shall bee dispatched, and mine answer in writing deliuered, which once receiued you may depart into your Country, when I trust sooner to visite you, then that you shall haue cause to hid me welcome.

(29) The Statute enacted, the first of his raigne hee now put in execution, and commanded the French out of his land, according to that made the 13. of Richard 2. which disabled the Alien Religious to enioy any Benefices within England, and now fearing to nourish a snake in his bosome, King Henry forbade the French from all preferments Ecclesiasticall, and those Priors Aliens consensual, who had institution and induction, to per in security, not to disclose, or cause to be disclosed, the counsell nor secrets of the Realme: and that the French might hold

John Harding, Esq^r PP. 11.Engagement de
Manfred.

Bismar.

Ka Part. 1. K. 1.

John Bouchant,
in details of style.

An ancient
Manuscript.

The London.

Job Saw.

High.

A. S. S. S. S.
A. S. S. S. S.

Elizabeth.

hold his dealings honourable, and open, hee sent *Anthonis* his purfuant at Armes, vnto King *Charles* with letters of defiance: next making *Queene* loose his mother in Law the Regent of the land, he drew his forces vnto *Southampton*, commanding his followers there to attend him in readinesse by the fealt of *Saint Iohn Baptist* ensuing.

(30) *Charles* the French King expecting present invasion, sent his Ambassadors vnto *Iohn* the first Duke of *Brittain*, who had married his daughter with an hundred thousand Crowns, to leue forces for his aide, and a fewell worth five thousand Crownes more to himselfe, which the Duke promised to come in person to performe. And as it is reported, King *Charles* sent to *Serape*, *Grey* and *Cambridge* (all three in especiall fauour with the King) a million of gold to betray *Henry* into his hands, or to murder him before hee should arrive in *Normandy*. These to make their faction longer, though *Serape* was Lord Treasurer, *Grey* a Privie Councellor, & *Cambridge* the sonne of *Edmund* Duke of *Turke*, meant to draw in, *Edmund* Earle of *Marck* the sonne of *Roger* *Admirer*, and finally the heire vnto *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the next in succession for the house of *Turke*, and revealing their intended purpose, forced him to sweare to their secrecie, which if hee refused, they threatened his death: whereupon he required but an howres respite, which hardly granted, he went to the King and revealed the conspiracie, even the night before the day that hee meant to put to act.

(31) The parties apprehended and brought before him in presence of many nobles, King *Henry* thus spake: With what horror O Lord may anie true English heart consider that you for pleasing of a forreine enemy, should imbrue your hands in our blood, as also in the blood of our brethren, to the toine of your owne native soile I reuenge herein touching my person though I seeke not; yet for the safeguard of you my deare friends, and for due prefecution of the Realme, I am by place and office to minister remedy against these Offenders: Get you hence therefore you miserable wretches, to receive the iust reward of your deeds, wherein God giue you repentance for your foule finnes.

(32) Notwithstanding this their offence, their indiuement as it standeth in the Record, includes matter of other quality: that, *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge* of *Canterbury* in the County of *Turke*, and *Thomas* as *Grey* of *Heaton* in the Countie of *Northumberland* Knight, for that they in the twentieth of Iuly and third of King *Henry* the fifth reignes, at *Southampton* had conspired together with a power of men, to haue led away the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *March* into *Wales*, and to haue procured him to take the Government of the Realme, in case that King *Richard* the second were dead; with a purpose to haue put forth a Proclamation in the name of the said Earle as heire to the Crowne, against King *Henry* by the name of *Lancaster* usurper, and further to haue conveyed a Banner of the Armes of England, and a certaine Crowne of *Spain* set vpon a Pall (laying eye to the said Earle of *Cambridge*;) into *Wales*; As also that the said conspirators had appointed certaine into *Scotland*, to bring thence one *Trumpington*, and another resembling an *ishop*, fauour and countenance King *Richard*. And *Henrie* *Serape* of *Malghem* in the Countie of *Turke* was likewise indicted as consenting to the Premises. Thus well appeared their purpose, though *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, considering the possibillity of his owne issue had secretly carried that boile: whose fortowfull letter of his owne hand writing, as it came to ours, we thinke not unwise here to insert.

Most dreadfull and Sovereign Liege Lord, I *Richard* *Turke* your humble Subject, and very Leigeman, beseech you of grace, of all manner of offences which I haue done or offered vnto, in any kind by stirring of other felts, egging me vnto, whereas I was well I haue highly offended in your Highnesse, beseeching you at the remembrance of God, that you like to take mee into the hands of your mercifull

and pitious grace, thinking yet well of your great goodness my Liege Lord: my full trust is, that you will haue consideration (though that my person be of some value,) your high goodness (where God hath set you in so high estate) to every Leigeman, that you length, plentifully to giue; that you like to accept this my simple request for the loue of our Lady and the blessed holy Ghost, in whom I pray that they may your heart ever to all pittie and grace for their high goodness. Notwithstanding this his humble petition vpon the sixt of August following, hee, with *Serape*, and *Grey*, were beheaded, and his body with head cnerred in the Chappell of Gods house in *Southampton*; whose apprehensions, arraignments, and deaths, were so followed each after others, as the French knew not, but that the reason had successe, and their returned Ambassadors told it for certaine, that King *Henry* had either dismissed his Army, or (which was thought more true) himselfe was slaine by the Conspirators; so easie an entrance hard babbling report into the wide eares of credulous deile.

(33) But King *Henrie* now ready to embarke his men, vpon Wednesday the fourteenth of August with fiftene hundred Saile tooke to Seas, attended with six thousand speares, and twenty foure thousand footmen besides Gunners, Enginers, Artificers and Labourers a great number, and the fiftenth of the same month cast Anchor in the mouth of *Seuere*, at a place called *Kidwiler*, about three miles from *Marlow*, where he landed his men; and failing desuently vpon his knees, desired Gods assistance to recover his right, making Proclamation vpon paine of death, that Churches should be spared from all violence of spoile, that Churchmen, women and Children, should not be hurt, abused or wronged: then puing the order of Knighthood to many of his followers hee assigned his Standards to men of milt strength and courage, which done he tooke the hill nere adioyning, and thence sent his spiall to the Towne of *Marlow*, making that the first assay of his fortunes in France. But before we enter any further discourse in the affaires of that Kingdome, it shall not be amisse to speake of things commenced in England before that King *Henry* tooke to the Seas.

(34) The Churches throughout Christendome, hauing bene disquieted the space of twentie nine years, and now growne intolerable, through the schismaticall ambitions, maintained by three Papall Monarchs, mounted into *Saint Peters* seate, each of them grasping the Chair with so fast a silt, that the toints thereof were forced alunder; and the triple Crowne so battered with their thunderbolts of their curses that it was flatted and made vnfit for any of their heads. The petitions arreared were *Iohn* 23. by the *Italians* elected; the second was *Gregory* 12. whom the French had set vp; and the 3. was *Benedict* 13. preferred to the place by the *Spaniards*. These striving for the helme, the ship was so flattered, that her wracke was apparant vpon their raging and vnquiet Seas. To preuent which the Christian Princes put their helping hands, and by a generall confent, ordained a generall Councell to be held at *Constance* in *Germany*, which began in February 1414. and continued about the space of three yeeres; wherein were assembled besides the Emperour, the Pope and the Pallgrave of *Rheine*, foure Patriarchs, twentie seuen Cardinals, forty seauen Archbishops, one hundred and sixty Bishops, Princes, Barons and Gentlemen with their attendants about thirtie thousand.

(35) Vnto this Councell King *Henry* sent *Richard* *Clifford* Bishop of *London*, *Robert* *Malam* Bishoppe of *Salisbury*, made Cardinal, and died at the same Councell. *Iohn* *Ketwiche*, Bishop of *Conseuer* and *Lichfield*, *Nicholas* *Salisbury* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Iohn* *Wakering*, Bishop of *Norwich*, *Robert* *Masfale*, Bishop of *Hereford*, *Stephen* *Patrizen*, Bishop of *S. David*; the Abbot of *Westminster*, and Prior of *Worcester*, in company of whom, and for whole greater honour

Harding 1500k
John. S. 1000.
H. 1000.
G. 1000.
S. 1000.
C. 1000.

Nicholas.

John. S. 1000.

Gregory 12. 1000k.

Richard.

W. 1000. S. 1000.
J. 1000.

Stephen.

Robert.

honour, *Richard Earle of Warwicke* was sent, them-
self, and attendants amounting to eight hundred
hofs: so as it stood in dispute whether their hono-
rable preference more graced the assembly, or their
learning or judgement bettered the whole body of
the Council: in somuch that two of these Bishops
were made Cardinals, and of the thirty in best
esteem appointed to assist the Cardinals in their
Election of a new Pope, *London, Cantuery, Bath, and
Wells* were chosen, wherein *Robert, Bishop of London*
was first nominated for Pope, and he first nominated
him that succeeded, which was *Otho Colonna* by the
name of *Martin* the fifth. Whole Coronation
with great magnificence was celebrated of the five
nations assembled, and this honour given to the
English, that the *Priore of Saint Iohn* was a supporter
of the triple Crown. Touching the decrees that
this Council enacted, let it suffice vs to know that
Wicliffe bookes were condemned for heretical, that
Iohn Hus (notwithstanding the Emperours second)
and *Jerome of Prague*, were both of them burned.
The holy maid *Bridget* canonized a Saint, and
that *England* was made a nation in rancke before
Spain.

(36) The deaths of these two diuines manie lamented, especially the *Solomonians*, who had reaped much fruit from the seed they had sown, for whose doctrine they sent a defence vnto the same Council, and often became humble Petitioners for their liues, as largely appeareth in their letters written on their behalfe; in whom may truly bee verified that the blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church, which so increased in the parts of *Solomonias* that Pope *Martin* fearing all would bee mard (*Yesse* the scourge of the Papacy then in Arms to defend them) sent for aid out of *England*, to repress the *Coliards* (as he termed them) and published his Bulls against those *Hussites*, with as terrible roarings as usually were his *Crocoders* against the *Turks*.

(37) His Legate for these holy warres, he made *House Beaufort*, the rich Cardinall of *winchester*, who with foure thousand English assisted with a buldiffe of the Clergies Grants, did there verie valiantly for certaine months together, untill hee was recalled by the Pope: wherein Countie *Zues* (though euer a victor) lost both his eyes, and being blind led forth his army with such terror to his foes, as his name became fearefull, and oftentimes was sufficient to attaine victory without any stroke, inasmuch as hee commanded his owne skinne to be head off after his death, and to hee made the head of their drum, affirming that the very sound thereof, would drive the enemy out of the field. Bot from their Church matters and Prelates proceedings, let vs returne from whence we haue slept, and continue the affairs of our fassions K. *Henry* hauiug now let footing in *France*.

(38) His followers and fellows in these new beguane warres were his two brethren the Dukes of *Gloucester*, and *Glocester*, as also his vncles the Duke of *York*, and Earle of *Darby*, accompanied with the Earles of *Kent*, *Cornwall*, and *Huntington*, besides a most noble fellowship of the other Lords, Barons and men at armes with these from *Kildare* he marched towards *Harlowe*, affecting that Towne the first, being a port commodiously liaced vpon the mouth of the Riuier *Seyne*, and a safe entrance vnto his intended Conquest, as well for the landing of his men, as to hinder the passage vnto *Reade* and *Paris*, both which received traffique by the same Riuier.

Registrant de
diversité :

John Harding

Sea, his horses, munition, and victuals all brought a shore, with his whole army, the King marched up the hill, and from the height presented himself before *Harfleur*. His brother *Clarence* here sent with certain Regiments of horse and foot, to lodge upon the other hill, which before he could approach, (by reason of the nature of the ground and way) hee was forced to march fullie nine miles : which hill attained, he commanded his ships to call anchor as neere the Towne as with safety they might, whereby the place became besieged both by land and Sea, then mounted he his Artillery, began his mines, brought his workes close to the Counter-scarpe of the ditch, prepared faggots to fill it, and presently wanne the safe Towne.

(40) Within the Towne it left *Monsieur Gracourt* was Generali accompanie with *Courtesy* of *Stanteille Chastellaine* de *Beaucourt* *Lieut* of *Brangemont* and others to the number of an hundred Knights and Squires, who with the Townsmen issued out of the *Baile*, upon that quarter where *Huntington*, and *Cornwallis*, by whom which side on either side, they were beaten backe, the gates fired, some breaches made, and fireworks shot into the freetoes to no little annoyance of the besieged, but nothing dimmed them more, then did the Mines made vnder the walls: against which though they within countermined, and came to fight hand to hand with the besiegers, yet they saw it little preuailed, the walls being ready to fall, and such batteries therin already made, as they well perceived. *K. Henry* was resolved to carry the towne by assault: wherupon *Monsieur de Gracourt* foreseeing the eminent danger, demanded a Parley, promising to render the towne if it were not relieved by a certain day assigned.

(41) And albein that *Jehan de Beauguise*, and *Charles de Albou Marthall*, and *Comtable of France*, the one at *Candebie Callell*, the other in *Harflow*; either of them having in their companies one thousand and five hundred men at Armes, were yet I troubled by the English, that no great service they did, and lesse hope was looked for from the French King, whose strengthes were not ready as the Dolphin returned answere, either to remove or relieve the Siege at *Harflow*, wherupon the twenty two of September, *Gracourt* the Governour with twenty four selected Captaines and Burgeises came to King Henry, who fate in his Panilion under a cloth of estate; his Noblemen about him, and the Earle of *Kyng* upon his right hand, bearing his casket, whereon was an imperial Crowne set with stones of great price: The Governour and the rest prostrating themselves at the Kings feet, delivered unto him the Keyes of the town, according to the covenants betwixt them comprised, which was a respite for five dayes, and then if no succour came to surrender the towne vnto the King, & to deliver him his hand thirtie of their chieft persons to stand for life or death at his owne pleasure; the rest to depart without armor, weapons, or any of their goods.

(43) *Harlow* thus surrendered in to short a siege continuance, the King sent 7 *honnors* Earle of *Darlow* with sufficient troopes to possesse the Gates, who then erected the Kings Standard, and *Sainte Georges* banner vpon the principall Ports, and affixed the Towne with guards competent. Moreover, he sent the said *Messieur de Gracourt*, and with him *Ouyse* King at Armes vnto the Dolphin to let him knowe, that he would lay eight dayes in *Harlow*, to expell him comming, where they might treat of an accord, whereunto himselfe was well inclined, if he were not obstinate, for his purpose was not to demand more then his right, and if they could not accord, for the shewing of Christian blood, he was pleased to decide the quarrell by single combat between them two.

(43) His entrance into *Harflew* was not as *Cæsar* into *Rome* with Coronets, Ensigns and Triumphes, a treading his Chariot, but in a more humble

Le tiers de camp,
de France.

They like

John Chartier
Secretary to
Charles V. King of
France.

History of
Normandy.

John Hardin

Messung:

September, 1967

History of New
Hampshire.

Wäl. Pöredin in
Anual de Bar-
rope.

Prohem.

Annals of Henr. 52.

John Harding.

Alain Chartier.

Othobon 52.

Denis Savary in
Chenaf. Blam-
dors.

Canton. Cler.

M. Perradin.
Juchon.

Enguerrand de
Marigny.

Paul. Amiel.

Bertrand de
Argenson, Pen-
sation. 52.

King Henry
case that the
Church might
not be spoiled.

Franc. Reine
Kermat. Henri
Dauv.

his humble manner hee passed along the streets *barfuted*, vntill hee came to the Church of Saint *Martin*, where with great deuotion hee gaue most humble thanks vnto God for this his first achieved enterprise. Then that the Towne might be *English*, and free from French dangers, hee made proclamation, that whosoever of his *English* Artificers might transport themselves vnto *Harflew*, houses should there be giuen to them and their heires *wherby* in short time the towne was repeople with *English* Artisans. Here King *Henry* abode the space of twelve or fiftene dayes, expecting an answer of his message sent to the Dolphin; but the time prefixed (and more dayes expired) hee commanded his souldiers to furnish themselves with victuals for eight dayes, leauing his vnkle *Thomas Beaufort* Earle of *Dorset* Governor of *Harflew*, himselfe with two thousand horie, and thirteen thousand foot, marched towards *Calis* through the Countie of *Caux* and *Eu*.

(44) The French Court notwithstanding ir swarmed with factions (whilst vnder a weak and braue-sicke King) the great ones sought to make themselves greater, and the common enemy endangering all, King *Charles*, the Dolphin, his brother of *Peulherie*, the King of *Scot*, the Dukes of *Berry* and of *Britaine*, with the whole force of *France* assembled at *Raux*, and in Conncell concluded, that the *English* should be fought with, before they got *Calis*, and forthwith decreed to endamage King *Henry* on his way, which presently was attempted. For besides their continual skirmishes vpon his marching Army, they brake down the Bridges, plashed the woods, intrenched the wayes, strucke stakes in the Foords, and in places of aduantage, laid store of souldiers to empeach his passage, and consumed all victuals out of the Countie, through which hee should goe; whereby they well hoped, as a Deere taken in the toils, so both hee and his host should haue bene insinared, who now was approached to *Perrou*, with purpose to haue passed the river *Saone* at *Blanchetagne*; but there the French had fortified against him, so as hee well law that was not the way, and thereupon changing his Counsell, hee marched by *Wormes*, and lodged at *Sailly*, with an intent to haue passed the river at *Port le Roy*, but that also guarded, he kept along the Riuer to *Hargely*, the French Army marching vpon the other banke, vnder the leading of *Charles* de *Albret* Constable of *France*.

(45) *Henry* still seeking to get ouer *Saone*, meant to allye it, even to the head, and passing by *Amilly*, *Tenney*, and *Carles*, in a valley adioyning, there lodged his host, where hee commanded his Archers to prouide flukes sharped at both ends, which afterwards flooded them in singular good head: Then hearing by his spials that the water was passable at *Rethen-curt*, by the negligent guard of them of Saint *Quintin*, hee got ouer the river. His souldiers both weary and faint, many of them sicke, and their provisions spent (some twelve dayes before, were forced to feed vpon nuts, roots, and Berries, such as they could get, and their drinke was the water that ranne in their way).

(46) The day they spent with great toyle and long march, the nights were cold and wet, and no where good lodging, alwayes standing vpon their owne guard, and the French alwayes (swarming about them without intermission. These things moued *Henry* as the French Writers report, to proffer the restitution of *Harflew*, with other holds in *Normandie*, and to make satisfaction for the harmes done in *France*, to suffer him free passage vnto his Towne of *Calis*. But certaine it is, that great reliefe hee got by the iniurie and pety that hee vied in those parts: for albeit hee was in the middle of his enemies, and his Souldiers pinched with penury and want, yet made hee Proclamation vpon paine of death, that none of his Army should rob any Church: wherein a souldier offering, hee caused retribution to be made, and commanded the stealer to be put to death: the

fame of which pety moued the people (albeit they were forbid by the French King) plentifully to supply the fasting *English* with their owne provisions.

(47) But the Nobility vnderstanding that the *English* had got ouer *Saone*, the Constable, the Dukes of *Orleanse* and *Bourbon*, sent vnto *Henry* an Herald with defiance, demanding battell vpon Thursday following; which the *English* King granted, but therein failed, faith the French Secretarie, and tooke his march towards *Calis* without any stay. True it is, that *Henry* was not desirous of fight, his impediments being such as we haue said, and therefore returned answer, that he meant to keepe on his march vnto *Calis*, and would not secke them; but if they would disturbe him, he committed the issue thereof to God, assuring himselfe that it would bee to their owne great danger and perill, and so passing forward to *Perrou*, 20 May. 15. Leftailles, to *Baugy*, vpon thursday the 24. of October hee came to *Azenourt*, where the French in a field of aduantage (purposely chosen) in the Countie of Saint Paul, and neere vnto *Azenourt* had pitched their Banner royall, with an infinite host, whereof the Constable of *France* had the conduct.

(48) His power (saith *Perradin*) consisted of an hundred and fifty thousand horie (besides them for carriages which were innumerable) wherein were ten thousand men at Armes, all of them (a very few excepted) Princes, Noblemen, Knights, and Esquiers. The Vanguard was led by the Constable, the Dukes of *Orleanse*, and *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Eu* and *Boucardis* the Marshall, *Dampier* the Admirall, *Guyard* Dolphin of *Auvergne*, and *Clement* of *Brabant*. The maine battell, by the Duke of *Berry*, the Earles of *Alencon*, *Nemours*, *Blamont*, *Saluers*, *Grandpre*, and *Rouffe*. And the reargard by the Duke of *Brabant* Earles of *Marie*, *Surquenberge*, and *Monseigneur* de *Lorrai*; the right wing was commanded by *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, and the left by *Lewis* de *Bourbon*, Count of *Perouse* great Master of *France*, whome particular reuerence *Francis* *Reine* doth largely declare: all ranged together in their array appeared to the eye (saith *Perradin*) six times to exceed the *English*, but as *Peter* *Dinart* effemed them to be ten times more.

(49) King *Henry* seeing himselfe so farre ingaged, and many of his men sicke of the fluxe, sent the second rine vnto these assembled Princes his proffers to surrender *Harflew*, and what else he had won, so as without disturbance he might depart for *Calis*. Whereunto the Constable and Marshall were willing, but the other young Princes despising the small number of their adneraries, refused all conditions of peace, and were not onely negligent in the duties of Commanders, but with an assurance of victory diuided the pray, disposed of prisoners, and prepared a Chariot to carry thencepaine King in triumph, commanding the Cities and Townes adjoining to ring their bells, and to render thanks vnto God, who had deliuered their enemies into such place of aduantage as an assured victory must presently follow: and so confident were they thereof, that they sent to King *Henry* to know what ransom he would giue. But faith *Chartier*, what answer the King made, is vncertaine: for that all who were priuer thereto, were slaine, the Duke of *Orleanse* only excepted, and he a prisoner retained in *England*. They also sent for King *Charles*, and the Dolphin his sonne (then residing in *Rouen*) to come in their persons vnto the battell, that so they might haue the honour of the field. Whereat the Duke of *Berry* was highly offended, and aduised the contrarie, laying before the King the hazard of warre, out of his owne experience, being himselfe at the battell of *Poytiers*, where King *John* vnfortunatly was taken by the *English*, which proued (as be alleged) a great breake-neck vnto *France*.

(50) The face of these hosts were diuers and

John Harding

Alain Chartier,

The fight was one of the most terrible

Enguerrand,

Aliment in the county of Saint Paul.

Per. in Amable Burg.

Le dire valant de comere de France.

The chiefes commanders in the French Army.

Lewis de Bourbon.

Their number six times, yet ten times more then the English.
In Scrimate Henry Duum.
In Armes Franciscum.

Perradin,

Alain Pouchet in Amable Burg.

Bertrand de Argenson left de Peulherie.

The French thought the observation impossible.
Perradin.

They sent to Henry for his ransom as if they were here to conquer.
Alain Chartier Secretarie on King Charles 2.

The Countess of Flanders was English.

The French glories in their but the English contempt.

Casualty.

The English did ground what was done in the French army.

Alas! how many on the French army.

The English with their.

Gail Paraph.

The chief leaders of each part of the English army.

The noble soldiers of King Henry in the maine Battell.

The maine.

The admirable and glorious fight that both armies made.

Je Saver

King Henry's brother in public.

The English.

indifferent, the French gallant, fresh, and through vain hope of honour, already mounted above men of meaner rank, the English weaker, weary and foreboded, made no such show, and yet their courage no less than the other. The one spending the night before Battell, in Feasts, Triumphs, and other like sports, distributing their Captives, dividing their spoils, and decreeing none to be slain but the King, and his nobles; all others must die or be incurably maimed: the other trimming their arrows, sharpening their spears, buckling their armours, and refreshing their bodies for the next day: and besides other observations, by the light of the great fires made in the French Camp, the English discerned what was therein done, and took the advantage of their order and ground.

(51) The morning approached, the French took the field, thronging forward, who should be first to this most easy and certain victory (as they took it) their greatest strength consisting in horie. Against whole violence King Henry commanded two hundred strong bow-men to lodge in a low meadow, where a deep ditch full of water might secure them from the horie, and the bushes cover them from sight. These having flukes prepared and shod with iron at both ends, were appointed to strike them slope-wise in the ground, yet so that they might be removed as occasion was ministered, to guard them from the danger of the horie: which policy accomplished, King Henry (whose hope was in God, and the goodness of his cause) about ten of the clocke ranged his English against the French then in field: he disposed his host into three battels, placing his bow-men on both sides of the maine.

(52) The vanguard, consisting of Archers, was led by Lord Edward (his cousin) the Duke of Berke, & with him the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fauke. In the maine Battell all in complete and bright shining armour, the King rode himself, his shield quartered with the royal achievements of England and France, upon his helmet he wore a Coronet, the circle whereof glittered with pearls and stones of an vneestimable price: his horie of a fiercer courage carried as he went, the bridle and furniture of Goldsmiths worke, and the Caparisons most richly embroidered with the victorious Ensignes of the English Monarchy: Before him in gold and glorious colours the Royall Standart was borne, and many other banners in warlike order waied with the wind.

(53) The French had framed their Battels into two sharpe fronts, as intending with their points to have runne through the English squadrons; altogether relying upon their horie men and shining in bravery with an incredible exerce. And farthe the beauty and honourable horror of both the Armies, no heart can judge of, vlesse the eye had seene it, the banners, Ensignes and Pennons streaming in the ayre, the glittering of armours, the varietie of colours, the motion of Plumes, the Forests of Lances, and the thickets of shorter weapons, made so great and goodlie a shew; but the silent expectation of the bloody blast was as the bullet rann into the Canon, whole roaring voice is not so soone heard, as the stroke of death felt by the aimed-at mark.

(54) The Battels thus ranged a while stood still, and faced each other euen in the face: The French (whether upon error like to that of Pompei at the Battell of Pharsalia, where Caesar was victorious, or to draw the English farther from their advantage of ground, is altogether vnkowne) but certain it is, that King Henry was resolved to open his way for Calu over the Enemies bosome, or els to die: and therefore with a cheerefull countenance and words full of courage, he comforted his followers and said, "My most faithfull Companions and worthy soldiers, we now go into the field of honour, and to the worke of manhood, which your great valours so long have expected and praised for, loe the day

"is now come, and your worke the noblest in the world: pour forth therefore your utmost forces, that ages may know what the lance, the Axe, the sword and the bow can doe in the hand of the valiant: Who soeuer therefore desires riches, honour, and rewards here he shall find them. Nimis cum hoc mactis posuit Deus omnia Campa. When hee had thus said, his army fell prostrate on the ground, and committed themselves vnto God every man taking into his mouth a peece of earth, in remembrance of his owne mortality, being thereof made) or of the holy Communion whereof hee was incorporated to be a partaker; and so resolved, arising the King with cheerefull countenance commanded his Standard to aduance for word, saying, because our inuincible enemies doe attempt to shut up our way, let vs upon them in the name of the most glorious Trinity, and in the best hour of the whole yeere.

(55) The ranging of the Battell King Henry committed to an old experienced Knight called Sir Thomas Erpingham: who with a warde in his hand led the way, which when he saw time he threw vp into the ayre, whereat the whole army gave a great shout; which done, he alighted frō his horie, & came to the King, who was in his place on foot. The French beholding this Offer, kept still their owne standing, which the English perceiving made forward and came on, giving another shout, when immediately the Archers, layd in the meadow, darkened the ayre with a shower of sharpe arrows, most fearefull to the sight, but more deadly to be felt, and withall, the English charged their Battell with an admirable Courage: the most of them for nimbleness being but halfe clothed, without hat, and bare-legged. And such was their courage notwithstanding their wants, as he that ere while could scarcely bend his Bow, is able now to draw his yard-long arrow to the verie head, whose roaring make was the flanke of the French, so rightly aimed at, and so strongly thicke on, that their sides were altogether larded with arrows, whereby the vanguard was instantly distressed, and disordered into such a confused presse, as they were not able to vfe their weapons at any aduantage. Their wings likewise assayed to charge the English but Monsieur de Lagnie in the one not well seconded by his troopes was forced backe and Guillaume de Sarravies charging home in the other, was slaine. The Battell now broke, for safety fled to the Main, where they breed both feare and confusion by the vnruliness of their wounded hories, so galloped with arrows as they could not be gouerned.

(56) The first troope of the French horie, were exquisitely appointed, whereon their riders much presumed and meant to haue burst through the Archers with a violent coorse, but they quing backe left their sharpe pointed flukes sticking, which till then were vnesse the French stopping the Archers had fled, came on with their horie upon the spur, and that in such heat, as the earth seemed to tremble vnder their thundering feet, and being forced forward, without forethought of danger carried their proud Riders into the lawes of destruction: for falling by troopes vpon those goaring flukes, they were miserably ouerthrowne, and paunched to death. The tempests of arrows still whirling in the ayre sparkled fire in their fells from the helmets of the French, and with their Steele heads, rang maimie thousand their kuelts that dolefull day, who like to come cut downe with the scythe, fell by whole plumes in that fatal field; the English still following the aduantage: against whome Anthony Duke of Brabant, hoping by his example to encourage others followed with a few turned head, and brake into the English Battell, wherein manfully fighting hee was slaine.

(57) With the like manhood Duke Alencon a lusty French Lord, pressed into the Battell where King Henry fought, and encountering Humphrey Duke of Gloucester the Kings brother, both wounded

King Henry ref. each his brother the Duke of Gloucester.

After some time, King Henry's petition in some danger.

Rich. Grafton.

The French make battle put to flight.

Edw. King.

Walsingham's description of the French's overthrow.

After some time, Henry's money to the French.

Engagement of the English.

Yod. Henr.

Certaine French on the Kings carriage.

They stole a Carriage and a sword and slain that King Henry's prisoners.

Ed. Henr.

A new power of French appearing, King Henry's command all his prisoners to be slain.

Engagement.

Thos. Lohan

ded and overthrew him, to whose rescue if Henry had not come, he had died more honourable then afterward he did, for King Henry betriding him, delivered his laid brother from danger, and wanne him selfe much honour by the deed. *Alencon* then coped with King Henry in fight, and with his Axe cut a part of his Crowne, which blow was so furelie laid on, that there with his helmet was battered vnto his brow, and the Lyon enrag'd, with redoubled strength, broke the French Gallant vnto the ground, and slew two of his men that incooded their Master. The Duke thus down, cried to the King, I am *Alencon*, whom Henry fought to haue fained, and so had done, had not the deafe cares of reuenge flopt all found of life, against him, that so had endangered their Soueraine Lord.

(58) The French Reregard surpris'd with feare, at the disfaller of the vanguard, and the maine battell fled, not striking one stroke (except some principall leaders and they not many) the English horsemen fetched a compasse and wheeled about vpon their backs, which no sooner was perceiued, but that the tere of fighting was ended, and the worke of killing began; as by the words of *Walsingham* doth manifestly appeare: *The way (saith he) is at length made by force; the French did not so much give place, as fall dead to the earth: for when they saw their beaten vnder foote, whom they repaid vnconquered, their minds fortwith grew amazed, and such an isewfare fild through their marrow, that they stood still like senselesse Images, while our men twisled weapons out of their hands, and slew them therewith as beaues. Slaughter then had left the way of it selfe, and fight did follow no longer, but all the warre was made at the vnter, which (as it were) offered themselves to be cut, neither can the English kill so many of the enemies, as may be killed. Thus therefore the whole glory of the French name is almost perished, by the hands of these few, whom immediately before they hold in much extreme contempt. But the sword now made weary and drunke with blood, all danger past, and humanity retired, prisoners were taken, and lues spared, which hitherto was neglected, least mercy might haue proued the destruction of themselves.*

(59) Whilst the King was thus busied, & the successe of the battell in dispute, his carriages (but secretly guarded) by the French were assailed, & all made spoile of, that was to be had. The Captaines of this cowardly enterprize, were *Robinet de Bourneville*, *Riffant de Clamasse*, and *Stanbert de Arcineourt*, with sixe hundred Peasants, who had turned their faces at the first brunt of Battell, as men of better practise to pilfer, then to purchase by manhood the spoiles of the field. Where among other things they found a rich Crowne and sword, which they bare away in triumph-wile, saying that King Henry was taken, and as a prisoner followed their troopes, the sight of certaine English prisoners by them taken and led away confirming the report more strongly in the beholders conceits. But King Henry breathlesse, and in heat of blood, seeing certaine new troopes of the King of *Sicily* appear in the field, and the same strong enough to encounter with his weary men, tearing (as hee had cause) that the *Bourbon* Battall vpon sight of fresh succours would gather into a body, and againe make head, considering withall how his men were over-charged with multitudes of Prisoners, who in number surmounted their Conquerours: that the charge would be double at once, to guard and to fight, and that the prisoners would be ready vpon every aduantage to take armes and free themselves from their taskers: these and other necessities constraining, King Henry contrary to his wonted generous nature, gaue present commandement that every man should kill his Prisoner, which was immediately performed, certaine principall men excepted. Which done, and falling againe in Order, hee sent his Heralds vnto these troopes assembled, commanding them forthwith to come vnto Battell, or

else to depart the field, either of which if they delayed, he threatened to reuenge with their deathea, without any redemption or mercy; at which furee sentence their hearts were so daunted, that with flame and dishonour they departed the field. The bafe surprisall of the Kings carriages, (the only cause as some allege of the French prisoners death) was so ill digested by the French themselves, that the Duke of *Burgundie* imprisoned the *Adorn* thereof, and was minded to haue put them to death, had not his sonne the Count of *Charolais* mediated for them, vnto whom they presented King *Henries* rich sword, the guards whereof was gold set with stones of great price.

(60) The day almost spent in spending French blood, and evening approaching nere the set of the Sonne, the field cleared, and no enemy leene, the retreat was sounded, and all were assembled to giue thanks vnto God; which done, while his souldiers pillaged the dead, King Henry sent for *Montjoy* herald at armes in France, and for other heralds both English and French: vnto whom he laid, *we haue not of our souldiers made this great slaughter, which the sword in our weak hands hath laid at our feete, but the Arme of God for the offences (no doubt) of the French hath done, whose blood lieth now rest vpon their crum heads, and wee guiltlesse in following our right: and then demanding the name of the place, was answered, it was *Asenourt*, then said he, to all posterities following, this Battell shall be called the Battell of *Asenourt*. Thus dismissing the heralds, he returned to *Massenmedes*, where he lodged the night before. The spoile was great, and the pray rich in armour, jewels, and apparel, for which by the Countrey Peasants many (left as dead) were stripped stark naked, who afterward crept from the place, but most of them mortallie wounded without reliefe, lay in great dolor and died in the ditches: so certaine is the calamity of warre, and vncertaine the sword till it bee quietlie flattered.*

(61) King Henry lost his cosen *Edward Duke of York*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* that day, besides some others, hee French writers say three or foure hundred, yet *Caxton* will haue them but twenty and sixe: and *Paulus Aemilius* addeth to the two flaine Lords, two Knights and only ten priuate souldiers, without anie more; vnto whom an ancient manuscript addeth * *David Com* an Elquire, and twenty eight priuate souldiers, affirming confidently, that no more of the English died that day.

(62) A farre larger role is writ of the French, flaine at this Battell, yet diuers and different among their owne Authors, the true Catalogue as wee cannot certainly set downe, yet as wee haue many Collections wee will deliuer the same in part, and referre the rest to be seene vpon the record: Only naming the Officers and Leaders in the same field either flaine, or taken Prisoners, by this famous King Henry in this his triumphant and fortunate day.

Charles D'Albert, high
Constable of France.
Geoffrey Bouciquault Mar-
shall of France.
Jaques Chastillon Admi-
rall.

Lewis de Bourbon.
Sig. de Preaux.
Robert de Barre.
Jehan de Barre.

Great Lords.

Guscard Dauphin of Ar-
ragon great Master of the
Kings Horie.
Edward Duke of Barre.
Antoine D. of Brabant.
Duke Alencon.
Count Nemeus.
Count de Marle.
Count de Vaudemont.
Count de Blois.
Count de Graucpre.
Count de Roefle.
Count de Farguembourg.

Sig. de Croy.
Sig. de Helly.
Sig. de Auch.
Sig. de Brimeu.
Sig. de Pauc.
Sig. de Louroy.
Sig. de Raineval.
Sig. de Longueval.
Sig. de Inche.
Sig. de Neufville.
Sig. de Dampierre.
Sig. de Meruill.

Engagement de
Montjuir.

The Duke of
Burgundy impris-
oneth the sons
of King Henrie
his carriages
but pardoneth
their lues at
Count Charolais
request.
Yod. Henr.

King Henry ac-
knowledgeeth
God the great
victory.

God deliuereth
a nation into the
hands of the de-
stroyer not their
souldiers.

Engage. de Bour-
bon.

With Gilt.
Lotion taken
de Croy, France.

The small num-
ber of English
flaine.
The English
Sig. Massenmedes.

The names of
certaine priuate
either flaine or
taken prisoners.

Engagement de
Montjuir.

Engagement.

Iohn Tillet,
hermann de
Argence,
La Motte,
Noblet, Gilles,
Leyraud, Flaud,
Cyprien, Jean 5. mol.

* Of Sen.
The number of
Dukes, Barons,
Sec. Barons.

Orsini Beau.

hermann de
Argence as high
lord.

Iohn Tillet.

Alain Blanchart.
Amal. de Sen.

Will. Perreus.
Amal. de Sen.

History of Hen-
rardy.

John, Prince
French buried in
one pit of
ground.

Alain Blanchart.
Amal. de Sen.

History of Hen-
rardy.

Simon Amal.

Goussin.

King Henry re-
turneth into
England.
He and his com-
pany in danger
at Sen.
The Wolf.

The King is re-
ceived at London
with great show.

Vidame de Amiens.
Mes. Alain.
Mes. de Sauffre.

Mes. de Meuse.
Mes. de Pass.
Mes. de Batimor.

To be short, Jehan Tillet saith, that there were ten thousand slain, and almost as many more taken: and most of their owne writers account the successe of this Battell to be with the slaughter of foure thousand Princes, Nobles, Knights, and Esquires: but the history of *Normandy* account eight thousand to be slain of that rank, whereof an hundred and twenty bare Banners: among whom died foure Dukes, nine Earles, one Archibishop, and ten thousand common soldiers, as the Herald's relation in that behalfe hath reported.

(27) Prisoners of account taken in this field, were Charles the Duke of Orleans, and Iohn Duke of Bourbon, Arthur Earle of Richmond, extremely wounded and left for dead, as he lay gasping among the slaine, was by the English recovered and received their Prisoner. Louis de Bourbon Count de Pentefieve was there taken Captive, was Charles Earle of Eu, being carried into England, where he remained prisoner twenty three yeeres. Others of great account were likewise taken and put to ranisme, as Edward de Reims, Oliver de la Froidaie, Jehan Giffart, with these and many more the next day King Henry marched to Calais, leaving the French to search for their wounded, that in ditches and bushes had made their heavy beds: In commiseration whereof, the Countess Charolais extreme penitence for the losse of his vncles, and other his friends, in charity came to the field, and caused the dead to be buried, the charge whereof he committed to the Abbot of *Walsingham* and the Bailiffe of *Weyre*, who inclosed a peece of ground with a deep ditch of two hundred and fifty yards square, fencing it with an hedge of thornes against the raucings of dogs and wolves. Wherein were interred five hundred and eight thousand Chrilian carcases, in regard whereof it was sanctified by the Bishop of *Ely*, and made a Churchyard.

(28) The Duke of *Brianne* with his forces was come to Amiens within two daies march of *Asincourt* to ayde King Charles, but the French upon a conceited assurance of victory, would not buy his coming: who now hearing of the glorious day obtained by the English, dismissed his troupes, and retired to his owne Countrey, not meaning any more to intermeddle in the warre between England and France. Now King Henry upon Saturday the 26. of October, being the next day after Battell,ooke his march towards Calais, but in passing the field wherein they had fought, he caused search for all the English, which he caused to be entered according to their estates. But the Bodies of his slaine cosen the Duke of *York*, and of *Michael la Poole Earle of Suffolke* hee tooke away thence, carrying them both into England, and so passing to *Goussier* with his Prisoners hee entered Calais, whither, those left at *Harflew* resorted, to pay their ranmes to them assigned.

(29) His holt now refreshed and courage augmented, it was disputable in Councill, whether the King should returne againe into France, to pursue his enterprize already begun, or else to imbarke for England. But the time of yeere spent, the winter wet, and the field Camps very much tumbled to fluxes, wherewith many of his soldiers were as yet infected, and more vexed of their wounds; it was thought fittest to make for England, and the sooner, for that victuals became somewhat scarce in Calais. These things premised, King Henry upon the sixteenth day of November spread sayles for England, and in the passage was met with such stormes, that his French Prisoners were in as great feare, as they had beene in danger at the Battell of *Asincourt*: but arrived at *Dover* and all dangers past, upon the three and twenty of November in triumph with hee made his entrance into London, foure hundred Citizens riding before him in red and white hoodes, the gates

and directes were garnished with Paganes, and the Conduits plentifully pouring forth sweet wines. The religious men met him with profession, and foureteen mitred Bishops attended his approach vnto Saint Pauls, where, out of the Centers the sweet Odours filled the Church, and the Quier chanted Anthems cunningly set by note: in all which the honour was ascribed only vnto God, the King so commanding it. And so farre was he from the vaine ostentation of men, that he would nor admit his broken Crowne, nor beuiled armour to be borne before him in shew, which are the vntill Ensignes of warlike triumphs. The Cite presented him a thousand pound in gold, two golden basons worth five hundred pound more, which were received with all Princely thanks.

(30) And now to doe the last office of a foundler for those two noblemen slaine at *Asincourt*, hee willed the body of the Duke of *York* to be interred in his Colledge at *Fotheringhay* in *Northamptonshire*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* in *Wolme* in *Oxfordshire*, commanding most of his Bishops and Abbots to celebrate the Exequies in London, wherunto likewise hee reinforced his vncle *Dorset* the Governor of *Harflew*, whom for his good seruice done, hee created Duke of *Exeter*, and gave him a thousand pound by yeere out of his owne Exchequer: but in his absence some attempt were made by the French against the laid Towne, whereby hee was enforced the sooner to returne.

(31) The calamities of these times by the flattered ichemies of the Church and their bloody warres among Chrilian Princes, signified the Emperour a man of great wisdom and integrity, much lamented at the Councell of *Constance*, & as another *Constantine* solicited the three floure flaring Popes vnto vniue, but failing of that purpose, from those parts hee travelled into France, and thence into England: seeking to make peace betwix these two Western Monarchs, the better to withstand the common knowne enemy of Chrilendome the Turke. King Charles hee solicited first, finding him in words very forward, with many faire shewes to embrace the motion, wherupon taking with him the Archibishop of *Rheims* as Ambassadour from the French King, came vnto Calais, where hee was most honourably entertained by the Earle of *Warwicke*, Deputy of the Towne, and diuers other Lords thither by King Henry to attend him, as also thirtie of his tallest shippes to waite him to *Dover* gallantlie rigged and manned with a noble traine. The Duke of *Gloucester* accompanied with many of the nobility, was appointed to receive him at *Dover*, where they attended his coming.

(32) The Emperour arrived, and ready to take land, *Gloucester* and the other Lords with their drawne swords entered the water, and thus spake to the Emperour, that if his Imperial Maestie intended to enter as their Kings friend and a mediator for peace, they would recetue him with all willingness accordingly, but if as an Emperour to claime any authority in England, which was a free Kingdome, they were there ready to resist and impeach his entrance. Which rough demand being most mildly answered by *signifund*, hee had present access, and by them was attended to wards London.

(33) This worthy Emperour, King Henry greatly respected, as well for his owne worth, and the amity held euer with the house of *Beane*, as also for that hee had married *Berbara* the daughter of the Earle of *Zule* the Kings Cousen *Germaner* removed. His entertainment was Princely, and charges altogether borne by King Henry, who the more to honour him at *Windsore*, solemnly entailed him Knight of the Order of *Saint George* or *Garter*, with a most sumptuous fest parposely prepared, as which the Emperour late in his Collar and Robes; but not following the cause for which hee came, hee instantly vrged the peace for France, wherein hee was gentle heard

Casim Chren.

All sorts both
Clery and Laity
drew thither affe-
ction to the King,
and hee to God.

Simon Amal.

The Duke of
York was interred at
Fotheringhay
The Earle of Suffolke
at Wolme.

Gregorio de Paf-
sa in la High
Priest.

May 9.
The Emperour
signifund accom-
panied into Eng-
land.

The forme man-
ner of an entea-
ning the Empe-
rour at his land-
ing.

Well liked of by
the Emperour.

* Rich Goussin

* Paul Amal.

The King willing
to heareth the
Emperour for a
peace.

Requert de
la Reine.
Vpon an excep-
tion made by
the French the
King drew his
own talles of
peace.

A.D. 1415.
March 14.

*Wick. Colles
Alan Chertre
Sergeant as
the Chertre.
*Hilard Norman
die last day.

Kirk. Grefon.

Harlowe besieged
by the French
both by land and
sea.

Requert de
la Reine.

The Emperour
out of hope to
make accom-
ment for France
counsell leues
with England.

*Tine Lib.

The Pope might
not be supplied.

heard by the King Henrie, but upon new dis-
putes for some little of men in the Territories of
Rouen, the motion at that time was dashed, and would
not proceed, least (as King Henrie alleged) the French
should suppose that a small losse had weakened his
spirits: yet the Emperour continuing his interces-
sion for peace, had brought it to that passe by his pi-
thy persuasions, as had not the French at that verie
instant belieged Harlowe both by Sea and land, it had
been effected.

(34) For not long before Thomas Earle of Dor-
set, having made a roade into the County of Caues,
was set vpon by the Earle of Armaignac Constable
of France with other strong men at Armes neere vn-
to Padiment, who so distressed the English, that Dorset
tooke into a Garden for defence, and hauing had
private conference there with the Constable, early
before day, departed with the losse of ^{four} four
hundred men. Armaignac puffd vp by his great victory,
with his French powers followed the English in a
hasty march toward Harlowe, and vpon the lands in-
tercepted their passage, where betwixt them a cruell
conflict was performed, with the overthrow of the
French, and flight of the Constable, who retired to
Chambray for safety.

(35) This his vnlookt attempt he tooke greatly
to heart, and therefore purposing to repurchase again
his honor, he determined for Harlowe, where hee set
downe his land siege, before the English Garrison
within, were well aware, when also the Viscount Nor-
thon Vice-Admiral of France, with a Flecte of tall ships
entred the haven, so that the Towne was besigt on
every side as we haue said. King Henrie hearing of
these newes, called home his Ambassadors, which
were the Bishop of Norwiche and Sir Thomas Esping-
ham in commission then at Braxois, and in conference
for a Peace, and the Emperour well perceiving
that the French plaied vpon aduantage, and that King
Henrie was not of temper to turne edge at their
brookes, law is vaine to prosecute the peace for France
further, and therefore sought to enter league with
the English himselfe, vnto the which King Henrie was
so willing as he confirmed the same vpon these Arti-
cles following.

(36) That the said Emperour & King, their heires
& successours ^{shou'd} be friends each to other as Al-
lies and Confederates against all manner of persons
of what estate or degree locuer, the Church of Rome,
and the Pope for the time being only excepted (for
he was the Malher Bee that then lead the swarme.)

(37) That neither themselves, their heires nor
successours should be present in Counsell or other
place, where either of them, their heires or suc-
cessours might sustain damage in lands, goods, ho-
nours, states or persons: and that if any of them
should vnderstand of losse or hindrance to be like to
fall or happen to the others, they should impeach
the same, or if that lay not in their powers, they
should aduertise the others thereof with all conueni-
ent speed. That either of them, their heires and
successours should aduance the others honour and
commodity without any fraud or deceit. That nei-
ther of them, nor their heires or successours should
permit their subiects to leaue warres against the o-
thers. That it should be lawfull and free for each
of their subiects to passe into the others Countrey,
and there to remaine and make merchandize either
by Sea or land, paying the Customes, gables, and du-
ties due and accustomed according to the Laws and
Ordinances of the places, and Countreys where
they should traffique. That neither of the said
Princes, nor their heires, nor successours should re-
ceiue any rebell, banished man, or traitor of the
others willing'y, but should cause euery such person
to auoid out of their Countreys, Realmes, domini-
ons, and Iurisdiccions. That neither of the said
Princes, their heires nor Successors should begin any
other warres against any other person, other then
such as they had warres with at that present without

the consent of the other his Confederates, except in
defence of themselves, their Countreys and subiects
in case of insurrection made vpon them. That it should
be lawfull for the King of England to prosecute his
warres against France for the recovery of his right, as
should seeme to him expedient, and for the Emperour,
for the recovery of any part of his right receiued
by the French. Lastly, that either of them should
assist other in recovery and Conquest of their rights,
lands and dominions, witheld and kept from them,
by him that calleth himselfe King of France, and o-
thers, the Princes and Barons of France. These
conclusions and agreements bare date the 19. of
October, in Anno 1416. In the meane while the
French that had felt the hard hand of the English, and
seeing that Henrie had with-drawne his commision-
ers for peace, King Charles made a league with the
States of Genoa, requiring their aide against this dan-
gerous enemy, who supplyde him with sixe hun-
dred Croise-bowes, and eight tall ships of warre, and
as many gallees with munition and victuals. These
waiting the Seas with many brauadoes, King Henrie
in person meant to haue mette with himselfe, but
the Emperour disuinding his purpose, the charge of
that Enterprize was committed to John Duke of Bed-
ford, accompanie with the Earles of March, Mar-
shall, Oxford, Warwick, Huntingdon, Arundell, Deuon-
shire, and Salisbury, these falling vpon the County
of Norwiche, a herce encounter was begun, and long
fought, till at length the victory fell to the English,
so that the French Navy was most of them battered,
suncke and taken, amongst others three great Car-
ricks of the Genoues were sent to England, with whom
the bastard of Barbon was brought away Prisoner;
and the Viscount of Narbon, Le Sieur de Montaigne, and
Le Sieur de Terrar chaled into Brittain. This victorie
obtained, the Duke past forward to the Towne of
Harlowe, and reuelked it with victuals without any
impeachment; for Armaignac the Constable hearing
how his Conforts had kept tune on the Seas,
thought it not best to let to their note, least his meane
would not be heard, the base of this mischiefe fo-
unding too deepe, and therefore he put vp his pipes,
and got him to Paris. This seruice performed
was so commended by the Emperour, as he openly
said, that Realme was happy that had such a King,
but the King more happy that had such Subiects,
and euer after held Bedford in a most speciall ac-
count.

(38) His affaires now finished, and Princely en-
tertainments thankfully receiued, he prepares for
his returne toward Germany, and King Henrie to doe
him the more honour would needs accompany him
to his Towne of Calles, whither after their arrivall
the Duke of Burgoyne repayed to doe his homage
vnto the Emperour, which Burgoyne some months
before, had concluded a peace with the Earle of
Warwick in the behalfe of King Henrie, for the Coun-
tries of Flanders and Artois. Henrie therefore in
hope of a further friendship with him, sent his brother
the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earle of March
vnto Saint Omers to lye hostages with the Countie
Charrolais, for Burgoyne passage and safe returne,
with whom hee sent Warwick to conduct him to
Calles.

(39) His entertainment was honourable both
by the Emperour and King, which as acceptably he
receiued, and vnto Sigismund performed his homage,
and with Henrie renewed the truce for the time of
two yeres, both which were so disoblittue to the French
flomackes, that the Emperour is taxed, he came not
with an intent to worke the good of France, but ra-
ther to augment her miseries by alienating Burgandy
to bandy against Orleans: and that King Henrie
was pnt with an humor of pride, his affaires so pro-
perous against a weakie King. But this busines en-
ded, Burgandy returned to Graueling, Henrie vnto Eng-
land, and the Emperour toward Germany, being wait-
ted into the low Countreys with the Kings Flecte

Agostino Casili-
ano Poissano di
Nobis.

Paul. Amicus
Alon Chertre,
Sergeant.

French Navy
overthrowen.

Henry of Nor-
wiche,
Le Sieur de Terrar.

The Emperour
approacheth the
City of Eng-
land.

He prepareth for
Germany.

Duke of Burgoyne
Com. de Fland.

The Duke of
Burgandy death
troung to the
Emperour and
turbeth a truce
with Henrie.

John. Erres is in
Charles.

Barren de
Marjot.

Burgundy entered
a treaty with Eng-
land, but after-
wards with
France contrary
to his Oath.

Denis Savage

Parliament
Roll, 1. H. 5.

A Subsidy gran-
ted the King for
his wars in
France.

King Henry had
three great ad-
vantages for the
better conquest
of France.

Denis Savage
Gronde Fian.

John Strev. High
France.

and attended vpon by the Kings seruants.

(39) At *Calis* King *Henry* had made great pro-
fessers vnto *Burgundy* to enioy with him into the warres
against *France*, promising him part of his Conquests,
and to spare and fauour all his vassalls, allies, and
friends, but *Burgundy* refusing the offers, remained
his enemy for *France*, bowbeit he sent Embassadors
into *England* to treat a continuance of the truce,
which was granted to his Commissioners to indure
from the next Michaelmas-tide vnto Easter ensuing,
which was confirmed at *Poncheby* the 23. of Iulie
and yeere of Christ 1417. For the signing where-
of King *Henry* sent the keeper of his priy Seale to
Amiens: where the Duke of *Burgundy* declared the
same signed, which beganne in this sort. *Iohannes*
Dux Burg. Comes Flandria, Artois & Burgundia, Pa-
latinus, Dominus de Salina & Anticlausa vniuersis
presentes literas inspectis: Salatem, &c. datum in villa
Ambianensi 17. die Mensis Aug. 1417. This notwithstanding the said Duke returned, and in November
following made a league (whereunto he was sworn)
with the King and *Dauphin* of *France* against *Eng-
land*, which his doings King *Henry* took nothing
well. But his proceedings prospering in *France* he
called a Parliament at *London*, where the Lord *Chau-
celler*, *Henry Beaufort*, Bishop of *Winchester* and *Car-
dinal*, in the Kings behalte made an eloquent Orati-
on, declaring the great desire his Master had to make
Peace with the *French*, which their King notwithstanding
refused, and against the law of Armes denied
vpon ranfome to render his prisoners taken at *A-
gincourt*, so that the peace which was to be expected
must be with the sword, concluding with this saying.
Let us make warre that we may haue peace, because the
end of warre is peace. Whereunto the whole body
consented, and granted to the King a Subsidie and a
Tenth which was graciously accepted, but was farre
too short to defray the great Charge, so that he was
forced to pause his Crowne vnto the said Bishoppe
Beaufort his vncle, for a great sum of money, as he
did certaine leuies to the Lord Maior of *London* for
ten thousand Marks.

(40) Money thus got and the Seas made safe,
King *Henry* purposed further to follow his fortunes
in *France*, his aduantages many (as the *French* would
enforce) through the weak-kneed King, not able to
correct the Passions of the *Burgundians* and *Orleans*,
which troubled all *France*; and the death of *Lewis* the
Dauphin whose funeral might haue bene solemnized
by the mourners from *Agincourt*, his death (as
was thought) happening immediately vpon that dis-
tresse; and to heape more distractions vpon the
miserable *French*, *John* the Kings second sonne and
new made *Dauphin* shortly left both his title and
life, who together were entombed at *Campeigne*.
These, say the *French*, were the banes of the State,
and the baits that made King *Henry* to bite; notwithstanding
we shall finde them but curiaunces to shadow
the light if we looke into the proiect with an indiffer-
ent eye, for the Kings weaknes was supported by
Burgoyne *Armagnac* and other potent estates; *Bur-
gundy* by Oath, made a mortal enemy against King
Henry. *Orleans* in *England* a prisoner and without
racket in hand could not bandy the Ball to marre
the *French* plea: and as touching the deaths of the
two *Dauphins* their raked vp after kept in the spate
that afterward was the only light of *France*, for these,
(though Crowned) were not the pillars of strength
able to sustaine the great weight of that Empire:
The first a Prince of little valour, and great toyle,
presuming to know much, and vnwilling to learne,
busying himselfe with his selfe, and by his insuffi-
ciency rather troubled then managed the estate. The
other, none of the wisest and of nature so remisse,
chache was euer ready (as waxe) to take the stamp
of any impresse, but as the prouerbe is, let the loo-
sers haue leue to speake, and vs to relate our *Englishe*
French busineses.

(41) All now in a readinesse, King *Henry* with

a puissant armie prepared his second expedition into
France, his Fleet consisting of fiftene hundred
saile, many Loeds and men at Armes, the muster roll
ingrossed with twenty five thousand five hundred
twenty seuen souldiers, euerly fourth being a horse-
man, besides a thousand Carpenters, Artificers and
Labourers: But before his departure he ordained
his brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* to be the Protector
of *England* in his absence, which done vpon the 23.
of Iulie he tooke to Seas, the sailes of his owne ship,
being of purple silke most richly embroydered
with gold: and the sixth of August arrived in *Nor-
mandy* to such terror of the inhabitants that they
fled further into the maine, leaving the Countrey
bare of men and bestiall: Inform that twentie
fue thousand families of them repayed into *Brittain*,
so dreadfull was the approach of the *Englishe*.

(42) No sooner King *Henries* foote had touched
the shoare, but to the incouragements of his Marshal
followers, he dubbed forty eight knights, and then
sending to view *Harfleur* laid his siege against *Can-
quest*, the strongest Caltie in *Normandy*, which he
tooke the 16. of August, and gaue both it and the
whole demaines belonging vnto his brother *Thomas*
Duke of *Clarence*: And vnto *Salisbury* the leader of
his second battell, he gaue the Caltie *Ambulliers*,
which at the same tyme he wonne, as also that of
Lanery vnto the Earle Marshall, and these were the
first that were invested with any reueren in
France.

(43) *Caen* to withstand the enemy was strong-
ly fortified, well manned, and victualled, so that nothing
was wanting needfull for defense: yet the King late
downe before it, and his battery not working the ex-
pected effect, he attempted it by mine, and ruined
some parts of the Wall: Notwithstanding the de-
fendants made stiff defense, and manfully put backe
the entrance or scale. Neuerthelesse *Henry* seeing
that they could not long subsist, vnwilling to carrie
it in fury, which must be the destruction of the
Inhabitants, whom he sought to saue, and to make
his true subjects, summoned them by an Herald,
and promised them mercy: which they in hope of
reliefe vterly despised: hereupon his enry was for-
ced, and great slaughter made, till the King flayed his
souldiers furies, and caused the Citizens to disarm
themselves, setting a strong guard aswell to keepe
the spoilers from pillaging, as the Townesmen
from all hostile attempt: and they that did, were ei-
ther put to death or ranfome, which was freele di-
stributed among his Captaines and souldiers, by
which regular action King *Henrie* got him the
estimation of a great Capitaine, and an vpright
Prince.

(44) But whether by the working of the *French*,
or by instigation of the discontented reformalists (as
Walsingham hath it) The *Scots* would worke wonders
in reuiving a dead King *Richard*, that should indam-
mage the *Lancastrians* cause, and dispossesse King
Henry of his Crowne: who now absent and forward
of Conquest in *France*, at some was endangered by
these his emulating neighbours, and his coo lines in
hostile manner entered vpon, by the Duke of *Albany*,
together with the Earle *Drunglas* the *Scottishe* Le-
aders: These bringing with them their huge-like *K.
Richard*, laid straite siege against *Exburgh*, and *Ber-
wick*, where all allies were attempted, by vnder-
mining the walls, and turrets, all extremities vied and
nothing left vnattempted, that might annoy either
by Sea or by Land.

(45) But *Beauford* Duke of *Excester* being at
Bridlington in doing his deuotions, had present
newes of this present necessity, and therefore scarce
cometo the end of his Orizons, he layd by his Beads
and tooke to his armour, which was not rusty with
lying, so lately put off, neither did *John* Duke of *Bed-
ford* the Protector, forsooke any time, but with five
thousand strong, repaired into the North, where,
with the Earles of *Westmerland* and *Northumberland*,
his

Thom. Lister.

A.D. 1417.

James Annot.
Alan Bamber.
Amador Brit.

Polychronicon.

Hist. Norm.

Denis Savage.
Gronde Fian.

Sold. Fort.

King Henry also
sent great army
to the belgie.

Th. Mol.

Thomas Otter.

Seuen Auld.

Thom. Lint.

Polishness.

The story of Sir John Gualdus.

Scratched faced pictures showed in Pauls Croffe.

Ex. Remd. Poit. 5. M. 5.

The Lord Cobham taken by the Lord Penfyll.

For. Affs and Statutes.

The review by H. D. 142. 11.

Papists and Protestants of like conscience but different. Alden Caput Thomas Diver.

The, Walsley.

Out of the Original.

* Bedford * Dorset.

his power was increased, vnto whom also the Archbuihop of *York* Henry Beuefided, with age to decrepitate, that he was borne into the field in his Chaire, the fanse of whole comming, and the feare of their worthy Generals so daunted the *Scots*, that leaning their ladders and other engines of warre, in the night they broke vp their hege, and well was her that could first attaine *Scotland*.

(46) The Kings affaires thus effected in the North, the Clergies eye-force was also somewhat calied by the apprehension of *Sir John Gualdus* their disturber in the South, who not contented to fit the God of Rome at nought, but like wise defaced the faces of his Saints, trimly limmed in their Letanyes and other like mass bookeles a matter indeed of such moment, that the Abbot of *Saint Albans* (in whose precinct they were pictures) sent these poore misfited and scratched faced pictures, to complaine of their iniuries vnto the King, but his peace not broken, for no blood was drawne, he remitted the offence and punishment thereof vnto *Chishley* Archbuihop of *Canterbury*, who lent them to *Pauls Croffe* to shew their Countenances vnto the people, the Preschter that day beating their mouth in iudicating the offence to be done vnto the triumph Santes in heauen.

(47) A Parliament assembled by the Regents authority for the supply of money to maintain the warres in *France*, a matter of as great importance was therein to be paid, and that was the apprehension and iudgement of the Lord *Cobham*, with a consideration of reward for his taker the Lord *Penfyll* in *wailes*, from whence force wounded he was brought to *Westminster* before the Lords, and having heard his countenances would not thereunto answere in his excuse, vpon which record and proceffe, it was adiudged that he should be taken as a traitor to the King and the Realme, that hee should be carried to the Tower of *London*, & from thence drawn through the streets vnto *Saint Giler* fields, and there to be hanged and burned hanging, which accordingly was done. That *N. D.* author of the three counterfeits hath made *Gualdus* a Russian, a Robber, and a Rebel, and his authority taken from the *stage-plaies*, is more belittling the pen of his slanderous report, then the Credit of the iudicious, being only grounded from this Papist and his Poet, of like conscience for lies, the one euer faining, and the other euer falsifying the truth: that *Caput* hath made the Lord *Cobham* a Traitor: and *Stew* from *Ottoburn* altogether Iudgements drawne bewixt him and the *Scots*, to bring in a Counterfeite *Richard*, and to invade the land with foraine power, that he acknowledged no King but the lame Counterfeite in *Scotland*, and made himselfe a false Christ in rising againe the third day (as *Walsley* him will haue it) I am not ignorant: but his attainture of Treasons, I leaue it to the answer of *Master Fox*, who largely handled it: and for his combination with the *Scots*, vnto the letter of King *Henrie* owne hand, who having intelligence of the *Scots* intent, and the meanes by which they meant to worke, signifieth vnto his brother and vnic in these wordes, as from the Originall is taken.

Part of a letter written with King Henrie 5. in owne hand to the Duke of Beaufort.

Furthermore I will that ye commune with my * brother, with the * Chancelleur, with my Cousen of *Northumberland*, and my Cousen of *Westmerland*, and that ye set a good order and discipline for my *Kerrie-Merches*, and especially for the Duke of *Orleans*, and for all the Remnant of my Prisoners of *France*. And also for the King of *Scotland*, for as I am secretly informed by a man of right notable force in this land, that there hath bene a man of the Duke of *Orleans* in *Scotland*, and accorded with the Duke of *Albany* that this next summer hee shall bring in the manner of *Scotland* to Barre what he may. Also that there should be founden waies to the hawing away special-

ly of the Duke of *Orleans*: and also of the *Knight*, as well as of the remnant of my foresaid Prisoners, that God defend. Wherefore I will that the Duke of *Orleans* be kept still within the Castle of *Penfyll* without going to *Kerrie* place, or to any other disport, for it is better he lacke his disport, then we were deceived of all the Remnant death as ye thinketh.

(48) Wherein we see the Complot, that heere not a word that it should be of *Cobham* composing. But as I affect not to iustifie the wicked, nor to make crooked things straight, so am I farr from discrediting authorities: only the eye of those times looking through the thicke foggy Cloudes, made the *Sunne* (which is bright in it selfe) to seeme in their lightes all bloody and darke.

(49) The like troubles (though not for the like cause) happened vnto *Queene Isabe* in the Kings absence, and time of *Bedfords* regency, whose offence was Capitall, if the accusation were true; that shee should by forcefleeke the death of the King, shee therefore was committed to safe keeping in the Castle of *Leicester* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Penfyll* attended only with nine other seruants: her Counsellor *Frier Randolph* a Doctor of diuinity was likewise apprehended as her Counsellor and worker in this diuillish art, for which he was committed to the Tower, where falling at words with the Parson of *Saint Peters* (the Church of that place) he was wounded to death: and *Queene Isabe* thereupon presently deliuered.

(50) King *Henry* proceeding in his Conquest of *Normandy*, about *Hollande* laid siege to the strong Towne and Castell of *Fallais*, continuing the same vnto the 20. of December, when the defendantes not able longer to resist, demanded and had Parley, with whome *Thomas Earle of Salisbury*, *Henry Lord Fitz-Inghe*, *Sir John Carnwall*, and *Sir William Herrington* Knights were by the King appointed Commissioners, who after some conference, lastly accorded vpon these conditions. 1. That if the King of *France*, the *Duchesse*, or Constable, did not by force raise the siege before the second of Ianuary ensuing, that the Towne should be rendred to *Henry*. 2. That all the strangers that were not properly Inhabitants of *Fallais* and had formerly fought against King *Henrie* in any place, belized and taken within *Normandy*, should be left to his mercie. 3. That all English Prisoners which were in the Towne should be (er at liberty, ranfome free and acquitted of their Oathes made vnto them while Prisoners they were. 4. That all natives of *England*, *Wales* or *Ireland*, that had fered against the King, should be left to his Iustice. 5. That neither Capitaine, Burgesse nor Townefman of *Fallais* should give any reliefe to the Castell, or victuall or munition, during the truce accorded. 6. That no person within *Fallais* should receive the Persons or Goods of any within the Castell, whereby they or their goods might be protected. 7. That the Captaines and Souldiers should receive no preiudice in their Horfes, Armes, or Goods: great Artillery, Shotte, powder and Croffe-bowes excepted: but thestrangers formerly spoken of in the second Article were exempted from that fauour. 8. That the Artillery, Powder, Shotte, and Croffe-bowes afore mentioned, should not, during the truce, be embazzelled, wilfully broken, or made away. 9. That during the truce, the raines made should not be repaired, and no new workes of defence erected. 10. That no oppression be vied by the sayd Souldier vpon the Burgesse, and if any were found fanity and not presently banished for the same, they should looke the benefite which otherwise they should haue by the accord. 11. That no Capitaine, Souldier, or Townefman should vnderhand comsay away any Prisoner, ornaments, Jewels, or Church Reliques, either belonging to *Fallais*, or to any other Church or religious Hoose, that were brought thither for safety. 12. That no goods should be purloined or carried out of the Town during the treaty.

13. That

The ignorance of those times bene to general on all sides, the truth was but dimly discerned.

Queene Isabe committed to prison vpon suspicion of treason.

Frier Randolph wounded to death by the parson of *Saint Peters* of *London*. *Isabe* deliuered.

The strong Towne of *Fallais* besieged by the King.

The conditions agreed vpon for surrender. That if their King raised not the siege they should rendred, &c. That certain persons should be left to the Kings mercy.

That all English prisoners should be set at liberty.

The strangers English should be left to his iustice. That none should receive the Castell of *Fallais*.

That they should have no commerce with them.

The Captaines should be well dealt with.

That the chief munition should not be embazzelled.

No ransom to be required nor ransome to be paid.

That the Burgesse should not be ill used by their Souldiers for the ransome of the truce.

That they should not take away any thing from the Church.

No goods to be carried out of the Towne.

no person
could be
the Towne, for
any one to
be there
could be.

either person
could be
the Towne, for
any one to
be there
could be.

A.D. 1417.

all yielded
to the King.

The Articles
were upon.

That if they
were not
satisfied by
the French
power,
to surrender.

That they
should
not be
the King's
prisoners,
excepted.

That the govern-
ment should
not be the
wills.

8. Gentlemen to
be hostages.
The Castell
repaired, the
Governor should
be the least liberty.

7. 1417.

The City of
Rouen besieged.

7. 1417.

Agreement de
Rouen.

15000. Citizens
were taken
within Rouen.

The River Seine
blockt up with
1000 Chaises.

13. That none of the Captaines nor Souldiers, nor any Burgesse should forsake the Towne, vntill the second of January next; and his maiesty of his grace and mercy, was pleased that all such as would remain in *Falaise*, should remain there in safety both in body and goods, so as they would be true subjects vnto him. 14. That none of the defendants of the Castell should be received into the Towne, nor their goods secretly kept by the Inhabitants vnder any pretence or Colour whatsoever. 15. That during the treaty no assault or offence should be offered by the kings army, to the Towne or to the Inhabitants, so as they do not ayde, assist or relieve the defendants in the Castell. 1. That for the true performance of the Articles twelve knights & Squires should be detained hostages to the King, and to be set at liberty when the Countenances above mentioned were fulfilled. These things concluded and subscribed with their names and seals, the 20. of December; vpon the second of January no succours appearing, the town of *Falaise* was accordingly delivered, but the Castell standing obstinate, the king was as diligent, till the defendants failing in their spirits, the first day of February demanded a Parley. Whereupon Henry confined making *Clermont* his brother his sole Commissioner. The Articles scored for the most part were as the former, whereto were added these which ensue.

(11) That vpon the 16. of the laid month of February, if the King in person, the Dolphin his sonne, or the Earle of *Armagnac* Constable of France, did not with force raise the siege, then *Sir Olivier de Mauny* Knight, gouernour of the said Castell, should render the same vnto King Henry. 2. That the said Gouernour and all other within the Castell should at the day assigned submit themselves to the King, and remaine his prisoners, trusting to his Maiesties toyall promise not to receiue offence either in life or goods: (*Geoffrey Chabreaux* only excepted) who was left simply to the Kings mercy. 3. That after the rendering of the said Castell, *Sir Olivier de Mauny* the Gouernour, should at his owne charges repaire all the breaches and ruines made in the walls during the siege, and leave it in the same sort as it was before the same was besieged. 4. That for the performance of these Articles, eight Gentlemen should remaine hostages to the King. 5. That when the Castell was prepared, *Sir Olivier de Mauny*, and all his Company should be set at liberty, and vntill then to remaine the Kings Prisoners, *Geoffrey de Chabreaux* also mentioned only excepted. These agreements concluded, the indenture subscribed, and King Henries seale of Armes thereto fixed, at the prefixed day according to these Articles the Castell of *Falaise* was rendered vnto him: which done, he diuided his Army into manie parts, vnder the severall conduits of the Dukes of *Clermont*, and *Gloucester*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*: who was diuers Calles by himselfe the while marching to besiege *Rouen*, where he set downe his siege, and began the assault in a furious manner: the defendants as obstinately bent to hold him out: so that to winne the Towne by force, Henry found it very difficult, aswell for the strength of *Baillyardes* and *Ramparts* as for the number of hands within it, to make resistance, and therefore to reduce them by famine was his only designe.

(12) For *Burgoyne* from King Charles had lent many worthy Capteynes with a thousand selected Souldiers to defend the City, and within it besides were fiftene thousand Citizens well trained and furnished: and the Towne stored with victuals for ten months continuance; notwithstanding *K. Henry* quartered about the Towne, and for his safety cast vp a Trench betwixt the walls and his men: the River *Seine* he blockt up with three Iron-Chaires, one of them layd two foote above water, another with the leuell, and the third two foote vnder the water, so forbidde all reliefe vnto the City by Boats.

(13) With the English, sixtene hundred Irish

Kernes were enrolled, from the Prior of *Kilmainham*, able men, but almost naked, their armes, were targets, darts, and woodes, their horses little and bare no saddle, yet very nimble, on which vpon every advantage they played with the French, in spoiling the Country, rifting the houses, and carrying away children, with their baggage, vpon their Cowes backs. Thus from Iune vnto December the siege had continued, and now victuals failing, and the Towne in distresse, the *Normans* sent some gentlemen, and as manie Burgeses, vnto King Charles, and the *Burgoyne* (then at *Beaune*) to signify their miseries: fifty thousand already famished with hunger, and twelve thousand stragglings put out of the Towne, but not sufficed to passe by the English, died by multitudes in the ditches, whose vnloued Carcases did infect the Towne with contagious diseases, so that without present reliefe they must be enforced to render.

(14) Ayde was promised, and earnestly expected, but in stead of supplies, the Bishop of *Beaune* accompanied with others, and the Cardinal of *Pris* sent from Pope Martin, were dispatched to King Henry, to entreat a peace; for the better accomplishing thereof, they brought with them the picture of the Lady Catherine, according to life, which King Henry well liked, yea and (*Sir Serres* saith) fell in loue with; but demanding a hundred thousand Crownes with the Duchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Artois*, and other Seignories for her dowry, nothing was concluded or done.

(15) And now the *Normans* helpeles of succour, and despairing of peace, resolved to make a braue fall vpon the Kings quarter: to performe which resolution, 10000. chosen men with their leaders issued out of the Towne, the vanguard (which was 2000.) being past and in fight, by misfortune the draw-bridge with ouer-weight of men brake, manie were drowned, slaine and hurt: neither was there any more passage that way, to releue their followers engaged in fight with the English; wherupon they made hast to the other Gates: but before they could come to give ayde, the vanguard was broken, and most of them slaine, and taken Prisoners. Vpon this disaster the souldiers within murmured against *Guy de Bouteiller* their General, murmuring that he had continued the breaking of the bridge.

(16) In these distresses King Charles returning towards Paris, sent the besieged word to make what shift they could, which vnspected message strooke a sad feare into the miserable defendants hearts, who weak in men and victuals, knew no way to succell, and thereupon in Counsell concluded to send vnto Henry, which presently they did. For whose entertainment, he caused two tents to be set vp at *Port St. Hillarie*. Their Commissioners were two gentlemen, two Clergie men, and two Burgeses of the Towne. Commissioners for the King were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*: the demands of the *Normans* were many, but their answers were shant; that no conditions would be accepted, but simply yielding to the kings mercy; wherupon the conference brake vp, and these returned into the Towne, bred sundry distractions, some crying to yield, and other some crying to die like men, but Henry desirous to be Master of the Towne, and tearing it would be fired by themselves, if he was it by force, made the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Instrument, whole vocation was fittest to call again the Commissioners, and againe fell inso treaty of Composition, which lastly was agreed, vpon these Articles as follow. 1. That the Burgeses should giue vnto Henry towards his expence in the siege, three hundred fifty six thousand Crownes of gold. 2. That *Robert Linet* vicar general to the Archbishop of *Rouen*, *Iehan Tardieu* who commanded the Canonies, and *Alem Blanchart* Capitaine of the Common people, should be left to his mercy without condition. 3. That all the people should sweare faith and loyalty to Henry and his Successors. 4. That

Capit. Chron.
Denis Sauey, Rouen besieged six months.
15000. quins furnished and 10000. almost starued for want of the Towne.
The Lady Catherine picture sent to King Henry to moue him to pity Anne.
John Serres
Denis Sauey.
Burgoyne
Ten thousand of Beaune fall vpon King Henry, and are overthrown.
King Charles sends no succour.
The Normans desire a parley.
They resume unaided.
The Articles of the composition of Rouen.
Denis Sauey, Chron de France.
King Henry requests 156000 Crownes.
Reguerant de Beaune.
Two principall persons to be left to his mercy. All so farre as they to King Henry.

Henry

That their priviledges should be continued to them.
That who so would, might depart, but their goods should be retained.
The fouldest to so relieve up their arms and so depart, providing a truce in the town.

The hungry Citizens plentifully relieved from the town camp.

A few men could be 6. fowles.
King Henry roily entered the City.

Edward, 12 years before the now winning of it, was won by H. Philip from King John of England.

Henry Townes recall after the heretics of Rome.

Burgoyne endeavours to make peace between Charles and Henry.

Philip's age.

The place of treaty was at Meaux.

The French Bishops came first.

Henry marches with a thousand horse.

Their followers on both parts though enemies demands themselves easily.

Henric should protect and defend them against all men, and confirm unto them their priviledges, franchises, and liberties, which they had enjoyed since the time of Saint Lewis king of France. 3. That all such as had desire to leave the Towne, might freely depart, with his garments upon his backe only, and his goods to be confiscated unto King Henry. 6. That the fouldest should bring all their Armes to a place assigned, and should depart out of the Towne unarmed with a Cudgell in their hands, first taking their Oath not to beare Armes against Henry, for a twelwe month next ensuing.

(17) This agreement was concluded the 16 of June Anno 1418. when as the hungry Citizens in multitudes came to the English Camp to buy victuals, which so abounded with Provisions, as a far more was sold for five pences of Paris money. Vpon the next day following, Henric triumphant made his entry into Rome; the Zealofulnes of the Towne, in their mirth and vestures, with their reliques, singing of Hymnes, conducted him to the Cathedral Church, where before the high Altar, vpon his knees, he gave thanks to God for the Conquest of this Towne, which had remained two hundred and fiftene yeeres in the possession of the French, even from the time when Philip King of France won it from King John of England. The day following, Alan Blanchet the Captaine of the common people was beheaded, Robert Linet, and Jehan Jourdan, put to their high ranfomes, the French Garrisons pillaged, unarmed, and put out of the Towne, but safely were conducted over Saint Georges-bridge to goe whether they would. Guy de Benthier, who was Captaine general of Rome, became King Henric's leigeman, vnto whom he gave all his lands, and a charge vnder the Duke of Gloucester. Immediately after the rendering of Rome, sundry other places of note yielded themselves, as Caudeter, Montfaucon, Digne, Feschem, Arques, Neufchâtel, Desmoult, En, Mouchaux, Verne, Monte, Carrey, B. Arce, Pateur-de-Mer, M. Alençon, Le Treuil, Tancarville, Alençon, Alençon, V. Alençon, Neufville, Bellacombre, Fontaines, Le Bourc, Preaux, Neufmarche, Leguier, Saint Germain, Sur Cussy, Baudemont, Bray, L. de-terre, Charles-M. d'Alail, Les Bauls Gailles, Cour, F. Fontaines, Le Bec, Creps, Rochelle, and diuers other places wherein Henry placed his Garrisons. France generally troubled, and trembling at the losse especially of Rome, Henric ready to pierce forward, and Charles declining through his infirmities encircling, the Duke of Burgoyne (who here all the way vnder that infirme King, and therefore much hated by the Dauphin, whose revenge he feared, much doubting Henric's rising fortunes, held it best to uphold his own greatness, by mediating a peace betwixt the two Kings. For which end he sent his Ambassadors to Henry, praying personal Conference; to which he assented and assigned the place, which was at Meaux, where in a field well trenched, and ramparted with strong Gates, two pailiuns were erected, the one for the Kings to repose themselves in, and the other for their counsell to consult in.

(18) Charles, Isabella, Burgoyne, and Catherine, the Count Saint Paul, with a thousand horse guarding them thither, came first. King Henry with his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester, attended vpon with a thousand horse, held the appointment; and now met, the two Kings embraced each others; Henry killed Isabella and Catherine, who indeed became a precious peace in his eye; Burgoyne a little bending his knee, did his reverence to Henry, who took him in his Armes; and the two nations though mortal enemies, demeaned themselves so civilly, as no cause of quarrell was offered on either side, much conference passed, but nothing concluded; Henric's demands seeming to the French to be so unreasonable. The treaty thus dissolved, and all ready to depart, King Henry not well pleased, spake thus vnto Burgoyne. "Cafes, I may not well dispise this refusal, but be ye affi-

"red that either I will have your Kings daughter, and all my demands for a life I will haue both you, and them put of France. You shall see your pleasure said the Duke, but before you shall think the King them, and me put of the Realm, you will be weary of the enterprise.

(19) The treaty thus broke, and danger nothing lesse, the Burgundians altogether French, and in heart no friend to the English, reconciled himselfe vnto the Dauphin, which deed was done after the cause of his owne death; and Henry dispensed with this combination, quickened his thoughts (full of reuenge) to prosecute the warre more sharply then heretofore; the first enterprise he made, was vpon Pontieu, vnto which Towne the last day of Iulie hee sent three thousand foote, which before the brake of day, and not discovered by the Centinels, let their Ladders to the Walls, mounted vpon, crying Saint George, and opening a Port let in their Companions. The Seigneur de L. Adam Marshall of France and Gouernour of the Towne, affrighted at the surprize, fled out at another Port towards Paris, after whose example about ten thousand Inhabitants did the like, so as the English without resistance were Masters of the Towne, where in great riches fell to the soldiers shares. When King Charles at Paris heard of the losse of Pontieu, in great feare with his wife, daughter, Burgoyne, and many noblemen, to be further from the fire to beere at hand, went vnto Troyes in Champagne, leaving Paris vnder the Gouernment of the Count Saint Paul, and Englebert de La Roche Chancellor of France, whilst Henry went forward with his intended enterprizes.

(20) For his brother of Clarence by three weekes siege won the Castell Guzer by composition, the Earle of Huntingdon sacked Preaux, burnt Breteuil, Clermont, and the Castell of S. denis, and Henry himselfe besieged the Castell of Guillel, and Rochepoin, two of the strongest holds in Normandy, which vpon compositions were surrendered, and further prevailed more then the French wished. For the Dauphin, the only man that stood for the publique defence of France, was miserably poore, and for want of pay could make no great shew of follo wers in the field, whose chiefe Counsellor was the Constable Armaignac an old craftie foxe, that had euer sided with Orleans against the Burgundians. And now fearing least his owne extreme should be lessened, or that Burgoyne should be the Arbitre to cross him in the wile Astrophell, or rather indeed thrust forward by decline to be the scourge and fall of France, hee counsilled the young Dauphin to seize vpon his mothers money, jewels and place, for his further supply to the publique use; (which immediately he did) to aduance the estate; but Queen Isabella impatient of their wrongs received, in a womanish spleene studies the reuenge, wholly neglecting the common cause, which gaue the English their footing in France, but the Dauphin to make good war he had done, leads the King in iulosity that the Queenes designs were dangerous, and altogether set for the alienation of the Crowne, which hee weak man, no sooner heard then believed, being euer ready to take her at the word and neuer ouergone in her looke at the heil.

(21) These sparks of sedition thus blowne in the Court, suspicions increasing, and maligners still working, Queene Isabella with her sister in law, the Dutchesse of B. were sent prisoners to B. and from thence to Rouen where they were kept with strict guard, three Gentlemen in Commission to take care of their ladies: till then her fauours had gone with Orleans, and with him had conuicted euer against Burgoyne, but now to quier her imprisonment, hee reconciled her selfe vnto him, and solicited his assistance for her deliurance; Burgoyne well perceiving how much it would aduance his part, to draw the Queene to be of his faction, brake vp his liege then laid before Carthel, and with certaine chiefe troopes repaired toward Troyes, from whence immediately he sent the Queene word of his coming.

King Henry dispensed that he should retain. The Duke reply.

Burgoyne Isabella with the Dauphin who attended Saint Louis.

French rebellion.

Agreement of Dauphin.

The Dauphin goes to Paris to the Towne.

King Charles upon the losse of Pontieu sent Duke of France.

Agreement of Burgoyne.

Guillel and Rochepoin two of the best Forts in Normandy.

A running plot of the Constable Armaignac.

Is. Mary.

Queene Isabella ruled at her leisure and place.

The Dauphin draws the King in iulosity Queen Isabella.

Arrest of Burgoyne.

Queene Isabella and her sister imprisoned.

Shee solicited Burgoyne for her deliurance.

Burgoyne secretly to the Queene.

Shee fasting deuotion to the Abbey of *Marmenier* leaues somewhat without the Towne, made it known to her keepers, and they not daring to contradict so great a Princess, mistrusting no danger, attended her thitherward with a competent guard as they supposed, where *Felice* and *Fergie* two especiall men in the Dukes trust, were laid in the Ambush neere vnto the Abbey, and hauing notice the Queene was come to Church, came to salute her, and to signifie that the *Burgoyne* was in person to attend her service. Her keepers conceiuing their seconds were not farre off, as men dismayed, told the Queen of some fear, & that an enemie was neere at hand, whereunto shee answered, I am not ignorant who they are, and thereupon commanded to apprehend those her keepers; her liberitie thus got free became wholly for *Burgoyne*, and by his meanes was made the Regent of *France*, and her picture stamped vpon the Seale of that State.

(42) By birth shee was a Germane, and daughter to *Stephen Duke of Bawer*, of an imperious spirit, and vatreconcilable enmie, not oermuch beloued of her husband, and (as the nature of most women are) not oermuch fauouring his fauourites, whose small authority and hatred against her owne sonne *Dauphin Charles* fore bruited the Crowne, which her weak husband ware: his foregone infirmities and her new sprung Regency, were now as two fludges set open to let in the deluge of *France*, hers is to be spoken of in the intercourse of the *Englishe*; his many times hath borne, but not made knowne how it came: therefore a while in that subiect, before we passe forward in this place, let vs reade what others haue writ.

(43) This *Charles* the first, and sicke-brained King of *France* was the sonne of King *Charles* furnished the wife, who with alman his wile might haue demanded this question: who can tell whether his sonne shall be a *wesman* or a *foole*? for he flower of his youth and commendable dispositions of his middle age promised great hopes of a valiant, moderate and most happy Prince, only inclined to choller and reuenge, as by the occasion of his lunacy is easily seene, which chanced on this manner.

(44) *Peter Craue* a Courrier, his minion, and an inward fauorite of the Duke of *Orleanes* the Kings brother, blabbed out some secrecy of the said Dukes amorous passions vpon a wanton Lady, vnto his Dutchesse *Valentine*; who but lately married, and so soon deuoued of bed, took the wrong no lesse then it was, nor lested there (as who can let a woman to speake) to tell him his faults on both sides of his head, the Duke could not hide what hee too well knew, and therefore sought to satiate her with complements of kind words, but the Curtaine-sermons nightly enlarged vpon the same error, made him many times to lie awake with little deuotion (God woe) to heare, and often to rise when hee would faine haue slept, which caused him lastly to complaine to the King that *Craue* had, and would betray their oermuch trust. The cause no more, but yet too much against a Prince, *Craue* with all disgrace was discharged the Court, who not able to brooke liue an open indignity, assumed *Clufne* the Constable in a murthering manner, as the only man (as he thought): that wrought his disgrace, and elcaping *Paris*, fled into *Brittaine* whose Duke was his kinsman, and an enemy to the Constable.

(45) King *Charles* transported with choller of this double offence, minded to draw *Craue* by force out of *Brittaine* to iustifie himselfe, whom the Council had declared guilty of high Treason, and enemie to the Crowne of *France*, and resolued in person to enter into *Brittaine* forthwith the expedition for men and manner of proceeding made *Charles* to looke both meate and sleepe, so as the vexation of minde and distemperature of body, carried apparant shewes in his face: in so much that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgoyne* mistrusting the worth, counselled that his journey might be staid; his Physicians disswade him

in regard of his health, the summer extreme hot, and his blood as then oer subiect to dangerous feuers. New deuises were wrought to stay him at home, giuing it forth that *Craue* was fled *Brittaine*, and in *Arreign* was imprisoned by the Queene. All this notwithstanding, needes would be forward, so forward is man when his fate will fo house it.

(46) He departed *Meaux* in *Iulie*: the yere very hot, his head covered with a great Cap of scarlet, his body wrapped in a thicke velvet linnen warme enough for winter, his mind distempered with choller, grieue, and despayre, and his body wearied with watching, distillature, and want of rest. Thus entering the Forrest of *Meaux* about noon-tide, a man bare-headed, and bare legged attired in a Coat of white russe, stepped sodainly forth from betwixt two trees, and caught hold of his bridle, laid his horse, saying, *My ride no further but returne backe, for thou art betrayed.* *Charles* whose spirits were otherwise dulled, and his blood greatly distempered, was amazed at the voice: which leene, his seruants ranne to this man, and with blowes forced him to leaue the reins of the horse: and so without any further search the man vanished away.

(47) The troopes of his nobles diuided because of the dult, King *Charles* was followed by the Pages of his Chamber, who oercharged with heat and distemperature, tooke no great paines to guide their horse, so that thronging together, he which bore the Kings Lance, let it fall vpon him, who had on his head the Kings helmet, and in the falling made a clattering noise. The King much musing vpon the words spoken, and now withall hearing this unexpected noise, was from a pensiue melancholly suddainly brucke into a raging Lunacy, snoppoling himselfe to be betrayed indeed, and transported with this frensie be drawes his sword, and made towards his Pages with a maine cry: his brother *Orleanes* not knowing the cause, hailed among them, whom *Charles* likewise pursued, and with the like rage ranne at his vncle of *Burgoyne*, thus spending himselfe and his horse out of breath, all incompassed the still raging man, tooke from him his sword, disrobed him for heate, and cheered him with flatterings and faire spoken words, his brother and vnckles saluted him, but hee knowes then not, lets mne, fighting and paining, and with troubled amatement moues both body and head, so that all signes of Phrensie appeared in this poore Prince, and the eminent misery that was to fall vpon *France* very apparant to the insinering Seaills: but now to proceed.

(48) *John Duke of Burgoyne* ill digesting the threats that King *Henry* had giuen, and joined in league with the *Dauphin* as we haue said: was notwithstanding suspected to be a great enemy to the State, and as the Giants are faine to heape mountaine vpon mountaine, for heere of assent to put *Isipier* out of his throne, so by sinister Counsellors *Burgoyne* was scould of some intended trauegence, as meaning to mount the Chaire where the *Dauphin* should sit: *Charles* therefore from *Meaux* sent *Sarfant* yonge a Towne in *Brie*, kintre for the Duke vnto *Troyes* in *Champagne* to conferre further vpon the effecting of their affected accord, as also to employ their united forces vpon the common enemie the *Englishe*, a third cause likewise was alleged, and that was to haue him his meanes for a reconciliation to his mother the Regent, whose wrath, besides him, no man could pacifie.

(49) The Duke mistrusting no snake in the grasse, thought all things as feras as they were faire in law, and accompanied with many noble-men, five hundred horse, and two hundred Archers, he repaired to *Meaux*, at whole Case the *Dauphin* had built 2. Barricadoes, & himselfe in armes stood there to receive the Duke, *Burgoyne* approached, knecled downe vpon one knee, and with an honorable reverence saluted him most humbly, the *Dauphin* neglecting all courtesies to himward, charged him with

How often
long his Scholes
he can teach him
to stay?

Charles in the
Forest, at
Meaux, as
supposed.

His followers
charging, run
briskly to help
due discom-
fort him the more.

He remoueth dis-
creedily at
every one with
his sword.

John Duke of
Burgoyne
kind of the State.

Charles the
Dauphin
kindly his
remoueth.

John Barret.

Burgoyne nei-
ring to the
Dauphin
is charged
with breach
of promise.

This manner of
her escape from
her keepers.

Shee is made
Regent of France.

To Serue
the endes why
the French were
the easier con-
quered by King
Henry.

Receiues, &c.

The occasion of
King Charles dis-
grace.

Orleanes newly
conuicted by
his own words.

Craue with the
Cours for telling
the Dutchesse
of the incontin-
cy of her hus-
band.

King Charles per-
suadeth Craue to
stay.

breach of promise, for that the ciuill warres and his garisons were not successe and withdrauue; the Dukes sword hanging too farre backe, and somewhat troehling his kneeling, he put his hand vpon the hilt, to put it more forward, whereat *Robert de Laire* standing by, sayd, doe you draw your sword against the Lord *Dauphin*? at which words *Tanneguy de Chastell* with a battle-axe stroke him on the face and cut off his Chin, and others with other wounds made an end of his life, before he could arise from his knee or get out his sword.

(50) *Queene Isabel* another cruell *Mede* and vnnatural mother, hauing a double offence done her, redoubled her wrath and continued her tragick passions against her sonne the young *Dauphin*, who not only incites *Philip* now the new Duke of *Burgoyne* to reuenge his murdered fathers death, but tormentes her poore husbands spiritus, in perswading him to disherite *Charles* their sonne, and to giue in marriage *Lady Katherine* vnto King *Henry*, who now had let his footte farre into *France*. Duke *Philip* for his part ready for reuenge, sent the Bishop of *Arras* with other his Ambassadors vnto *Rouen* to King *Henry* to entreat a peace, and againe not many daies after their returre sent backe the said Bishop, whole message was to plaining that *Henry* sent the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Earle of *Warwicke* and *Gaine* vnto *Arras*, who were as welcome vnto Duke *Philip*, so that betwixt *Rouen* and *Arras* messengers continually passed till a peace was concluded; which was proclaimed to continue from that day (then about the feast of the *Epiphany*) vnto mid-March ensuing, betwixt King *Henrie*, King *Charles* and *Philip* Duke of *Burgoyne*.

(51) King *Henry* thus farre gone in his affairs for that Crowne, sent his Ambassadors vnto the new made Pope *Martin* the first, such was the fate of *Rouen* Apostolical fathers in those faire Sun-shine and Golden daies, that the greatest Monarch was but a vassal to attend vpon their sturp & their Crownes lubest to be spurned off, with their feete. *Henrie* therefore minding to stop the violence of these narrow Seas, and to make the streame milde betwixt his two Realmes, had now none to let, but only him that was all in all, and bare an Oare in euery mans boat: and therefore from King *Charles*, *Burgoyne*, and himselfe, his Ambassadors solicited his fatherlie consent, to adme him his most Christian sonne of *France*, and to giue his holy blessing for the confirmation of the marriage, and peace concluded betwixt those two famous Princes. King *Henrie*, right to the French Crowne they plainly laid forth, what calamities *France* had felt in their resistance, *Spaineourt*, *Normendy* and *Aquitaine* (as they shewed him) were most lamentable wastefles, and the holde that the Lyon had got (at that day) of the *Fleur de Luce*, was not to be wrested out of his fast grasped pawes. But his dull eare was deafe here-vnto, answering that this peace was preiudiciall to the right of *Charles* the *Dauphin*, and therefore hee denied to confirme it.

(52) But with what quill these wines were vented from the leetled Lees for the *Dauphin*, vntil he it was the golden vice, (a powerfull key indeed to vnlocke the Popes silent lips), I know not; most true it is, the conditions went forward, and the place for the confirmation of coovenants was *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, where King *Charles*, and his Queene then lay, and whither *Burgoyne*, *Gaine*, the Lord *Rasse*, and others attended with five hundred horse, were sent Ambassadors from *Henry*. In their way they besieged (and after fiftene daies war) the Towne of *Croissy* that held for the *Dauphin*, demolished the Castell, razed the wals, and departed vpon composition. These coming to *Troyes* were honorably receiued, and loosingly concluded on a finall peace, where *Lady Katherine* was attended as the English *Queene*, and some left to guard her by King *Henrie* command. His Ambassadors returned, and affection enflamed, himselfe attended with the Dukes of *Gla-*

ouce, and *Gloucester* his brethren, the Duke of *Excester*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Huntingdon*, *Salisbury*, *Gaine* and many other nobles, (his guard consisting of sixteene hundred Launces and Archers) departed from *Rouen* to *Paris*, to *S. Denis*, and from thence into *France*, where he was met nere vnto *Troyes* by the Duke of *Burgoyne* and many other French Lords, and with all Princelie attendance was conducted into the Towne. The ioy was great with which he was receiued, especially of the King, the Queene and *Lady Katherine*, whom he found in *S. Peters Church* expecting his coming, where forthwith he and the Lady was affianced, and falling offeones into conference of the conditions of amity, these were concluded vnto by the French and King *Henry*.

1. That *K. Henry* should take *Lady Katherine* to wife.
2. That *Charles* & *Isabel* should retain the name of King and Queene, and should hold all their dignities, reues, and possessions belonging to the Crowne of *France*, during their naturall liues.

3. That the *Lady Katherine* should haue her Dowry in *England* as *Queens* heretofore were wont to haue, that is to say, the summe of forty thousand scutres, that is, two to a noble.

4. That the same summe of forty thousand scutres yearly, shall bee confirmed vnto *Queene Katherine* by our lawes, according to our vsuall rights, at the time of our death.

5. That the said *Lady Katherine* so ouerlizing vs, from the time of our death, shall haue for her Dowry in the Kingdome of *France*, the summe of twenty thousand francs yearly, out of the lands, pieces, and Lordships that *Blanche* sometime wife to *Philip* *Beaufield* held and enioied.

6. That after the death of *Charles* our said father, the Crowne and Realme of *France* shall with all rights and appurtenances remaine vnto vs, & to our heires for euer more.

7. And for as much as our said father is infirme by reason of sicknesse, and may not enend in his owne person to dispose of the affaires of the Realme, therefore during the life of our said father the faculties and exercise of the government, and disposition of the publicke vtilitie of the Realme of *France* shall be, and abide to vs, so that thence forth we may gouerne the Realme, and admit to our Councell and assistance to the Councell of *France* such of the English Nobility as we thinke meete.

8. That also we of our owne power shall cause the Court of *France* to be kept and obserued in as full authority and in all manner of places, that now or in time coming, is, or shall be subiect to our said father.

9. Also that we to our power shall defend and helpe all, and cuary of the Peeres, Nobles, Cities, Townes, Cominalties and singular persons, now or in time to come, subiects to our father, in their rights, Customes, priuiledges, freedomes, franchises, belonging, or due vnto them in all manner of places, now or in time coming subiect to our father.

10. Also that we shall to our power trauell truly, & diligently, to see that Iustice be administered in the same Realme of *France* according to their lawes, Customes, and rights of the same Realme without personall acception; and that we shall keepe and hold the Subiects of the said Realme in tranquillity and peace to our power, and shall defend them against all manner of violence and oppression.

11. Also that we to our power shall provide that able and profitable persons shall execute the offices awell of Iustices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines of the Realme of *France* for the good and peaceable Iustice of the time, and for the administration that shall be committed vnto them.

12. Also that we of our power, so soone as it may commodiously be done, shall trauaile to put into obedience of our said father, all manner of Cities, Townes, Castles, places, Countreys and persons within

He is killed by Tanneguy de Chastell and others.

Queene Isabel incites his sonne, to enuie her, and moues Charles to continue the Dauphin and adopt King Henry.

Gold, Paraphrase.

A peace concluded betwixt K. Henry, K. Charles, and the new Duke of Burgoyne.

King Henrie follows the Pope to confirme him King of France.

The Calambours of France for withstanding the title of the English.

As legends des flames.

The Pope stood for the Dauphin.

Alain Chartier, Esquiuier de Marueil.

Ambassadors from King Henry.

Hilbery of Warwiche.

Lady Katherine attended as Queene of England, Henry speak in person to Troyes.

Hilbery of Warwiche.

The Articles agreed vpon betwixt the two Kings.

Queene Katherine Dowry.

The Crowne France accedes to England.

The government of France assigned to King Henrie.

within the Realme of *France*, disobedient and rebels to our said father, joyding with them that bee called the *Duchies of Armaigne*.

13. And that we may the more commodiously and freely exercise and fulfill these things aforesaid, it is accorded, that all worthy Nobles and estates of the same Realme of *France* aswell spirituals as temporals also the Nobles, Citizens, Burgesses and Comynalties of *France* in obedience at this day to our said father shall make their Oathes vnto vs.

14. First to vs having the faculty, exercise, disposition, and governance of the foresaid common profit as our heirs and commandements, these shall meekly and obediently obey in all manner of things concerning the exercise of Government in the same Realme.

15. Also that the worthy great and noble citizens of the said Realme aswell spirituals as temporals, Citizens, Burgesses, and Comynalties of the same Realme in all manner of things well and truly shall keepe and to their power shall doe to be kept in as much as to them, belongeth or to any of them, all those things that be appointed and accorded betwene our foresaid father, our mother, and vs.

16. And that continually from the death, and after the death of our said father *Charles*, they shall be our true liegemen, and our heirs, and they shall receive and admit vs for their liege, and Sovereigne, and very King of *France*, and for such to obey vs without opposition, Contradiction or difficulty, as they be to our father during his life. And neuer after, this Realme of *France* shall obey to man as King and Regent of *France*, but to vs, and to our heirs, also they shall not be in Conneill, helpe, or assent, that we looke life or limme, or be taken with euill taking, or that we suffer harme or diminution in person, estate, worship, or goods, but if they know any such thing to be contriued or imagined against vs, they shall let it to their powers, and shall doe vs to witten thereof, as hastily as they may by themselves, by message, or by letters.

17. That all manner of Conquests that shall be made by vs in *France* vpon the disobedient in the Duchies of *Normandy*, shall be done to the profit of our said father, and that to our power, all manner of Lands and Lordships, that be in places to be conquered, belonging to persons obeying to our foresaid father, which shall swear to this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons, to whom they belonged.

18. That all manner of persons of the holy Church beneficed in the Duchie of *Normandy*, or any other places in the Realme of *France*, subiect to our father, and fauouring of the parts of the *Dukes of Burghundy*, which shall swear to keepe this present accord, shall peaceably inioy their benefices of holy Church in the Duchie of *Normandy*, or in other places next aforesaid.

19. Likewise that all manner of persons of holie Church obedient to vs, and beneficed in the Realme of *France*, and places subiect to our father, that shall swear to keepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceably their benefices of holy Church, as is aforesaid.

20. Also that all manner of Churches, Vniuersities and studies generally, all Colleged of Sendemes, and other Colleged of holy Church, being in places now, or in time coming, subiect to our father, or in the duchy of *Normandy*, or other places in the realme of *France* subiect to vs, shall enioy their rights, possessions, rents, prerogatives, liberties and franchises, belonging or due to them in any manner of wise, in the said Realme of *France*, saving the right of the Crowne of *France*, and of every other person.

21. Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the Crowne of *France*, the Duchy of *Normandy*, and all other places conquered by vs in the said Realme, shall bow vnder the Commandement, obedience, and Monarchy of the Crowne of *France*.

22. Also that we to our power shall see recompence to be made by our said father, without diminution of the Crowne of *France* to persons obeying him and fauouring the party of *Burgundy*, to whom Lands, Lordships, Rents and possessions belongeth in the said Duchie of *Normandy*, or other places in the Realme of *France* conquered by vs hitherto, given by vs in places, Lands, gotten, or to be gotten in the name of our said father vpon rebels and inobedients to him, and if so be that such manner of recompence be not made to the said persons in the life time of our said father, we shall make that recompence in such manner and places of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the Crowne of *France*, and if so be that the Lands, Lordships, Rents or possessions belonging to such manner of persons in the said Duchie and other places, bee not given by vs, the same persons shall be referred to them without any delay.

23. And during the life of our father in all places, now, and in time to come, subiect to him, letters of common iustice, grantes of offices, gifts, pardons, remissions and praeledges shall be written, and proceed vnder the name and seale of our said father. And inasmuch as some singular case may fall that may not be foreseen by mans wit, in the which it may be necessary and behoofull, that we write our letters; in such case if any hap for the good and surety of our father, and for the government that belongeth to vs, as is aforesaid, and to avoid perils which otherwise might fall to the prejudice of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge and defend after the nature and quality of the need in our fathers behalf, and ours, as Regent of *France*.

24. Also that during our fathers life, we shall not call, nor write vs King of *France*, but shall verily abstine from that name, so long as our said father liueth.

25. Also that our said father during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner. *Nostre treschier filz Henry Roy d'Engleterre heretier de France*: and in Latine in this manner. *Praedilectissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Anglie, et Hæres Francie*.

26. That we shall put no impositions or exactions to charge the Subjects of our said father, without cause reasonable and necessary. No otherwise then for common good of the Realme of *France*, and according to the Lawes and Customes provided for the same Realme.

27. Also that we shall trauell to our power, to effect that by the assent of the three Estates of the Realmes of *England* and *France*, that all manner of obstackes may be done away, and this chiefly, that it be ordeined and provided, that from the time, that we, or any of our heires come to the Crowne of *France*, both the Crownes that is to say, of *France* and *England*, perperually be together in one, and in the same person, that is to say, from our fathers life to vs, and from the terme of our life thence forward, in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after another, and that both Realmes shall be governed from the time, that we, or our heires come to the same, not severally vnder diuers Kings in one time, but vnder the same person, which for the time shall be King of both Realmes, and our Sovereigne Lord, as is aforesaid, keeping nevertheless in all manner of things, to either of the said Realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, viages and lawes, not making subiect in any manner of wise, one of the same Realmes to the rights, lawes or viages of the other.

28. That thenceforth perpetually shall be still rest, and that in all manner of wise, dissensions, hates, rancours, enuies, and warres, betwene the same Realmes of *France* and *England*, and the people of the same Realmes drawing to accord of the same peace may craue and be broken.

29. That from henceforth for euermore, peace and tranquillity, good accord and affection, and stable friendship

The Subjects of
France swear to
King Henry.

The terms of the
oath.

Letter, Crowne,
Gifts, etc. signed
by King Charles.

And by King
Henry.

King Henry's title
during King
Charles's lifetime.

The union of the
Crownes.

The union of the
Subjects.

Churches, Vni-
uersities and
Colleges to
enioy their lib-
ties.

Normandy to be
vnder the Crowne
of *France*.

friendship shall be betwixt the said Realmes and the Subjects of the same, and shall keepe themselves with their Counsailes, helpes, and common assistance against all men that enforce them to doe, or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or greivances to them or either of them, and that they shall be contentiant in merchandizing freely and fairly together, paying the Customes due and accustomed, and that all the confederates and allies of our said father and the Realme of France, as also our confederates of the Realme of England shall in eight months space from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, suauing nevertheless their obedience to either of the same Crownes, and to like manner of actions, rights, and reuenges, that belong to our said father and his Subjects, and to vs, and our Subjects against all manner of such Allies and Confederates.

30. That our father, neither our brother the Duke of Burgundy, shall begin nor make with Charles calling himselfe the Dauphin of Viennois, any treatie, peace, or accord but by Counsaile and assent of each of vs three, or of other the three estates of either the said Realmes above-named.

31. Also that we with the assent of our brother of Burgundy and other of the Nobles of the Realme of France, which ought thereunto to be called, shall ordeine for the Gouvernance of our said father, freely, louingly and honestly, after the degree of his royall estate and dignity in such wise, as shall be to the worship of God, of our said father, and of the Realm of France.

32. Also that all manner of persons, that shall be, our father, to doe him personal seruice, not onlie in office, but in all other attendances, as well the Nobles and Gentlemen, as others, shall be such as haue bene borne in the Realme of France, or in places belonging to France, good, wise, true, and able to doe him seruice, and our said father shall dwell in places vnder his obedience, and no where else, wherefore we charge and command our said liege Subjects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they keepe, and doe to be kept, in all that belongeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and manner as it is accorded, and that they attempt in no manner wile any thing that may be prejudiciall, or contrary to the same accord, and peace, vpon paine of life and limme, and all that they may forfeit vnto vs.

33. Also that we for the things aforesaid, and every one of them shall giue our assent by our letters Patents, sealed with our seale vnto our said father, without all approbation, and confirmation of vs, and all other of our blood royall, and of the Cities and Townes to vs obedient, sealed with our great seale, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory, and confirmed of the Peeres of his Realme, and of the Lords, Citizens, Burghesses of the same vnder his obedience, all which Articles we haue sworn to keepe, vpon the bolle Euangelists. Ycuen at Troyes the 30. of May, Anno 1420. And the same were proclaimed in London the 30. of June following, for the Copies of this treaty, the French King sent to every Town in France, as King Henry did likewise into England, there to be published by Proclamation. These Articles were concluded betwixt the two Kings, in the presence of Queene Isabel, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Kings Counsaile, the Prince of Orange, Seygneur Chastellain, Marshall of France, with many others the prime Nobility, both of England and France, both the Kings with the Queene, taking their solemne oath there, vpon the holy Euangelists, as did likewise the Duke of Burgundy, and the rest, Burgundy being the first man that laid his hand on the booke, and swore homage to King Henry, who thereupon was stiled and proclaimed Regent of France.

(55) In whose presence also vpon the third of

Inne, (being the morrow after Trinity Sunday) the marriage of King Henry and Lady Katherine, with all pompous solemnity was celebrated, in Saint Peters Church at Troyes, the Bishop of that See, doing the Ceremonies. And after toyall feasts and Princely entertainments, before the dissolution of that toyall assembly, King Henry, insuing the French King and others his great Peeres to a sumptuous banquet, made a pithy and pleasing Oracion vnto them, thus testifying his Princely desire to aduance their weale, and demerit their loue.

(54) "As the chiefe matter whereunto my cares and endeours haue hitherto leuelled, hath bene, to vnite and concorporate these two Kingdomes of France and England into one, which now by Gods goodnes is most happily effected; so is it still, and ever shall be, both my desire and care, that vnto posterity we may leaue it settled in the same sort, and free from all emperchments, of factions, discords: that being as it is) the greatest, it may be alio the happiest Monarchie of Europe. For the cleere accomplishment of which worke, there rests now nothing, but the depresseing of the Dauphin, who is by your doome already, not only deprived of that dignity, but of succedion to the Crowne, and profecuted as a Traitor to the State; and of whom this we must be assured, that while he liues, France cannot but be in a perpetual combustion. For preventing whereof, I both need and intreat, both your Counsailes and aide, nothing doubting of your readines in either; for how can we expect any safety, or yon any goodnes at his hand, who, in his young yeeres, did so perfidiously murder the Duke of Burgundy his vnckle? I am now, you see, your Regent in present, and successeour to the Crowne in hope; Let it not therefore sticke in your hearts, that I am an Englishman borne, for you know I haue much French blood in my veins, which warms my affections as well to French as English, but looke on me as the lawfull heir to the Diademe, both by iust Title, and your owne consents, who therefore am, and ought to be, wholly yours; and your kindnes and iust dealing bind me so to be. Yours also am I now by fresh alliance, as sonne in Law to your King, vnto whom I will performe all offices of loue and honor, as to mine owne father; and yoo his Subjects shall I loue and cherish, as mine owne children, and will defend France and the French, so long, as you defend my right with your louing aide, and will deferre my loue with your loiall affection.

(55) These affaires thus accomplished at Troyes, the Kings, the Queenes, and the rest of the Peeres in great chaire rode vnto Paris, where all faire conueniencies were shewed, and great entertainment giuen to the English. But the Dauphin and his followers neither feared nor fainted, though the present courses pleased not their palat. Their first Counsaile therefore was how to preterfute themselves in so eminent danger so sit still and doe nothing, they knew it was but to increace and aduance the success of the English; and to rise without strength, was to fall into further misfortunes, having no meanes to hold warre with so potent an Enemy. In this distraction their voice was best heard, that spake most for the safety of the Dauphin (whose only life gaue breath vnto the after-hopes of France) and for the strengthening of those places which might be of most aduantage to themselves, and offence to the Enemy. This then past by decree in that Counsaile of warre, that the Dauphin should at no time hazard his person in field, and that a leuy of Souldiers should be had, to lie in Garrison in places conuenient; for France, which neuer stands still, they well thought might yet turne the rice for them, fortune being (said they) as subiect to fawne, as to frowne; in which resolution each man ranke to his charge, and all to withstand the doings of Henry.

(56) As the consulted for the state of the

Ggggg French

King Henry married to Katherine.

Histroy of Henry.

William: but Palapre: both, that French was declared before as their meaning of fealty.

Palapre.

King Henrys Oath vnto the States of France.

No peace with the Dauphin.

The posthumous of the peace. breachers.

Palapre.

The Dauphin came vnto the English.

Henrich. The cities of these Arches. 1011. Paris. all mans of Burg.

My true children. I have been. 1011. Paris. all mans of Burg.

Henrich.

Draw Saage in
Cherle Place.

Enguerrand de
Marford.

Melun's be-
sieged and gotten.

Jo. Mille.

Medif.

Yve. Laine
Archeu besieged
and gotten.

Enguerrand.
King Henry fight-
eth in single
combats.

Translance of
Lain.

Enguerrand.

The French re-
fute to submit to
their own King.

Jo. Mille.

French so in Paris Parliament of the three estates was assembled, wherein such as were guilty of the death of Burgundy, were indicted, the dishonoring of the Dauphin confirmed, and warres prepared against these Townes which held for him. Against Sens the two Kings with their Queene, Clarence, and Burgundy, marched; which after 12 daies was rendered vpon composition of life, though excepted as were guilty of the Duke of Burgundies death. Melun was the next, which by force was entered, where the body of the Duke of Burgundy, vnderneath buried by the Dauphin, was taken vp, and by his sonne Philip sent in great pompe to Düin in his Dutchy, and there honorably interred. The Towne being taken, the Castle held out: vnto whose Capitaine twenty Captaine Gentlemen were sent, whose liues from King Henries mouth (say the French) were sentenced to death, vnlesse they could perswade the Castellans to surrender; but those men (say our English) to mollifie that feruent doome) were all especiall friends of that Capitaine and such, as had giuen opprobrious words to the Kings Herald, being sent vnto them in the siege of Melun. Howsoever, in this extremity they solicited Guisay vpon their knees, vrging their owne deaths, and his great danger if he held out; hut Guisay, a true Frenchman, and friend to the Dauphin, withstood the assault, and thereupon these Gentle-men Petitioners were presently hanged in the sight of the defendants: so bloody is Mars to maintaine his owne Lawes, and so eager was Henry of his full Conquest of France, whose thrilling sword had heretofore bene somewhat overhust in blood, but neuer more (perhaps) then in this bloody act; which I with might be obliterated from the number of his other glorious actions. Yet at length was that Castle enforced to surrender vpon composition of life, excepting the guilties of Burgundies death.

(17) Then was the siege remoned to Melun, a Towne of great strength, and made more strong by the valours of her commanders, who were seigneur Barbasan an absolute souldier, Pierre de Bourbon a Prince of the blood, Preaux, and Bourgeois, whose Garrison was seven hundred Dauphinnes: and indeed no default in defence, could any wife be imputed, but the Canon opening a breach, the English and Burgundians made an entry into the Bulwarke, and ouer the River Seine built a bridge with Boates; so that from either quarter they had passage one to the other without impediments, and encamped themselves for their best advantage; vpon whom the enemy neuertheless made diuers sallies, with the losse of either parties. King Henry enforced his siege to the vtmost, and made a myne vnderneath the wals, which being perceiued, the defendants countermined against him; where the King (too forward) as the very last man entering his myne, and Barbasan likewise his within the Towne, met each other at point of sword, where they performed nobly the parts of priuate souldiers, (nobly indeed; if priuate souldiers they had been, but Princes should remember they are not such) till lastly they agreed to discover themselves, and first Barbasan made known his name, then King Henry did his, whereupon the French Lord suddenly getting backe, caused the Barriers to be closed, and Henry returned to his Campe.

(18) This enterprize failing, King Charles himselfe came into the Campe, to induce the defendants to render, as the presence of their naturall Lord; which neuertheless was little respected, for answer was made, that if their King were at liberty, and free from King Henries power, they would doe him the duty of naturall subjects, and yeeld him their charge as their Liege Lord; but being as he was, they desired to be excused, for to the mortall enemy of France they would not yeeld.

(19) Whiles King Henry lay at the siege of Melun, the Duke of Basie (who was Palatinate of Rhine Elector) came to King Henry having married his sister, and thence sent a defiance vnto the Dau-

phs his kinsman by Queene Isbell his mother; the Prince of Orange likewise came thither vnto Henry, but because he required an Oath of him, as a subject of France, he went away displeased, saying, he was a free Prince, and ought neither obedience to England nor France. At which time the Parisians with more respect of their owne safety committed their City vnto K. Henries deuotion who depared his brother Clarence (though Count Saint Paul with his French displeased) Governour thereof, and put Garrisons into the Bastille of S. Anthoine, the Louvre, and the Hestill de Nesle. During this siege, mandatory letters were sent by King Charles into Picardy, to put all places that held for him in those quarters into Henries possession, and to take the Oath of their obedience vnto him as to the only heire, Successor, Regent, and Governour of France; the execution whereof was committed to the Count of Saint Paul, the Bishops of Beauuence and Arras, the Vicars of Amiens, the Lord of Venduill, the Governour of Lisle, Pierre J. Marigny Advocate of the Parliament, and George Oflend the Kings Secretary, beginning thus; Charles par le Grace de Dieu. &c.

(60) The distress of Melun, was wonderfull great as well vpon the siegers, as defendants; the one afflicted, and their troupees fore weakened with mortality, the other oppressed with famine, and other defects incident to a long indured siege. In this State eightene weekes were spent, and more had bene, but that the English were supplied with soldiers out of Picardy, whose colours displayed a farre off, put the Towne in hope of reliefe, as sent from the Dauphin, but vpon their neerer approach, Melun was rendered by these capitulations. 1. That the Towne and Castle should be deliuered to the King. 2. That as well the men of warre, as the Burgesies, should submit themselves to King Henry, to be dealt with as pleased the King. 3. That all such as were found guilty of the Duke of Burgundies murder should suffer death. 4. That all the rest of the souldiers should be recieued to mercy, but to be prisoners vntill they put in good caution for their true obedience in after times. 5. That the Nations of France should be sent home to their owne Countreys. 6. That all the moueables and Armes in the Towne should be carried into the Castle. 7. That all the Prisoners they had taken either before or during the siege, should be enlarged ranfomefree, and acquitted of their promises. 8. That for the performance of these Articles, 12. of the principall Capaines, and 6. of the wealthiest Burgesies should deliuer themselves in hostage. 9. That all the English, and Scots, should be deliuered to Henry and left at his disposition.

These things accorded, an English Garrison was put into Melun, commanded by Pierre Ferrel Preux de Bourbon, seigneur de Preaux, and valiant Barbasan, with fixe hundred Prisoners of quality, were sent with a strong guard vnto Paris. The guilties of Burgundies murder were all of them put to death, amongst whom were two Monks, and Bertrand de Chartreux a Gasconne, (a man in great fauour with King Henry) for that he at King Henries entry into Melun, had couated thence one Amour de Lau, who was proued guilty of Burgundies death. The Duke of Burgundy himselfe, as also Clarence earnestly labored with King Henry for Bertrands pardon, but the King, though much grieued, and protesting that he had rather haue lost 50000. Nobles, yet was refoled he should die for example to all such, as should dare to offend, vpon presumption of their nearnes and grace with their Princes.

(61) Melun being rendered, and these things thus disposed, the two Kings with their Queenes most honorable attended, returned to Paris, before whose entrance the Citizens and Students met them in most solemne manner, hauing beautified the City with flagges, streamers and rich hangings throughout the streets where they should passe. The two Kings rode

Paris yielded to
to King Henry.

*De J. J. J. J.
At 1400.
Draw Saage.
Picardy inuaded
Henry to King
Henry.

Enguerrand.

Enguerrand de
Marford.

Enguerrand.

A noble exam-
ple of boldnes.

Jo. Mille.

Jo. Mille.

The two Kings
entered Paris.

rode together vnder a rich Canopie, Henry vpon the left hand, next vnto whom followed the *Dukes of Clarence and Bedford*, and vpon their left hand the *Duke of Burgundy* clad all in blacke, the Princes and Nobles of either Nation mingled together in their degrees, the Clergy with processions, and their venerable reliques, going before them to *Nafire dame Church*; and the next day the two Queenes entered the City with as great a shew. King *Henries* Palace was prepared in the *Loure*, which was most rich and magnificent, and *Charles* his Court in the Hostel of *Saint Paul*, being both homely and meane; for (*saith Miller*) young *Henry* commanded all, and his brethren exercised supreme authority, whilst olde *Charles* stood as a Cypher, and the French Nobilitie had nothing to doe.

(62) During the two Kings abode here, a great Assembly was called as well of the Spirituality, as of the secular Nobilitie, in whose presence, in the great Hall of the Hostel, a State for Iustice was prepared, where the two Kings sitting, as supreme Iudges, vnder one Cloath of estate, the Court was furnished with Princes and Officers in most soleinne wile. Before whom, *Nicolas Rellin* advocate from the *Duke of Burgundy*, and the *Dutchesse* his mother, craved audience (and had it granted) vnto an inuictiue and long Oracion against *Charles Frisconie Narbone, Tanegney, Barbasin* and others, for the cruell murder of *John Duke of Burgundy*; and not only that the murderers might be accordingly executed, but withall, that a Church might be founded and furnished with sacred Ornaments for twelue *Chaplines*, sixe Chaplaines, and sixe Clerkes to pray for his soule for ever, every *Channe* to haue yearly two hundred pound *Paris* money, every *Chapline* one hundred, and every Clerke fifty, to be leised vpon the Lands of the *Daulphin*, and his associates in the murder: that the same foundation should be engrauen vpon the Porch thereof, and the like inscription set vp publicly in the Cities of *Paris, Rouen, Grand, Dijon, Saint James of Compostelle, and Ierusalem*. This motion was seconded by a Doctor of Divinity appointed by the *Beiller of the Vniuersity*, who concided with an humble request to the King and those Princes, that iustice might be done. Whereunto the *Chancellor of France*, in the behaue of King *Charles*, promised that no endeuour on his part should bee lacking; and thereupon caused his sonne to be solemnly called to the Marble-Table, to answer his accusation, by the name of *Charles Duke of Touraine, and Daulphin de France*, which done three severall times, and he not appearing, by arrest of the same Court of Parliament, he was banished the Realme, and indged unworthy to succeed in any of the Seignories as well present, as to come. But the *Daulphin* appealed from this sentence to God and his sword, and still was the same, though his fortunes were changeable. *Monsieur de Barbasin* was vehemently accused to haue his hand in the murder, and therefore King *Henrie* accordingly gave sentence on him to suffer to death; but he in open Court defended himselfe, nor to bee guilty of the crime, although he confessed to be a true traitor to the *Daulphin*. Notwithstanding, had he not appealed to the Officers of *Armes*, King *Henrie* judgement of death had gone against him: for the Law Military, as he there alleged, forbiddeth, that any man, having his brother in *Armes* within his danger, should afterwards put him to death for any cause or quarrell, and proued himselfe to be the Kings brother in *Armes*, for that he had in the Countermine coped in combat with the King. Thus by a quirk of Heraldry acquitted from death, he was neuertheless retained in prison the space of nine yeeres, and lastly at the winning of *Castle Galliard* from the English, was deliuered out of most strait imprisonment, to the great ioy of the French.

(63) This execution of Iustice on those Murderers, was a great, but not the only act of *K. Henry* at this great Parliament of three Estates of *France* in

Paris. For therein also was the final accord betwixt the two Kings, openly acknowledged by the French King, as made by his free assent, and with aduise of all the Conncell of *France*; wherupon it was there also ratified by the generall Estates of *France*, and sworne vnto particularly vpon the holy Euangelists, by all their Nobles and Magistrates, spiritual and secular, who also set their seales to the Instruments thereof, which were sent into *England* to be kept in the Kings Exchequer at *Westminster*. King *Henries* glory thus afforded to the highest verticall in *France*, his Court was not only honored daily both with Courty and military shewes and pageants, but also was still frequented both with forraigne Ambassadors, and domestike Commissioners, whose directions depended only vpon his voluntery assent, himselfe redressing all things at his pleasure, placing and displacing Officers and Gouverneurs, causing also a new Coyne to be made, called a *Solide*, wherein were the Armes of *France*, and the Armes of *England* and *France*, quarterly stamped. King *Charles* the while in his Palace, was hnt for filthy sake visited, and but by some of his olde seruantes, his Suene was drawne to neere vnto the letting. The great affaires of *France* thus settled, (as well as that visited time would permit,) King *Henry* minding to Crowne his Queene in *England*, ordained his brother of *Clarence*, (a wise, valiant, and a great Captain) his Lieutenant generall of *France*, leaving also the *Duke of Beiter* with 500. men of warres to keep *Paris*; and so attended with great state, he came to *Amiens* and *Calais*, where taking to Sea, he arrived at *Dover* vpon the third of February, and was received of his Subjects as an Angell from heauen, or another victorious *Caesar* on Earth.

(64) All things in a readines for his faire Queens Coronation, vpon the foure and twentieth of the same month, with all toilitie the same was solemnized at *Westminster*, and the English rich diademe set on her head. The least was great, with all Princely seruices, and the state such as deserveth the report; for the Queene sitting at Table, at the right side of her Chaire, kneeled the Earle of *March* holding a Scepter in his hand; the Earle of *Marshall* kneeling on the left side, held another, and the Countesse of *Kent* sat vnder the Table at her right foot; vpon her right hand at Table sat the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Winchester*, and vpon the left the King of *Scots*, the *Dutchesse of Iork*, and the Countesse of *Huntington*; the Nobles giuing their attendance, each man according to his office and place.

(65) Presently, after *Egles*, in the month of *May*, a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, whose chiefest intent was to haue means to continue the Kings Conquest in *France*, but such was the state of tholelanish times, that, to stop the current of this melting mint, some minding more the heapes of their money, than the spreading abroad of *Englands* faire Monarchy, exhibited their Bills vnto the three Estates in Parliament, and petitioned vnto the King, to commiserate the poverty of the commons, which (as they said) were beggered by their warres. For which cause, as it seemeth, no subsidy or ayde was demanded, but the King againe pawning his Crowne to his vncle *Beaufort*, the rich Cardinal, forty twenty thousand pound, before the said month was expired, with foure thousand horse and foure and twenty thousand foote returned into *France* to follow those warres.

(66) Neither was his halt more then needed; for *John Earle of Bugehaman*, and *Archibald Douglas*, two valiant leaders of seven hundred resolute Scots, repaired into *France* to ayde the *Daulphin*, and joining with the French in *Amiens*, meant to haue surprized the *Duke of Clarence* before he had beene aware; in which enterprise, foure straggling Scots, taken and brought to his presence, as he sat at dinner, revealed the intent and strength of the Enemy, whose approach was vnto neere at hand. This newes no loo-

* Where they yet remaine, John Hallist. p. 178.

King Henry's travels into England.

Separation of the English.

By which M. S. D. Robert's Cause.

By which, Paris, p. 100.

The King pawneth his Crowne for money. Pomey. Marston.

John Chortier.

* Upon Egles Eam.

The two Queenes enter Paris. Deza-Sauage.

Miller.

Requiem de simple.

The two Kings sit personally in judgement.

Process against the murderers of the Duke of Burgundy.

John Sarr.

The Daulphin elected to appear, and defended.

King Henry's late great sentence judicially.

Reading A quirk of Heraldry to acquit, throws a judicial sentence.

A Parliament at Paris. Hallist.

ner came, but the Duke overhastily got to horse (saying, *they are all ours*) leaving his troops to follow him with almost celerity as they might. His suddaine and unlooked-for approach, caused the *Scots* to take into the Church of *Bargie* for their safety, where whilst they were making defence, the rest took the Alarme, and the Earle of *Burgheban* manned the Bridge, to whose ayde, *Hugh Kennedy* with an hundred horse presented himselfe.

(67) The Duke of *Clarence* seeing no possibility to free the passage with his slender troope of horse, alighted on foot, & gave forth with a furious charge, where the Earle of *Burgheban* came to blowes, being followed by two hundred horse, and either side fighting with equall courage and rancour. *Clarence* gave singular demonstration of his great valour, vntill, as he was remouing, one *Iohn Swinton* a *Scot*, wounded him in the face with his Lance, and threw him to the ground, being the first man of the *English* that there was slaine, where likewise died the Earle of *Kyne*, the Lords *Gray* and *Roffe*, besides other men of marke, and fifteene hundred common souldiers, the Earles of *Huntington*, and *Summerset*, with *Thomas Beaufort* his brother, were taken prisoners. The cause of this overthrow, is imputed to the Duke's hast in not staying for his Horsemen. *Clarence* that day upon his Crest wore a Circle set with precious stones, which being taken off his Helmet by a *Scot*, was sold to *Iohn Stewart* of *Derby*, for a thousand Angles. For this fortunate dayes successe, (wherein yet the Enemy also lost eleven hundred, and sundry of them men of principall note,) the *Dauphin* made the Earle of *Burgheban* Constable of *France*. This losse receiued the Earle of *Salisbury*, (who followed with the other forces, but came too late to the encounter,) thought to requite, and bringing forward his troups, the enemy gave ground, whereby yet he recovered the dead bodie of *Clarence*, and lent it to *Rouen*, from whence it was conveyed into *England*.

(68) After this victory the *Dauphin* besieged *Alencon*, which the Earle of *Salisbury* with his best forces sought to releue; but finding the enemy too strong, retired to the Abbey of *Bequin* whole retreat the *French* charged vpon him, and slew three hundred of his troups, but finding no means to possesse *Alencon* raised their siege & returned to *Amiens*.

(69) King *Henry* therefore vpon notice of his brother's death, was much perplexed, for besides the naturall affection of a brother, his widome, valour, and counsell in the warres was highly esteemed by him, and to speake truth, there were very few Princes of that age to be equall'd vnto him. Wherefore ordaining his other brother, *Iohn Duke of Bedford* his Lieutenant, and leaving his faire Queene most honorably attended, vpon the death of *Jane* he landed at *Calis*, hauing in his companie *James King of Scotland*, in hope either to draw the *Scots* vnto his service, or else to withdraw their aides from the *Dauphin*, by the sight of their owne King vnder his roiall standard. But the *Scots*, constantly *French*, being demanded why they would fight against their Soueraigne, answered directly that they might not acknowledge any duty vnto *James*, who as yet liued vnder the obedience of another. His designe thus fayling, his confidence was in his right and his sword.

(70) The morrow after his arrival he dispatched the Earle of *Dorset*, and the Lord *Clifford* with twelve hundred horse and foot vnto *Paris*, to releue the Duke of *Exeter*, who was straitned of victuals by the *Dauphin*, that harried the Countrey adioyning, taking *Bouen*, *Calendon*, and some other forties, and in his fortunate successes, and new conceited hope then marched to *Chartres* with seven thousand men at Armes, foure thousand Crosse-bowes, and fixe thousand Archers strong, where he began the siege, whom the Ballard of *Thien* bravely resisted, and sent to King *Henry* for aide.

(71) *Henry*, after a few daies stay in *Calis*, mar-

ched to *Meung*, and there lodged, quartering his Army in the villages about, where he found the Duke of *Burgoyne* somewhat impaired of health: three daies spent in conference, King *Henry* marched into *Pontiers*, and the Duke to *Amboise* vpon some, to facilitate his passage there to be made, whereof some doubt was held by reason of the Inhabitants disposition altogether valiant, and as ready to offend, as affect. *Henry* in his way took the Fort called *La Ferté*, commanded by the Ballard of *Bellay*, which vpon summons rendered, and being committed to the Custody of *Burflouer* *Picard*, was betrayed againe by him vnto the *Dauphin*: from hence departing, he passed the river at *Achille*, where he was roundly receiued, and richly presented, whence he marched to *Brannou Gisors*, and so to *Beau de Passennes*, where *Charles* and his Queene resisted, and receiued him with great honour, and lastly to *Paris* where he was receiued in triumph.

(72) But more mindings Conquest then the delicate pleasures of Court, after he had consulted vpon his affaires, and leaued French forces to adde to the *English*, he marched toward *Meaux*, intending (in reuenge of his brother's death) to fight with the *Dauphin*, who had now laue before *Chartres* the space of three weekes, and given it forth he would come into the field. But hearing of King *Henric*'s coming, and that his Armie by the access of supplies, from *Paris* and *Normandy* was much increased, he brake vp his siege and departed: which newes related, *Henry* marched to *Dreux* and fate downe before it. The Inhabitants and Garrison sensible of the danger, praied parley, and accorded to render the Towne, if the *Dauphin* did not releue them by certaine day, which expired, the Towne was deliuered, and eight hundred of the *Dauphin*'s souldiers permitted to depart vpon their Oathes, not to beare Armes against King *Henry*, nor his allies for the space of one yeere: then following the *Dauphin* (who fled still before him) in his march he took *Baugency*, *Amboise*, and other places of defence.

(73) Seeing his pursuit of the flying *Dauphin* to be fruitlesse, he diuered his Army vnto *Lagny* vpon the river of *Marne*, where he caused many engines and habiliments for the warre to be made; hauing a designe to besiege *Meaux* in *Brie*, and infect the *Faulx* *bourgs*, leading before him the Duke of *Beaufort* with foure thousand strong, to prevent the burning of *Meaux*, by the Inhabitants, and a few daies after followed himselfe. His first worke was to secure his Armie, by entrenching his Quarters, which done, and the Artillery mounted, he beganne to batter the wals, and to make his Mines, wherein neither his industry nor personall labour was spared, and within, the Ballard of *Parum* with many men of Marke, besides the Inhabitants, and a thousand trained souldiers, were as busie and resolute for the defence. Meane while *Jacques de Harecourt*, in service of the *Dauphin*, with seven hundred souldiers harried the parts about *Flines*, against whom, some *English* Garrison thereabout, assembling, slew three hundred of his retinue, himselfe hardly escaping by the swiftnesse of his horse.

(74) Whilst King *Henry* lay in his siege before *Meaux*, newes was brought him that his Queene at the Caille of *Windsore* was deliuered of a sonne, named also *Henry*, wherat he exceedingly reioiced, though, as some will haue it, he liked not well the place of her deliuey, hauing before commanded the contrary, and prophesying, that what *Henry* of *Monmouth* should get, *Henry* of *Windsore* would lose. At the same time likewise he heard that *Anthonies* in *Normandy*, was surprized by the *Dauphin*; and about three hundred *English* there in Garrison put to the sword, or taken Prisoners, to remedy which, King *Henry* lent part of his owne Armie vnto the Earle of *Salisbury* his Lieutenant of *Normandy*, who within few daies recovered *Anthonies* and reuenged the death of the surprized.

(75) But

Barbours.

The Duke of
Clarence slain.

John Chevier.

Exuperant.

Idem.

Duke George (brother of
the King).

*Henricus de
Montfort.*

Duke George.

Anthonies.

Exuperant.

History of Normandy.

Exuperant de Montfort.

Exuperant de Montfort.
* Cross from
monks Sepulch.

Idem.

Anno 1421.
Decemb. 6.

Idem.

Engagement de
Marfoulet.

(75) But *Henric* sieg leffened through the fire in *Normandy*, and his mind bowed upon his affaires that way, fited opportunity to *Saigneur de Offemont*, vnto whome the befieged had many times made knowne their desires to haue him their Gouernour; on a night therefore (ladders made readie to put o-uer the walls to recue him) he secretly approached the place, but being discovered by the Centinels, and the alarm taken, he not able to recover the ladders, fell into the ditch, whence by reason of his heavy armour hee could not free himselfe, and in taking was wounded in the face: the King esteeming the taking of so braue and valiant a Capitaine, as a prize of much importance. The Defendants now hopelesse of succour, and finding themselves not able to hold out, carried all their goods from the towne into the * Castile, but the assailants discovering their actions, and perceiving their feare, gaue a fierce assault, and by force made way into the Towne with their swords: then *Henry* planting his Canons, began to batter the Castile, and shortly brought it to that extremity, that besides want of bread, most of their hand weapons were broken, and all of them in a manner dangerously wounded; yet desired they not to provoke the *English* with opprobrious words, which caused such heavy conditions to be laid on them, as the like had not bene of any surrender before.

Engagement de
Champfleur.

1 That the *March of Meaux* should bee rendered vpon the eleuenth of May next ensuing. 2. That *Meſſier Louis de Gail*, the *Barſard of Faurus*, *Iehan de Roumiers*, *Treſorier*, and *Bernard de Meureville* should be left to *K. Henry* to execute. 3. That *Gaiſcard de Salins*, *Pierre de Lappe*, *Robert de Geraines*, *Philip de Gamaches*, and *Iehan de Ourey* should hear the kings will vntill they had rendered or caused to be rendered all the Townes, Castels and Fortresses which they or any of them held in *France*, and then to be secured of life. 4. That altho *English*, *Welſh*, *Irish* & *Scots* that heretofore had bene in the Kings obedience should be left to the Kings discretion. 5. That all the tell, all well Soldiers as *Burgesses* should be left to the Kings pleasure, their lines only excepted. 6. That the Earle of *Conuſon*, who had bene prisoner to *Pierre de Lappe* and at the beginning of the sieg of *Meaux*, was deliuered at the instance of *Henry* for a ranſome, should now bee freed without ranſome. 7. That all the Armes and goods in the *March* should bee brought to one place there safely guarded, and an Inventory of the same deliuered vnto King *Henry*. 8. That all the Reliques and Church ornaments should likewise be put in safety. 9. That all the Prisoners aswell in the *March*, as in any other place vnder any of their commandements should be set at liberty ranſome free, and acquitted of their promiſes. 10. That no man vntill the assigned day of rendering should goe out of the *March*, and that none should be admitted to enter into it, but such as King *Henry* assigned. 11. That these Articles should be subscribed and sealed by an hundred of the best men amongst them. 12. That for the true performance of the concord, foure and twenty persons elected by King *Henry* should remaine in his age.

Engagement de
Chambray.

(76) The place thus rendered vnto the King, hee presently sent eight hundred selected persons prisoners to *Paris*, *Rouen*, and *England*. The *Barſard of Faurus*, and the Gouernour of *Meaux*, the King caused to be hanged before the Towne on a Tree, named (by the *Barſard* himselfe) *Faurus*, whereon hee had formerly hanged many *English* and *Burgundians*, and his head was fixed vpon a pole on the toppe of the same tree. *Meſſier Louis de Gail*, *Denis de Vancour*, brother to the *Barſard*, *Iehan de Roumiers*, and *Bernard de Meureville* were sent to *Paris* & there executed: the goods of the *March* were distributed by *Henry* amongst his Captains, and despoiling men. Then order was taken for repairing of breaches, and a strong Garrison left in *Meaux* and the *March*. After which surrender, *Cressy*, the Castile of *Pierrepont*, *Merlan*, *Offemont*, and sundry others submitted

themselves to *Henry*, whilst the true *Dauphin* set fire on theirs, before hee could attaine to their sieg.

(77) Queene *Katherine* in *England* daily hearing of the Kings mischance, desired greatly the sight of his person, and to that end prepared her voyage for *France*, vnder the conduct of Duke *Iohn* the Kings brother, then Regent of *England*, who deputed for the time of his absence, his brother *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester*, andooke shippes at *Southampton*. The winds prosperous, the 21. of May fled at *Hartſen*, and with full-encreasing troops of Noblemen, by enlie iourneyes came to *Rouen*, and thence to *Bois de Vincennes*, whither liet husband, her father and mother with great late came to meete her, of all whom shee was receined as some Angelical person, who together removed to *Paris*, where King *Henry* and Queene *Katherine* in the *Louvre*, vpon the festiual of *Penetecost*, faire in their royall robes, with their imperial Crownes on their heades, and kept their Court with great confluence of people, *K. Henry* assigning the affaires of the Provinces.

(78) But though *Champaigne*, *Picardie*, *Brie*, and *Normandy* with the Isle of *France* were in *Henrics* possession, yet was not all reduced to his quiet obedience, a great and strong part holding not ill for the *Dauphin*, who with twenty thousand strong besieged *La Charay* vpon *Loire*, andooke tie from whence hee marched to *Cone* vpon the same river, whose Defendants agreed, that if *Burgundy* did not raise the sieg by the sixteenth of *August*, they would surrender; which the said Duke accepted, and thereupon sent proffer of battell to the *Dauphin*, who was likewise as readie (and by his Herald gaue his faith) to trie his fortune in the field: The day assigned, and preparation made, the Duke of *Burgundie* to King *Henry* for his assistance; whose answer was, that himselfe and his forces would not faile to bee with him that day, and run the same fortunes with him in the field.

(79) But great *Henrics* stout mind was crossed with his now crazy body, his health being so empained with a burning feauer and fluxe, that he was disordered from the *March* to the command of the Army was committed to his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Warwick*, who ioyning their forces for avoiding of contentions, through all their ranks intermingled the *English*, *Burgundians*, and *Picardians* together, and so the night before the designed day of battell, came to *Cone* and encamped neere to the Towne; yet vadaunted *Henry*, who neuer miscarried in any of his personall enterprises, taking his leave at *Senlis* of *K. Charles*, and the two Queene, in his horse-litter (with a guard for his person) marched (though weak) after them; but at *Atelun* finding his sicknesse to encrease, and himselfe (so he crst could endure all things) now vnable to endure travel, he returned to *Bois de Vincennes*.

(80) The *English* colours displayed in the *Dauphins* eye, and his power inferior in shew vnto them, how feewer hee had vaunted, he thought it not best to aduenture the field, and therefore dislodging from *Cone*, he marched to *Barry*, both to protract time, and to weary the enemy. *Cone* thus relieved, the Dukes marched to *Tragen* in *Chen pagne*, and set down their Army for the sieg; but before the cords of their reuts could be sufficiently made fast, the Duke of *Bedford* had heavy newes of Great *Henrics* encreased sicknesse, and danger of death: wherefore leaving the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Armie, hee posted to *Bois de Vincennes*, where finding the relation too true, hee greatly lamented his dying brothers estate: but the King much reioycing of his brothers coming, cheerefully comforted his mourning friends and Nobles, and made vnto them this graue and his last dying speech.

(81) I well see you lament my death; but I doe not so: for this short life of mine shall leaue behind mee the witness of my faith, integrity, iustice, honesty.

Engagement de
Chambray.

A.D. 1422.

Engagement de
Marfoulet.

K. Henric
bedridden.

His cheerfulness
in his sickness.

His last exhortation.

H h h h h

next.

"nely and mercy, which shall crowne my memory with glory, and free mee from blame and slander, which in long reignes can hardly be avoided: but you haue mist cause to mourne at my vntimely death, and it cannot bee but a generall griefe to my people, that in such an Ocean of businesse yet depending, I shall leave you and them destitute of a Prince able to gouerne: but your sorrow ought to be so much the lesse, when you call to mind the frailty of worldly thinges, and that euenmore there will bee somewhat wanting which wee desire. My first request vnto you shall bee this, that with an unanimous affection to industrie, foresee and provide, that the counsell which I name may be followed. I further earnestly entreat you to loue my lasour Henry, to instruct him with your wisdomes, that by your counsell, care and loue, hee may be made able & worthy to wield to great an Empire. Comfort my deare wife, the most afflicted Creature liuing, extend your loues vnto her in the same proportion as I haue entreated you. Touching the publike I admonish and exhort you to brotherlie concord, and neuer to breake league with Philip Duke of Burgundy (and if you shall thinke it good, let my brother Humphrey Duke of Gloucester gouerne England, and not depart vpon any occasion whatsoever, vntill my sonne Henry be of yeeres to sway the estate; and my brother Iohn Duke of Bedford with the assistance of Philip Duke of Burgundy, to manage the Reialme of France. Concerning Charles (commonly called the Dauphin) either he must by your wordes be made to submit himselfe, or else you shall neuer be in quiet; and it were as good to render him the possession of what you haue: wherefore sleepe not, and while you haue meanes and opportunity be industrious. Lastly, I beseech, charge, and command you, (howsoever tyme or occasion may perswade, or lauite you to the contrary) that *Normandy* receiued by my industry, and your wordes, being the ancient inheri- tance of the Crowne of England, be not alienated for any cause whatsoeuer. Among other things then enjoined, he willed that the Duke of *Orleans*, the Emile of *En*, *Guacourt*, and *Guichard de Sifay* should not be ransomed, vntill yong Henry were of yeeres to gouerne.

(82) Thus said, and drawing neere to the period of his short but glorious life, he demanded of his Physicians how long (in their iudgement) he might be liued wherunto when one of the answered, Sir, thinke on your soule, for your time is not about a. houres: he made his confession, & his Chaplains afterward kneeling in prayer, when one of them out of the Psalms made mention of *Ierusalem*, the king no sooner heard the name, but with a loud voice he said; *Lord thou knowest, that my purpose was to conquire Ierusalem from the Infidels, if it had pleased thee to haue giuen me life: & then in a right faith, adored hope, perfect charity and sound memory, hee rendered his soule to his Creator, after hee had reigned nine yeeres, six monethes, and fourteene dayes, leaving none like vnto him amongst all the Kings and Princes of Christendome, for whose cause his death was not onely bewailed of the English, whom hee gloriously had ruled, but also of the French, whom hee had victoriously conquered.* This was the manner of this triumphant Monarchs end, which moues men infinitely to wonder at *Helier Betsuin*, who saith, he was stricken by God for sacrilege, and died miserable: *Heliers* friends haue occasion to wish, that his Readers should not make that miserable iudgement, the rule and measure of crediting or discrediting his other writings, yet lamentable his end was indeed, if he perished by poison, wherof there was a vehement suspicion, as *Folquier Fergill* hath asserted, and the carriage of the French affaires afterward makes it more then probable.

(83) His workes of pious affection were thrust in crediting the Monasteries of *Beckham* & *Briger*, were vnto his Manour of *Richmond*, as also his princely

gifts vnto the workes and furniture of *Westminster* Church, besides the brotherhood of *S. Giles* without *Creeple gate London*. And (which had perspiced all the rest) hee intended (such was his loue to learning, and to the place where himselfe was a learner) to haue founded in the great Castle at *Oxford*, a magnificent Colledge for *Diviners*, and Students of the *liberal Sciences*, the pious and ordinations of which foundation hee had already drawne, and resolved to endow it with all the lands in *England*, belonging to *Priors Aliens*: but his vntimely death preuented both that, and many other noble workes. To leaue a domesticke testimony of his affection to *Armes*, hee first instructed *Carlar* principall King at *Armes*: besides other augmentations to the Order of *Saint George*. In a word, neuer liued English King with more true glory, nor euer diademy in a more vntensionable time, nor more lamented: for he was goodly in heart, *slow in speech, sparing of words, resolute in deeds, prudent in Council, prudent in iudgement, modest in countenance, magnanimous in action, constant in undertaking, a great Admirer, devout to Godward, a renowned Soldier, fortunar in field, from whence hee returned without vnterric*. These, with many others (I might almost say, all others) vertues are attributed to this most renowned amongst English Kings; the more to be admired to him in so short a reigne, and in those yeeres, hee being but of 36. yeeres, when he breathed forth his glorious soule.

(84) His bowels were interred in the Church of *Saint Maure de Fosse*, and his embalmed Corps was closed in Lead, and attended vpon by the Lords of *England, France, Normandy, and Flanders*, was brought vnto *Paris* (where in the Church of our Lady *Solenne exequies* were performed) and thence to *Rouen*, where it rested till all things were ready to set forward for *England*; though the Cities of *Paris* and *Rouen* shroue, and offered great summes of gold to haue *Houers* royall remains entered amongst them. His picture artificially was moulded of boyled hides, and countenance painted according to life, vpon whose head an imperiall Diademe of gold and precious stones was set, the body clothed with a purple robe, furred with *ermine*, in his right hand it held a scepter royall, and in the left a ball of golde in which manner it was carried in a Chariot of State, covered with red velvet, embroidered with gold, and oner it arch Canopie, borne by men of great place. Thus accompanied by *lamer King of Scotland*, many Princes, Lords and Knights of *England and France*, he was conuaied from *Rouen* to *Abbeville*, to *Hesdin*, to *Montreuil Boleyn*, & *Calais*, the Chariot all the way compailed about with men all in white garments, bearing burning Torches in their hands; next vnto whom followed his household seruants, all in blacke, and after them the Princes, Lords, and Estates in vestures of mourning adorned; then two miles distant from the corps followed the illustrious Queene, attended with princely moultiers, her tender and pierced heart more my mourning, then her outward sadde weedes should in any sort expresse.

(85) And thus by Sea and Land the dead King was brought vnto *London*, where through the streets the Chariot was drawne with foure hories, whose Caparisons were richly embroidered, and embroidered with the royall Armes, the first with *Englands* Armes alone, the second with the Armes of *France and England* in a field quartered, the third bare the Armes of *France* alone, and the fourth three crowns Or in a field Azure, the ancient Armes of King *Arthur*, now well becoming him who had victoriously vnted three Kingdomes in one. The body with all pompous celebrity was entered in the Church at *Westminster* (for so *Houers* had by his last will commanded) next beneath King *Edward the Confessor*, vpon whose Tomb be Queene *Katherine* caused a rotall picture to bee laid, courted all over with silver plate

* *Is. Refin.*
* *Is. Gerson.*
* *Dail. Thol.*

The Wolf.

Draw Armes.

The manner of his interring in England.

* *France, England, Ireland.*

Argument de
Henry V.

Argument de
Henry V.

His death.

The Wolf.

* *August 30.*
* *Paris.*
* *Some reckon*
* *but 34 dayes.*
* *Some adde*
* *five monethes*
* *more.*

Book 1, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Folger.

3-4 Star, Armes.
His work of
devotion.

plate gault, but the head thereof altogether of massy
silver. All which at that *Abbeys* suppression, (when
the battering hammers of destruction did found al-
most in every Church) were sacrilegiously broken
off, and by perloining transferred to faire prophane
vies, where, at this day, the headlesse monument,
(worthy to be restored by some more Princely
and sacred hand) is to be seene, and with these verses
written vpon his Tombe.

*Dux Normannorum, et rex Conqueror baronum.
Hares Francorum, desolatus & Helicor baronum.*

*Here Normans Duke, so slaid by Conqueror inst,
True Here of France, Great Helicor, lies in dust.*

His Wife.

(16) *Katherine*, daughter to King *Charles* the
sixth of *France*, vpon an agreement of peace foremen-
tioned, was married vnto King *Henrie* at *Troyes* in
Champaigne, Iunij 3. A. D. 1420. and after Febr. 14.
was Crowned at *Westminster* with all solemnities.
Shee was his Queene two yeeres, and about three
months, and suruiving him, was remarried vnto *Owen*
Thodore of *Wales*, vnto whom shee bare three
sonnes, *Edmund*, *Luffor*, and *Owen*, and a daughter who
liued not long. *Owen* tooke the habite of religion
at *Westminster*, the other two by King *Henrie* the sixth
(their halfe brother,) were honourably preferred; *Ed-*
mund was created *Earle of Richmond*, and marrying
Margaret, the sole heire of *Iohn Beaufort Duke of Som-*
ersset, was father by her vnto *Henrie* (the only heire
of *Lancaster*.) afterwards King of *England*. *Luffor*,
the second brother, was created the same yeere, *Earle*
of *Pembroke*, who required his brothers kindest

with continuall assistance against the bottle of *Turke*;
and when that faction preuailed, he was forced to
flee into *Flanders*, but it againe waning, he was both
restored, and to his greater honour created Duke of
Bedford, dying without any issue legitimate. This
Queene, either for deuotion, or her owne safety,
rooke into the Monastery of *Bermonsey* in *South-*
warke, where dying Jan. 2. A. D. 1436. shee was buri-
ed in our Ladies Chappell within *S. Peters Church*
at *Westminster*; whose Corps taken vp in the raigne
of King *Henrie* the seventh her Grand-child, (when
he laid the foundation of that admirable structure,) and her
Coffin placed by King *Henrie* her husbands
Tombe, hath euer since so remained, and neuer re-
buried: where it standeth (the Couer being loose) to be
seene and handled of any that will; and that by her
owne appointment, such *Reports*, (which doth in
this, as in most things, speake vntueth) in regard of
her disobedience to King *Henrie*, for being deliuered
of her sonne at the place hee forbade,

His Sonnes.

(17) *Henry* the only child of a roiall couple, borne
at *Windore*, and not nine months old at his fathers
death, succeeded in his dominions, though not
holding his Empire with the like glory. Crowned
he was with the Crownes of two Kingdomes, but
vnable by much to weild the scepter of one, that of
France was lost by the factions of his Nobles, before it
was well wonne; and *Englands* Crowne twice pluckt
from his head before his death. Of whole adven-
tures and variable raigne (the times when *England* lay
goared in the blood of her chiall warres) we shall
speake in the ensuing relation of his innocent, but vn-
fortunate life.

HENRIE



Henry VI.

HENRIC THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE THREE AND FIFTIETH MO- NARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSUE

Monarch 53



CHAPTER XVI.

* Denary. l. vi. 15.



Henry the sixth
began to reigne
the last day of
August, being
the day of his
father's death.
Anno 1422.

Ad God almighty (the giuer and transferer of Kingdomes) thought good that the English should haue reled in the Continent of Europe, and not haue bene shutt vpon within their Blands, hee would not so soone haue depriv'd them of their late incomparable Captaine and Sovereigne Henry the fifth. But it seemes that God having humbled the French Nation vnder Henries victorious hand, ment now again to restore them to his wonted fauour by taking away their terror & triumph, substituting his son (an infant) in his place, Henric of that name the 6. born at Windsor, who was crowned about the eight month of his age. The pretty hands which could not feed himselfe, were yet made capable to wield a scepter, and hee that was beholding to nurses for milke, did nevertheless distribute the sub-

stance of law and iustice to so great and warlike Nations. Counsell supplies the defect of age. At his fathers death hee had vnder, men of approved valour and discretion, to whom the principall care of all publike affaires by the fathers last provisions was committed. Henry Duke of Gloucester (the younger brother of two) had the government of England entrusted to his fidelity: the regency of France was assigned for Province to John Duke of Bedford, the eldest liuing vnckle of the King, as to a Prince of much magnanimity, prowess and felicity in conduct, with whom was assigned Philip Duke of Burgundie. The guard and custody of the royall Infante was assigned to Thomas Duke of Excester: the nurture and education to his mother, the Queene Dowager: vpon the two vnckles (as betwixt the two Poles of the English Empire) the whole globe of government moved: whatsoever is dooe by the kingly power is said to be dooe by the King. We shall behold notwithstanding in the tragical glass of this Henries raigne, how farr the imbecillity of the kingly per-

* Tit. l. vi.

* M. T. H. l. vi.

* Stronge and
* Poynting
l. vi. l. 15.

lon

fun may affect the body politicke with good or euill. If histories were ordayned to stirre affections, not to teach and instruct, as yet any Princes raigne since the Conquest did better defende to bee described with a tragical stile and words of horror & sorrow, although the beginning like the faire morning of a most tempestuous day promised nothing more then a continuance of passed felicitie.

(3) For the State of the English affaires was great and flourishing, England without tumult, the natural fierce humors of her people consuming or exercising themselves in France, and France her self for the nobler parts together with the grand City of Paris head of that Monarchie) was at their devotion. There wanted nothing which might aduance the worke begonne. Most noble and expert Leaders as those which had bin fashioned in the schoole of warre, under the best martiall master of that age, the late Henry, arms full of veteran solidiers, most of which were of skill sufficient to be commanders themselves: their friends firme, no defect nor breach (by which dissipation might enter to the overthrow of the English greatesse) as yet discoling themselves. Wisdome, pietie, riches, forwardnesse at home, courage and like forwardnesse abroad. It is a fruitfull speculation to consider how God carrieth his part in the workes of men, alwaies iustly, sometimes terribly, but neuer otherwise, then to bring all worldly greatnesse and glory into due contempt, and loathing, that the foole may be erected to her Creator, and aspire to a Crowne celestiall. The first disadvantage which hapned to the English cause (after the late Kings decaise) was the death of Charles the French King, who suruiued the other but "fiftie and three dayes. This we may worthily call the first (as it was a great, as well as the first) disadvantage, for the imbecilities of that Prince were a strength to the English. On the other side (God obseruing a *talio et paritudo*) the infancy of young Henry was an aduantage to Charles the Dauphin of France, now by them of his faction called King of France, as the English vsed in derision to entitle him King of Berry, because little else was left vnto him.

(3) In England (whose condition the order of nature wils vs inke to describe, because there was the seate of counsell, by which all the actions of the generall state were directed) a Parliament was assembled to establish the Crowne vpon the Infant, and to provide for the publike vses and necessities of State. Money* (always one of them) was liberally granted. It was a strange sight (and the first time that euer it was seene in England) which in the next yeere hapned, an Infant sitting in the mothers lap, before it could tell what English meant, to exercise the place of Soueraigne direction in open Parliament. Yet so it was, for the Queene to illumine that publike congregation of States with her Infantes presence, remembred from Windsor to London; through which Citie (her selfe totally seated with her young sonne vpon her lappe) passed in maiesticke manner to Westminster, and there tooke teate among all his Lords, whom (by the ordinary mouth of that high Court) hee saluted and spake to them at large concerning the premices; where, as hee vttered the mind of his place by anothers tongue, so hee elsewhere prosecuted all affaires by other mens hands and Organs.

(4) The Duke of Bedford (as the nature of his place exacted) to settle and presecure the State of France for his young Nephew the King, together with Philip Duke of Burgaigne, who as yet continued a frendfast friend to the English Soueraignety (knowing the Dauphin busie to recover France) strenghtned the confines of their gouernment with Garrisons, assembled their powers, and laboured to retaine the hearts of their owne party. The Duke of Bedford Regent of France, had "words to them to this effect in open assemble. That they should not violate their plight and sworne allegiance, neither by them-

selues endeavour nor endure, that byethers their Soueraign Lord young Henry should be defended of his inheritance, or that the hatreds and commites which now beganne to rise betweene the French and English names, should through the practices of most faithlesse men be renewed, and reinflamed: That they would remember how (by Gods speciall fauour and goodnesse) the two Kingdoms of France and England were vnted under one most faire and goodly Monarchie in an eternall league, and lately so established that no humane force could resist. That albeit they had sustained damage by the warre, yet the same would be recovered with aduantage, if they honoured and obeyed their lawfull Soueraigne Lord King Henry, and persecuted his enemies with extremity, according to bounden duty. This Oration found plausible admission in them: Henry is proclaimed King of England and of France, and such chieftes as were present did their homages, taking each to be true: The like Obligation and Sacrament of allegiance was put vpon all the French through the English Dominions in France.

(5) Charles (who as sonne and heire to the late King entituled himselfe King of France, by the name of Charles the seventh) being then about the seauen and twentieth yeere of his age, full of courage and new hopes, gathered what force he could: his chieftes Leales were made in *Dauphynis* and *Italy*, from whence (for money) he drew sundry troupes. But the best sinews of his Army moued in certain thousandes of the *Scotish* Nation, which serued vnder him. The first steppe which the *Charlesians*, or forces of Charles made into hostile action was vnfortunate, for coming to raise the siege which the English held about "Crepan they were put to flight, with the losse of about two thousand of their numbers. This was noble in Charles, and his *Charlesians*, that their minds sunke not at the bottom of such an euill Omen. It was faithfull *Amplum* of them, resolved to encounter aduerser fortune with courage of courage. The Regent on the other side was vigilant vpon all occasions: the power of his Regency extended it selfe without contradiction* through *Vienne*, *Pontieu* and *Picardie* from Paris to *Rheims*, *Châlons* and *Troyes*, up to the water of *Leys* and the *Saue*: A goodly scope of territory, and absolutely the best of France. That late losse & foile of the *Charlesians* was repaired shortly after by an overthrow in skirmish which they gave to the English party, from whom (with the slaughter of about nineteene hundred) they recovered a great booty, specially of Cattel which the English had gotten in the Countreies of *Normandie* and *Main*, but thus intercepted vpon their return into *Normandie*, Charles (which *Paulus Amplum* omitteth) doubteth that successe for "stealen vpon sein by him taken where all the English are put to the sword: but the possession was short, and the reuenge speedy: Thomas Montacute Earle of Salisbury (a man (saith *Polidore*) more like the old Romans then people of that age, so great was his vertue and cheualrie) hauing with him John of Luxembourg, Generall of the Burgundian horsemen, recouers the place, killing all the French which were found therein.

(6) At the Citie of "Amiens in *Picardie* the three great Dukes of Bedford (Regent of France) Burgaigne and Britaine meet to consult of the whole course & summe of affaires. There they renewed the League, adding, that each should be others friend, and that all of them should defend King Henry right with their best forces. For the better assurance of this profitable amity, the Regent (then a Bachelor) tooke to wife the Lady Anne, sister to Philip Duke of Burgaigne: while the Regent was absent from Paris vpon these iust occasions, the *Parisians* (who not long before had "sent Ambassadors into England, to acknowledge their obedience to King Henry) practised with Charles to deliuer their City. The Regent had notice of this dangerous treason, and with his presence retained them in duety. The chieftes Actors paid their liues for satisfaction of the trespass. In good

H h h h a time

* Paul. Ampl. in Cap. 7.

A Parliament assembled.

The leade thereof was 5. Nobles in every lorde of count.

* Paul. Ampl. in Cap. 7.

* A count. John Field, who places this action in the following years.

The lordes of the English Regency in France.

* Count. Adm.

* Polid. Pol. L. 3.

* Sum. Amal.

* Polid. Pol. L. 3.

* Polid. Pol. L. 3. Regent to the king.

The whole field-
forces of the
English in France
under the Duke
of Bedford.

**Ap. Feb.*

**July 17, 14, 15.*

**Gen. 10, 11.*
**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*

The Regent's
victory at Ver-
mandois in 1412.
**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*

**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*

This battle was
fought, 1412 Aug.
and Dec.,
1412, 1413, 1414.

**July 17, 14, 15.*

**Jan. 10, 11.*

The marriage
of John Duke of
Burgundy in
captivity.

**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*

James the first
King of Scots
set in liberty one
of England.

time there arrived out of England ten thousand fresh Soldiers. Over them hee ordeined Capteines, the famous Earle of Salisbury, William Pale Earle of Suffolke, Robert Walsingham and others. Himselfe lead about with him for the generall service, eightene hundred horsemen, and eight thousand foote. With these field-forces the maiene of the English estate in France was hold together, though not without difficulty, and diuers adventures. In them he tooke from Charlesfandry strong Townes, and Fortresses as a *Cretey, Bayle, Rial, Rale, Gromel, Bayle, Mermond, Milson, Frenel, Seintre*, and many others.

(7) The Regents chiefe designe was to draw Charles to fight, hoping by his overthrow to conclude many daies workes in one. For this cause he drew into *Normandy*. Charles was then in *Tourain*, where he multeth his people. The Regent proposes in the meane time, and takes by siege a place of good importance, pretending to do dare the French out to a Battell. *John Duke of Alençon* is sent with an Army and instructions to fight if occasion served, but Charles himselfe was not suffered to hazard his person. Not farr from the Towne of *Fernel*, which the English had taken before the Duke of Alençon, and his Charles could succor it, the two Armies embattell themselves. The fight began with shot, which seeme not quick enough to dispatch the work, the battels came to hand-to-shocks, where for some houres, there was maintained a constant and dondbull battell with great furie on both sides. The English enured to the French warres, having borne the first heats of their enemies, (which are in that Nation most ragellful) by perseverance vicerly brake and put them to flight. The Regent himselfe with a battle-axe fought most fiercely, winning immortal honor in that bloody journey.

There were slaine of the enemies side: *John Earle of Boughman* Constable of France; *Archebald Douglas Duke of Tourain* and Lieutenant of France; *Archebald* his fume Earle of *Argen*, with many other of the Scots. Of the French there were slaine the Earle of *Paradour*, and sundry others. In all there died vpon that side certaine thousands. None writes of fewer then foure or five thousand, nor any of a booe siterage. The great number of the slaine, is not the measure of a victory, but the vice and effects which it draws. The Duke of Alençon himselfe was taken prisoner, with about two hundred others of speciall worth. The English paid for this noble victory, the bodies of about two thousand of their soldiers which lost life there, for it was fought vpon faire termes in the open fields, and carried by mere manhood. That which followeth till the siege of Orleans, *Paul Amycus* comprehendeth in some few lines. The fierce Conqueror begetteth Maids in Maids, and with Ordinance heestes downe part of the walls. It yields beceupon. The English Garrison left therein, after the taking not being sufficient to continue the Towne in due subiection, is compelled to flee to a Tower for their safety, the common which were admitted into it by the Burgers enjoying the rest. The Lord Talbot (the most noble Captaine of the English) presently arrives to the rescue, and puts the misfortuners to death. The English Emperre extends it selfe to the River of Lays. Charles they call in forme the King of Berry. Thus roundly he.

In nine Articles and capitulations drawne and concluded at the yielding of *Amiens*, this was one, as perhaps it was in every like occasion. That if any persons were found within the City, which had bene consenting to the murder of John Duke of Burgundy, father to Philip Duke of Burgundy, in full revenge whereof, he had heretofore adhered to the English that they should simply be at the Regents mercy.

(8) The chiefe things which passed in England, during these happy proceedings in France, were briefly these.

James Stewart and the young King of Scots, having beene casually taken vpon the Sea, in the reigne of

King Henry the fourth, and after his fathers death not sufficiently tendered nor respected by the Scots, remained still a Prisoner. The rather therefore to hinder the Scots, (that was the hope) from aiding the French, it was now thought fit by the Council of England to enlarge him. Which was accordingly done vpon pledges. Not long after the which, he married the Lady *Jane* daughter to John Earle of *Summerset*, neere cousin to King Henry. Principall letters forward of this marriage (as by likelihood of his liberty also) to honour their family with a Kingly alliance, were the Earle of *Summerset* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, both of them *Beauforts*, who together with sundry other of the English Nobility, condanted the new married Couple to the Scottish Borders. Much of his ransome was abused, and his new kinsmen bestowed vpon him a store of plate, gold, and siluer. Among other gorgeous Ornaments fuit of hangings, in which the labors of *Hercules* were most curiously wrought. But this wife King (having had the benefit of excellent and Princely education in England) did not suffer any obligations contracted in the time of his durance, to preponderate with him the Generall state of Scotland, whole freedom did much depend vpon the fortune of France, whereby the maiene drift of his enlargers was not much advanced. The reason notwithstanding which lead this aduice was probable, and so much the more commendable, for that it was tempered with humanity. The fortune mischiefe thus howsoever intended, hereby to be auoided or qualified, *Sir John Mortimer* (a dangerous firebrand at home) being Prisoner in the Tower was arraigned for many unreasonable speeches vied to a yeoman, (struants to *Sir Robert Scot*), keeper of the Tower of London) to draw the said yeoman to let him escape: promising him great matters. The points of his speeches were as that follow charged vpon him in open Parliament.

1. That the said Mortimer meant to flee into Wales to the Earle of March, and with an armie of forty thousand men to enter England, and strike off the Princes head, and the Bishop of Winchester.

2. That the Earle of March ought by right to be King of England, and if the Earle would not, that then hee himselfe was next here.

3. That if he could not safely reach to the Marches, he would save to the Dauphin of France, and there serve with honor, which he was assured of.

For these ouertures of escape, and conspiracie the Knight was drawne hanged and headed: Of whose death no small scandal arose. Perhaps he that writes so doth meane that the whole was but a stratagem to rid him out of the party. *Edmund Lord Mortimer Earle of March*, the party whom the said knight mentioned, was feut not long after with many other Lords, and competent numbers of men, into Ireland, where he decreased without illbe, whose great patrimony defecated to *Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge*, the fatall disturber of the Realme of England, vpon the pretence of Mortimers title to the Crowne.

(9) The amity with the Duke of Burgundy, which the English had hitherto found so suitable toward their Conquests, having otherwise received some few slight flaws was now in danger of vter breaking vpon this occasion. *Henry Duke of Gloucester* Protector of the Realme, following counsell unworthy of his person and place, contracted himselfe with the Lady *Inequine of Bouris*, sister of *Holland, Zealand, Henault*, and many other faire dominions in the Netherlands, notwithstanding that John Duke of Brabant, her former husband was then liuing, and that the suit of divorce commenced by *Inequine* depended still betwene them. The Duke of Burgundy held with *Brabant*. This bred bitter humor in the Duke of Gloucester, who being not vied to meet with any rubs or confrontments, and now when in person he came with an armie to take

**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*
**Gen. 10, 11.*

**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*

The Duke of Mortimer to the Crown sought to be created.

**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*

**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*

The Duke of Gloucester rudely murderd another mans wife.

**Nov. 10, 11, 12.*

The Duke of
Burgundy challenges
the Duke of
Gloucester in
battle.

* *Stowes Annals.*

An.D. 1425.
A. Reg. 4.

* *Stowes Annals.*

Court-factions
in England.

* *See French
Marriage in
II. 4.*

* *Polid. Virg.
lib. 3.*

The new Con-
stable of France
arrives in his first
attire.

* *Stowes.*

The Duke of
Bedford returns
into England to
oppose the
Court-factions.

division of *Henault* in right of his supposed wife, finding himselfe hard let vmo, by the aids which *Burgundy* ministered to the Duke of *Brabant*, he challengeth Combat of the Duke of *Burgundy*, calling him traitour. It was accepted and the lie strongly thrust vpon *Gloucester*, who (leaving the light Lady at her Towne of *Mantz* in *Henault*) returned into England, doing nothing of that for which at that time he came. Mediation took vp the quarrell afterward betweene the Duke of *Burgundy* and him. Not long after the returne of the Duke of *Gloucester* into England, the first marriage which had beene made and consummated betweene the Duke of *Brabant*, and the said Lady *Isabelle*, was pronounced lawfull by Pope *Martin* the fifth. Hereupon the Duke of *Gloucester* (having lostened many looses afield of friends as treasure in punishment of that great sinne, in taking anothers wife) forthwith marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Richmond Lord Cobham of Sturmerburgh*, whereby he made her amends for that vniuersall familiarity which had formerly passed betweene them.

Meanwhile the Court of England doth well see that the King was an infant, for it was full of dangerous emulations and sittings, the Duke of *Gloucester* (whose high office it was to tender the welfare of the King and State) laying sundry grievous accusations against the Cardinal *Beaufort* (sonne of *John Duke of Lancaster*) Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellor as being a person very dangerous vnto both.

(10) The news of these hume-contentions coming to the Duke of *Bedford* into France, easily drew him home, though the loss of that Realme could not well want his presence. For *John Duke of Britaine*, (notwithstanding his later enmity of league with the Regent as *Amurath*) jealous of the English greatness turned iociously to *Charles*, and with him, *Arthur*, Earle of *Richmond* his brother. This puts fresh spirit into the drooping Prince. *Arthur* is by *Charles* made Countable of his France, in place of the Scottish Earle, who was slain at the bloody Battell of *Peruill*. The Duke of *Britaine* ouerlives this revolt but a small time. *Arthur* to declare his forwardnes on the behalfe of *Charles* assembleth about twenty thousand men, and with them iociously be- siegeth *St. Jean* Towne of *Normandy*, vpon the frontier of *Britaine*, which *Edmond Duke of Sommerfet*, Governour of *Normandy*, had lately fortified and stafft with soldiers. The unexpected arrival of the French, did greatly at the first perplex the English, but vpon better aduise, they valiantly sallied out vpon them, both before and behinde, which stroke to great terror into the enemy, that with losse of their Artillery, and many of their people they forsooke the siege. To redeeme this dishonour, he turnes his fury vpon the Countrey of *Angou*, which in many parts he depopulates and spoiles. The Regent being resolu'd to returne into England, leaves behind him *Beauchamp Earle of Warwick* as lieutenant, who was lately arrived in France, having six thousand fresh soldiers in his company.

(11) The presence of the Duke of *Bedford* Regent of France, was to the State of England very necessary. For the widome and authority of so great a Prince, being eldest vnde to the King, and one whom many great deedes made famous, allayed the distemper which he found at his arrival. It was a worke worthy of his labour, and he also found it to be a worke indeed, and not easily effectuall. The differences were debated first at *Saint Albans*, then at *Northampton*, lastly in a Parliamente at *Leicester*, which continued there till toward the end of Iune. The Duke of *Bedford* himselfe, to moid the note of partiality, for that his brother of *Gloucester* was a party did not intermeddle otherwise then as in General words to perswade amity, but the whole cause was referred to arbiters of greatest Nobility and prudence: by whose endeavours all those differences and green-

ces were equally thrust into one sacke, to be sealed vp for euer by oblivion, and without mention of amends on either side, the Duke and Bishop (the one having sworn by his Princehood, the other by his Priesthood, truly to obscure the sword,) shooke hands, and were fully for that time reconciled. After which holy and necessary worke of priuate atonements, ensued acts of publique and honor. For in the same Towne of *Leicester* the young King, not then five yeeres of age, was at the high feait of *Pease-cy* dubbed Knight by the Regent of France. Immediately whereupon the King honored *Richard Earle of Cambridge*, (who by the fatal error of the Countess was at this Parliamente created Duke of *Tork*, the same who was father to *Edward* the fourth) with the order of knighthood, and about forty more with him. This *Richard Duke of Tork* was hee, who brought vpon this Kingdom and nation most dolefull divisions to the vter extirpation of all the males of either house, that is to say, his owne, and that of *Gloucester*, whereof the young King was head. From *Leicester* the King was conueighed to *Killingworth*, and *Thomas Duke of Excester* dying, *Beauchamp Earle of Warwick*, was constituted Guardian and Tutor to the King.

(12) The Regent having thus worthily provided for the quiet estate of the King and Countrey returns to his charge in France. There went over at the same time a choise and great number of fresh men, vnder the conduct of that immortally renowned, the *L. Talbot*, whose victories (such *Polidore*) were so many, that his name was not only most dreadfull to the French, but most famous through the world, even at this present. That yet may know the man not to have beene studious of fine Phrases, vpon the one side of his sword-blade was engraven, *Sunt Talboti*, and vpon the other thus boisterous blunt sentence,

Pro vincere iuvimus mori.

The Duke of *Alencon* (taken at the Castell of *Peruill*) was set at liberty vpon payment of two hundred thousand Scutes of gold. At *Montargis* about Orleans the English received an overthrow with the losse of about fiftene hundred of their numbers, and in *Britaine* the French sustained great damages by a Captaine of the Duke of *Sommerfet*. These were petty matters. They of *Mantz* in *Maine* had drawn in the French by night, who massacred the English. *William Earle of Suffolk* Captaine of the place sends to *John Lord Talbot* for succour. It came, and that so unexpectedly, that the French were alike distressed. All but soldiers were spared and many alib of them, though thrust into prisons. The Traitors which had caused so much mischief, had their deserts by death. From hence the Lord *Talbot* marched to other enterprises. The quality of our task calls vs to the maine.

(13) *Thomas Lord Montacute Earle of Salisbury*, being with the Regent at *Paris*, and considering what forces of men, and all provisions the English then enioied, brought himselfe of some action, which might answer the greatness of his owne name, and of the publike meanes. The siege of *Orleans* is by him propounded to the Councill. The credit of the Motioner was alone an argument of power to conuince the possibility. His desires were therefore furnished with all competent provisions. They of *Orleans* hearing what a forme was coming (for the name of this Earle was worthily terrible) with great diligence ordaine for their defence. The suburbs (unfavourable in bignesse to a good City) they leavd with the earth, that the enemy might not from thence annoy them. Men, victuals, munition and countesse intencious to fight for their liberty, and safetie abounded. The Earle of *Sarum*, the Lord *Talbot*, and a dreadfull poissance vnder most expert commandes present themselves before it. *Orleans* was and is an Episcopall See, a

The Protest and
the Bishop
made friends.

* *Stowes.*

The King-
creates Knight
hood and dub-
beth Richard
Duke of Tork.

A.D. 1425.
A. reg. 5.
The Regent and
the Lord Talbot
with both letters
publish in France.

Talbot died.

* *Gagrin.*

* *Pol. Ann.*

The siege of Or-
leans.

Parliament

Parliament Towne, and Vniuersity, richly furnished vpon the river of *Layr*, whose bell glory it is, being the chiefe City which that renowned streame watereth. No enemies appearing abroad, he "approacheth close to the walles. Assaults "proning vain, he entrencheth about it, and to secure his Campe, casts vp ramparts and other works, one of which (by reason of the hugeness thereof) was called *Landon*, by the name of the chiefe City of England. The Fort which stood at the Bridge Foot beyond the *Layr*, hee leishth vpon and closeth them vp on euery side. *Charles of France* could minister no sufficient succor: God, when man helps failes interposeth his hand, which as all men daily feele, so is it most conspicuous in the deliuerance of Nations. The City is driuen to some miserie through the beginning want of all things; for the siege had now endured about 60. daies: "not without much bloudshed on both sides. The Earle of *Salisbury* impatient of such delay, purpoeth to giue a general assault. The better to consider vpon the coorte, hee stands in take view at a window harred with iron, which overlookt the City toward the East. Behold how God began to vncut the knot of those handes with which the *English* held *France* bound, a hailer of a great piece (which lay ready leueld at that window) discharged by the Gunners "for once a lad, strooke the grates, whose splinters so wounded the Earle, and one Sir *Thomas Gurnace*, that they both dyed of the incurable hurts within few dayes. Heare ow the common iudgement of Writers concerning this Earle losse: "Prisently after the death of this man the fortune of the war changed. "Now both mortal and immortal powers began to looke fauorably vpon the State of *France*: This to the "English was *luctum malorum*: for after this mischance they rather left then waime, so that by little and little they lost all their possession in *France*: and allets that I omitt that they got after got for one that they was, they lost three. So that *Paladyr* not without cause (after many other great praies) doth eliewhere call him the man in whom the safety of the English state consisted. The vertue therefore of a fortunate General is inestimable.

(14) Howbeit the siege did not determine with his life, *William Earle of Suffolk*, the Lord *Talbot* & the rest maintained the same all the winter. The wants of the Campe were relieved from *Paris* by a conuoy, vnder the guard of Sir *Iohn Fastolf* and fiftene hundred footsouldiers who arrived late in despite of all the attempts to distresse the, which the *French* made. The City would yeeld it selfe, but not to the *English*. The Duke of *Burgundie* they were content should haue the honour. A subtle stratagem, rather then an offer of yeilding, for there was likelihood in it to herke thereby the amity between the *English* and him. The Regent and his Counsell being sent vnto, thought it not reasonable (*Acemius* erroneously makes the late Earle of *Salisbury* the Author of this refusal) neither indeed was it, theirs haing bene the cost and labour. The Duke of *Burgundie* concludeth this repulse lowely, which married his talke of the *English* friendshippe coar after: yet the Regents answer was iust and honest. That the warre was made in King *Henries* name, and therefore *Orleans* ought to be King *Henries*. Among these difficulties lauged the *French* affaires. *Charles of France* vnderstanding the miserable straites of his deare City, & ignorant how to remedy to meete a mischance; there presented himselfe vnto him at *Chinon* a yong maid about eighteen yeres old, called *Joan of Lorraine*, "daughter to *James of Arke* dwelling in *Damerny* neere *Foucault*. "She shepheardesse vnder her father, whose flockes she tended, kide him not faint, and constantly affirms, that God had sent her to deliuer the Realme of *France* from the *English* yoke, and restore him to the fullnesse of his fortunes. Shee was not forthwith credited, but when the wise of both sorts, as well Clerkes as Souldiers had fitted her with manifold questions, the continued in her first speech so stedfastly, vntering nothing but that which was

"modest, chaste and holy, that honour and faith was giuen vnto her sayings. An old woman directed her. *Joan* armed her selfe like a man, and requires to haue that sword which hang in "S. *Kathens* church of *Sierroin* in *Touraine*. This demand increased their admiration of her, for such a sword was found among the old Donaries or Voieue tokens of that Church. Thus warlike arrayed the riders to *Blais*, where forces and felth vnto alay for the riefce of *Orleans*. Shee with the Admirall and Marshall of *France* enters late. This did greatly encourage the fainting *French*. *Joan* the maide of God, it they called her, (though "some haue written that it was a practise or impollute) is thus thus to de la Pole Earle of *Suffolke*, who succeeded *Salisbury* in the maine charge of that siege.

"(15) King of England do reason to the King of heauen for his blind repall; yeeld up to the Virgine the "keyes of all the good Cities which you haue forced. She "is come from heauen to reclaim the blind repall, and is "ready to make a peace, if you bee ready to doe reason: "yeeld therefore, and pay what you haue taken. King of "England: I am the chiefe of this war, wherefoer "I encounter your men in *France*, I will chafe them till "they or no. If they will obey, I will take them to mercy. The Virgine comes from heauen to driue you "out of *France*. If you will not obey, shee will cause "great a flure as the lake hath not bene the first time, and "yet in *France*. And heere certeinly that the King "of heauen will send to her and her good men of Arms, "more force then you can haue. Get in Gods name into "your Country: bee not obstinate, for you shall not "hold *France* of the King of Heauen, the sonne of S. "Marie, but *Charles* shall enjoy it, the King and "lawfull heire to whom God hath giuen it. Hee shall "enter *Paris* with a goodly craine: you *William* de la Pole Earle of *Suffolke*, Iohn Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas* L. "Scars Lieutenants to the Duke of *Bedford*, and you "Duke of *Bedford* turning your selfe Regent of the "Realme of *France*, spare innocent blood, and lease *Orleans* in liberty. If you doe not reason to them whom "you haue wronged, the *French* will doe the goodliest "exploit that ever was done in *Chrestendom*. Under "stand these newes of God, and of the Virgine. Yet *Charles* had at this time no whole Countries vnder his obedience, "but *Langre* and *Dauphin* against which both the *Sauoyard* and *Burgundian* prepared, but miscarried, the Prince of *Orange* the third confederate being discomfited.

(16) This letter was entertained by the *English* with laughter. *Joan* reported no better then a Bedlam or Enchanteresse. Though to some it may seem more honorable to our Nation, that they were not to be expelled by a humane power, but by a diuine, extraordinarily reucaling it selfe. *De Serres* describes this Paragon in their words. Shee had a modest countenance, sweete, ciuill, and replete, her discourse was temperate reasonable and retired, her actions cold, shewing great chastity without vanity, affectation, bolding, or coarsly lightnesse. Let vs not dissemble what wee finde written. By her encouragements and conduct the *English* had *Orleans* pluckt out of their hopes, after they had insisted the Duke of *Alencon* to enter with new force, and with much losse were driuen to raise the siege. *Joan* herselfe was wounded at one fallie in which shee led, being shot through the arme with an arrow. Iudge what the effectment of that hurt, when shee vied thre admirable and terrible words. This is a fauour, let vs goe on they cannot escape the hand of God. In all adventures she was one and formost. The *English* lost at this siege, the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Adam*, the Lord *Pyrmyn*, and many other. But doe nottrarily beleue *Serres* in saying, that of all forts were slaine in such Sallies, as the martiall Virgine made eight thousand. Our Writers say hee "sixe hundred. The Lord *Talbot* marched away with about nine thousand, whom *Joan* would not suffer the *French* to pursue. In memory of this admirable deliuerance, they of that City erected a monu-

"Secret Inuentor.
"749 1592

"Secret Inuentor.
"Folij 3^o 1592

"Grand. Eng. de
Hollan. R. Inuent
other French
Archives.

Some of the
Original Copy
illustrated by
Edw. Graham.

The Virgine
went to the
English General
before Orleans.

"Secret.

The description
of Joan la Pucelle
de D'Alencon, the
maid of God.

The siege of
Orleans raised.

"Secrety Inuentor.

"Folij 1592.

"Paul. Amy.

"Folij 1592.

The Earle of
Salisbury
was a great loss
before Orleans.
"Hollan.

"Folij 1592.

"Paul. Amy.

"Folij 1592.

The siege could
not be raised
before Orleans.
"Hollan.

Orleans offers
to become Bur-
gundian, but the
English would
not admit there-
of.

"Secret Inuentor
by Edward
Graham.

Joan the martiall
maid miraculously
by force on deli-
ver Orleans and
France.

"Paul. Amy.

monument, where *Charles* the fourth king of *France* and *Joan* the *Marshall* made were represented, kneeling in Armour, elevating their eyes and hands to heaven, in signe of thanks and acknowledgement.

(47) There was an interchangeable taking and recovering of Townes and places of importance vpon both sides. The Lord Talbot tooke Landul, and the Earle of Suffolke puts himself into Iergeme. Thither the Duke of *Gloucestre* with *Isam* and other great Captaynes come, which they force by assault. Sir *Alexander Poole* the Earles brother was slaine, with many others in the fight, the Earle himselfe remained prisoner. The Duke added some other places to this Conquest: Soone after his numbers are augmented by the repaire to him of *Arthur Constable of France*, the Earle of *Yamouste*, the Lord *Dalbot* and others, so that now their whole Army contained about twenty and three thousand men. With these they encounter the Lord *Talbot* (who had scarce the fifth part of their numbers) at a village called *Patey*, whom they charged so suddenly, that his Archers had no time to fortifie their battels (after their manner) with a *Palizado*, or empalement of stakes, so that the chiefe fight must be made vpon horsebacke. After three houres bloody resistance, the *English* were put to the worst: The Lord *Scaler*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Ramphill*, and euen the Lord *Talbot* himselfe (being first wounded in the backe) were taken. The footmen enforced to traile to their sword vnder the shelter of such horsemen as remained, retreated in order, and came to a place of safety. The *English* lost about a thousand, and the *French* about 600. This blow shooke the whole fabrick of the *English* greatness in *France*, at the very foundations, awaking multitudes (euen of those who before had vowed fealty to the *English*, and now had colour of diuine warrant for violating that vow) to ioyne with the victors for the recovery of common liberty. There followed the present result of sundry townes, neither was it long before *Charles* himselfe issues out in Armes, recouers the City of *Auerra* and *Reims*; where according to the Maides direction, hee was solemnly crowned King. Hitherto hee might be thought propheticall and fortunate. It should seeme now that the chiefe part of her employment was accomplished, yet the flourishing a while longer. The Duke of *Bedford* to buttresse the shrinking state of *English* affaires in *France*, and to encounter euill fortune in the face, vpon the vnsuspitious newes of *Orleane* rescued, and *Talbot* taking, musters his whole present forces which made about ten thousand *English*, besides certaine wings of *Normans*: with these hee marcheth out of *Paris*, and opposeth himselfe to the Current of *Charles* his new hopes who meant to attempt that City, some of whose Citizens held strict and secret correspondence with him. But vpon this affrontment hee suspended the execution of that design, hauing as then no hope to achieve it. The Regent returns to *Paris*, iohne the *Palace* disswaded *Charles* from fight.

(18) Places of special note as *Campaigne* and *Beauvais* yielded themselves voluntarily to *Charles*. The Regent having fettered the *Edifice* and *Garrison* of the *Chieftie City*, passed into *Normandy*, to provide for a safe retreat there, if perhaps the *English* (by the inevitable will of God) should be empowered to quail their other holds and dominions which bee began to suspect, for that he had intelligence of a secret purpose, which the *French* purposed to winne the *Burgundians* from King *Heunrich* six. While the Regent was absent upon this occasion, *Charles* goes the Towne of *Saint Denis*, (a neighbour to *Paris*) though hee held it not long by praefite. From thence hee sends the *Duke of Alençon* and *Tenac* to trie their friends and fortunes at *Paris*. They found not hoped successe, for the *English* gave them so rough an encounter, that *Joan* her life was 'wounded; and the rest with much laughter drinen to fall off. The Regent hearing of these attempts, engra-

(b)eth the Const-Townes of *Normandy*, to the care of
Richard Duke of York, and *Rena*, the Capitall City of
 that Duchty; *John Edmund Duke of Somerset*; humble
 speedes to *Paris*, where he commends the soldiers
 and Citizens for that they had not imitated the di-
 loyaltye of their Neighbours. New supplies came
 out of *England*. The next enterprise was to reduce
Cambray to obedience. *John of Luxembourg* with
Burgundians and some *English* beliegeth it. Here the
 glory of *Joan* unfortunately ended; for consuming to
 the refuse she entered indeed, but afterward fall-
 ing forth her troupees were beaten, and her selfe
 (being betrayed, say her lanourers) taken prisoner
 by the said *Burgundian* Knight, who for the value
 of her ransom (ten thousand pounds *Towers*, and
 three hundred Crownes yearly rent) delivered her
 vnto the *English*. The siege was notwithstanding
 rayed; they sent her to *Rena*, where she, about nine
 or ten monthes after, was burnt to death. *Clare*
 was raised by *Perfession*, and it is not to be doubted,
 but that the magnanimity of the *English* would
 have spared her, had they not found it necessary to
 deface the opinion which the *French* conceit with fa-
 peritious had conceived of her. Our * Writers shew
 how the course of her life being legally examined
 by the Bishopp of *Beauvais* (in whole I doubtless
 she was taken) and thereupon for forerice, blood-
 shed, and vnnatural vs of manlike apperrell, and
 habiliments contrary to her sex, condemned to die,
 was notwithstanding vpon her folowme abusi-
 ng of such her lewd practices, pardoned her life,
 till againe consisted of penurious relapsing, though
 acknowledging her selfe a *Strumpet*, and fawning to
 be with child, she desperately vnderwent that punish-
 ment which she sought to delay. The rumor of her
 end, and the ignominious cause thereof was some-
 what incommodious to the affaires of *Charles*. It
 was thought that the coming of King *Henry* to
Paris would be much more.

(19) Hee had already with great solemnity received the Crowne of England at Westminster, being about nine yeeres olde, a most faithfull and waken age for all impression rather of good or bad. The next yeere after his Coronation in England, hee sailth over into France there also to receive the diademe thereof. The *Captivelshepe of England*, was before his departure, afflicted by *Potent* for terme of life to *Richerd Duke of Turke* (which gauch him a more feeling of greaves and secretly whetted his ambitious appetite, upon this occasion. One *John Vpton*, of *Essex* being in Kent Notarie, accosed then *Dow* of the lame place Gentleman, *7* had been and his complices did imagine the *Kings* death at his Coronation. The combat was granted, and in *Smithfield* (the Duke of *Turke* exercising the office of high Constable) they fought in lists. In the end the *Kings* name was vield to part and forgoine them. It is a vice to suspect too farre. The Duke of *Turke* (a most subtle man) findes never in heart to haue beene a true subject to *King Henry*: yet no man faith, hee was any author in this. *Henrie* (the common wealth haping yielded to libral grants of money) in now ready to enter *Paris*. England remained vnder the government of the Duke of *Gloucester*.

(30) There is no doubt that the English there at their Kings presence, felt forth their greatness to the full then. The young King attended upon with new English Cardinals, Turke, and Winchester, and great Princes of his blood, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates, and the flower of our nation, with many a good French and Burgundian, as Normans and others, excellentlie well appointed, makes a triumphant entry into the head City of that most noble Monarchy. There was no figure in the People but of joy and welcome; the flowers were many and magnificient. Upon the seventh day of December, he was solemnly Crowned King of France, by the * Cardinal of Winchester, his great vicie, in the Chief Church of Paris, called of our Lady. The Duke of Bedford entertained the

The relief or
abbé of the Eng-
lish grenadiers in
France.

Polyp/arg.

The L-Yollet
taken in bottle
*Larva of *Amel.*

1870

Charles crowned
King of France
at Rheims.

Дане такође је још једна
вештина.

Chen de Breteuil
and Holmby p.
802.
* Scattered by
the ballard of
Pandora.
* Holmby.

She is burnt for
a witch at Koor,
*The Lost Pattern,
Dread.

*See *Wolfe* in
H.A.,
The French go
this sentence to
be omitted by
the Pope &c.
races etc.

* *Free*

K. Henry is as
coast as perfect
into France.

Richard Duke
of York made
Cousin to of
England.

A.D. 1431
A.Reg. 10.

Henry crowned
King of France
in Paris.

* *Pauli ad Rom.*
* *Joh. 1. 1. 10.*

monds of the Assembly with a few speech, wherein he declared, *King Henry his stepsons undoubted title to that Crown, and commended the same to their fidelities, adding ample promises of honour and enrichment.* Such of the French Nobility as were present, did their homage. The people had good and gracious words given unto them, and certain quantities of money, Corn, and wine, in the nature of a donation, liberally distributed among them. *Proclamations* were made, that all *Frenchmen* who came in by a day there named, should be protected. The Kings Patents and grants touching French matters, passed under the seal and stile of *Henry King of the Frenchmen and of England*, which Seal (for variety) we have prefixed, as we found it annexed, * to a writing directed by the King to his Court of Requests in his Palace at Paris; but for English affairs he used another Seal, being in every point like unto that * of King Henry the fourth, and (as some think) the very same stamp, (which therefore we have here omitted,) as likewise some * Charters of his there are, whereunto he affixed the seal of his father. *Charles of France* elected not himselfe the lesse a King for all this, but pursued his affaire. His people took the City of *Chartres* by a surpris, the Bishop whereof (because a *Burgundian*) they also put to the sword with others. Neither were the English idle. *John Duke of Norfolk*, *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, *Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick*, the *Earle of Suffolk*, and others, made up this loss with advantage. Their actions are placed by some as done before the Coronation which is likely. The King having thus taken possession of *France*, not long after took his farewell thereof. His returne was by *Rouen*, and so over land to *Calais* from whence upon the eleventh day of *February*, hee arrived safe at *Dover*. His uncle the Duke of Gloucester was able to give an honest and good account of the Government during the kings absence. The suppression of an insurrection beginning at *Abingdon* in *Oxfordshire* was not the least service. A weaver (the *Ballie of the Towne*) was the vicious head, to which that corruption gathered, who had changed his own name, and called himselfe; *Lache Sharpe of Wigmore land in Wales*. The special colour of his attempt was * to have massacred Priests; whose heads (he said) hee would make as cheap as Sheepes heads; that is, two or three, or ten for a penny. But the mention of *Wigmore lands*, the ancient inheritance of *Marquis*, (then the possession of the fatal Duke of *York*, who afterward in the right of that name, challenged the Crowne of England from King *Henry*) insinuates somewhat further. The varlet forfeited his head and foure quarters for his attempt. It is to be wondered that the Council of Estate vnder King *Henry*, hearing that title so often glanced at, provided not better against the mischief. But the eyes and hearts of the wile are blinded, when God hath a purpose to refuse a scourge, or to hide the fire which shall afterward be used to consume a nation. Vaquett humors were as well abroad as at home. The souldiers of *Calais* discontented with their wages as to little began to be mutually troublesome. The Regent comes thither in person in *Easter week*, where he exerciseth necessary discipline severely. Foote, the most faulty lost their heads, one hundred and ten are castrated, and banisht from the Towne, as five score others had formerly bene. Why did we upon so petty accidents? The losse of the Kingdome of *France* is imminent. Let vs diligently note the degrees which God found out to deprive our Nation of that honor. In this journey of the Regent, King *Henries* interest was not advanced. The Regent (a widower) roade from thence to *Torwin*, where (without the *Burgundians* priuie) he married the *Lady Isabet*, aged about * seuentene yeeres * daughter to *Peter of Luxembourg* Earle of *S. Paul* no friend to the *Burgundians*. This was nothing prosperous to the English affaires. For *Anne*, the Regents former wife, sister to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being, while

shee liued, a strong reason and assurance of amitie, weakened the flame by her death; and this second marriage, not pleasing the *Burgundians*, did yet more diminish it. These were bad degrees.

In the meane space, the accidents of warre between the English and French, were manifold and perplexed, now wee, now they feeling, or gaining, an opportunity served: which vncertainties brought forth their ordinary progenies, fearful outrages, and * sacrifice of all things needfull for the vie of man. It would be wearisome, and not much necessary, to recount the particular lesser actions, neither indeed is it easie; for who can readily tell the sieges, surprisles, skirmishes and the like, being so confusedly set down by Authors, wherein diners of both Nations wanne to themselves much honour, and served the vies of those times, and their owne. The vicermost effect of those great labours, was, that the English *Regency* fell not forthwith into nothing. Permanent leaders in those publike services were the Regent himselfe, their maine Pillar and Chiefe life, *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, *Richard Earl of Warwick*, *Henry his Sonne*, the Lord *Willoughby*, like these noble John Lord *Talbot*, (who was now at liberty, the Lord *Scalot*, besides Knights, Esquires, and other valiant Captaines a multitude.

(11) The fortune of *Renate Duke of Barre*, is not to be omitted for that afterward, our King vnluckely married into his house. He had to wife *Isabel* the daughter, and heire of *Charles Duke of Lorraine*, by whom hee had issue two sonnes, and two daughters, the youngest of which was *Lady Margaret*, whom King *Henry* afterward took to wife. *Charles Duke of Lorraine* dying, *Renate* thinks to succeed in that estate. *Antony Earl of Pallemout*, brother to *Charles* presumes hee hath a better right. The matter comes to be determined by blowes. *Charles King of France* was a steadfast supporter of *Renates* claime, in lieu of like offices performed by *Renate* to him in the times of most difficulty. The Regent and *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, stood for the Earle. Their aides prevailed so much, that *Renates* forces were beaten with losse of about * three thousand, from the siege of *Pallemout*, and himselfe with not fewer then two hundred others remained prisoner to the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of whose subjects commanded in chiefe at that enterprize. This * *Renate* was afterward entituled to the Crowne of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, by the testament of *Isabel Queene* of them. The King of *France* might seeme to have sustained a grievous losse by the entralment of this Duke: but the English gained nothing thereby; for his persuasions, and private offices on the behalfe of King *Charles*, did not a little prepare the *Burgundians* heart (which now was knit to the English but with feeble Arteries) to accept in time the holy impression of reconciliation. The French who liued vnder the *Regency*, or in danger of the English, made chioice of the *Burgundians* to protect them, which could not be embarrased to them, for that hee was yet King *Henries* pretended friend. Indeed this Some and visible state of affaires was full of honour, which *Polixare Vergil* describeth well enough. While the English and French gooth be content for Dominion, Sovereignty and life is safe, men goods in France were violently taken by the licence of warre. Churches spoiled, men every where murdered, or wounded, or other: put to death, or tortured; Matrons ravished, Maids forcibly dravne from out their parents armes to be deflowered, Townes daily taken, daily spoiled, daily defaced, the riches of the inhabitants carried whither the Conquerors thirde good, houses and villages round about set on fire: no kind of cruelty is left unpractised upon the miserable French, emitting many hundred kinds of other calamities, which all at once opposeth forth. Alde bereto that the Commonwealth being destitute of the helpe of Leues, (which for the most part are made in times of rage and passion) flatch up and downe: what any anchorage

* Papst. For.

* Gallorum, et de-
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)
fructibus (a locum)

The King re-
turneth into Eng-
land.

The French
breakes an insur-
rection at Abing-
don.

* Fourn. Annot.

A mutinie be-
gins in Calais
opposed.

The Duke of
Bedford marries
the sister of
John Paul
Duchess.
* Fourn.
* Savin.

* Jo. Tithon.

* Fourn. Annot.

Renate Duke of
Lorraine
taken prisoner.

* Fourn. Annot.

The miserable
state of France by
occasion of these
wars.

exchange as right or justice. Neither was England herself void of these mischiefs, who every day heard the moans of her valiant childrens funerals (some in perpetual flames and burnings, her general wealth continually chafed, and as wood, so that the evils seemed almost equal), and the whole Western world echoed the groanes and sighes of either Nations quarrels, being the common argument of speech and complaint throughout Christendome.

(22) The court certainly which the English held, did only faintly keepe alive the Generall State of the Regency, without giving period to the warre, either by finishing the Conquest, or settling that which was conquered. Some would have had large supplies of men, and treasure lested, that King Charles might no where have any rest: Of this opinion were Bedford^h himselfe, the Dukes of York and Somerset. This Counsell was not followed, but another, in these more frugal, which fed the evils, but redressed none. Present sparing doe oftentimes draw after them infinite waits, and no husbandrie proves so ill, as unseasonable Parsimony. In the mean time, the Earle of Arundel and the Lord Talbot, carry about victorious Armes, and terrifie Angles, Scots, and other places with their successes. In Normandy, new the life the common people drew together in huge multitudes. There were three-score thousand of them rebelliously knotted together in Frazin, Norman, and twenty thousand in Caen. Their purpose was (through dislike of the English Government, or practise of the French) to have reacht one hand to King Charles, and to have thrust King Henries officers out. What is a multitude without a guide? To stoppe their infolency and course which they held toward Caen, the Earle of Arundel, and Robert Lord Willoughby, with about thirteen hundred light horse, and fixe thousand Archers, march against them, by direction of the Dukes of York and Somerset, who had the chiefe Lieutenancies in Normandy. They divide their forces to vie them with the more advantage. The Earle stays in Ambush with two parts, the Lord Willoughby draves them into it with the third. A thousand of the Rebels were cut down before the soldiers hands could be stayed to spare the rest, who baskt (as it became them) throw away their weapons, and fell to the earth, crying mercy. The multitudes were suffered to returne, their ringleaders lost their lives. All that the world could collect by this popular infection was, that the Normans would be gladly rid of the English. Nothing else was done. This Earle of Arundel having done sundry noble deeds during the war in France, received his deatnes wound shortly after in a skirmish at Gerberoy in Picardie, where La Hire (a famous Capitaine among the enemies) had the day.

(23) The Regency yet held, and the miseries of France (being burnt up by the fiery reflections of two Counter-Sunnes) were nothing diminished: Who should give to them a Period? while the Duke of Burgundy continued English, it could not be. To prepare therefore a separation betweene them, such of the Nobility as went over to the Burgundian Duke told him, "That King Charles upon all occasions (when speech was admitted) spake of him honourably, and inwardly wished him well, and that he never heard any mention of the warre committed upon the Duke his father, (cause of the losses he had to France) but he heartily sighed, protesting he was neither party nor prize thereunto. These and the like mollifying sayes applied to the tumors of his revengefull affections, did worke strongly, the rather for that his minde heretofore possessed with the English amity, was now vacant in that part, the same (by the means of sundry jealousies and avarities) lying open to contrary impressions. There wanted but an outward honourable meanes to fashion him entirely to the French party. Let us heare " Serres in this point: The Deputies of the Generall Council preffe both

French, English and Burgundians to end all quarrels by some good composition. The City of Arras is allowed of them all to treat in. From the " Pope and Councils of Pisa, there came the Cardinals of S. Cressy and Cyprus, with twelve Bishoppes. For the King of France, there was the Duke of Bourbon, the Earle of Richmond Constable of France, the Arch-bishoppe of Rheims, Chancellour of France, and many others, great, noble, wife and learned men, For the King of England, the two Cardinals of York and Winchester, the Earles of Suffolk ("John Holland Earle of Huntingdon) the Bishoppe of Saint David, John Rastliffe Keeper of the great Seale, the Lord Hungerford, Rafe the wife Officiall of Canterbury, and some Doctors of Divinity. For Philip Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Guelders, the Earle of Nassau, the Bishoppe of Cambray, Count Verambourg, the Bishoppe of Leige; five other great Earles, besides the Deputies of many his best Townes, sufficient to heve, that though hee was in tide but a Duke, yet that his greatness was equall to a King. When it came to communication, the English being also in possession, urged further for themselves the right of descent, and the acts of Charles the sixth, father to this Charles, by which all the Crowne of France was settled upon Henry the fifth, and the issue of the Lady Katherine his wife, and therefore they propounded no other condition of peace, but that Henry their King might have all, and " Charles to hold of him. The French offered Normandy and Guien. There ended the hope of agreement betweene them, for neither party would accept. King Charles therefore resolving to maine the English faction upon any termes (how base soever) sends Duke Philip a blank, bids him therein to prescribe his owne conditions and demands: he did so: and his Conditions were so unreasonable, and so many, such a great volume full, (such a French man) as it is strange, so great a Monarch should scope so much to be subtil and wastall, but that necessity hath no Law. They joine hereupon most firmly, and the Duke (a man wholly transported by profuse) declares himselfe a publike enemy to all the enemies of King Charles, and friend to all his friends. This was the first parting stroke which severed the French Dominions from the English Souerainty: the event declared, that the English had done more wisely, if they had accepted Normandy and Guien; but as the case stood, then they could not in honour doe it, and Councils are not to be measured by events; for so the most foolish may sometimes passe for prudent. King Henry not only lost now hereby a most needfull friend, but was compelled to relie upon his single strengthes, as well against King Charles his naturall enemy, as against the Duke of Burgundy, who plainly seemed to have betrayed the cause. To set aglosse upon this fact, the Duke " dispatcheth Ambassadors into England to King Henry (who as " Ambassadors erroneously faith was present at this treaty of Arras) to make known the reasons of his peace with King Charles, and to persuade the King to entertaine the same. This Ambassage was so odious to the English, that they forbore not to call the Duke a deserting man, a turn-server, a perswaded person, and a Traitor.

(24) The popular hatred also was such against the Dukes Subjects, resident in London, that they were beate and slaine many of them, before the furie thereof could be stayed by Proclamation. The Ambassadors returne with honest admonitions to their Master, against which, his cares and senses were strongly moved; for King Charles had fixt about them as it were a Barricado of royalties, priviledges, honours, money, Cities, Townes and whole Provinces, which he confirmed to the Duke, only to withdraw him from vs. The whole Counties of " Aue, Verre, Ponthieu, Balaie, Artois, the towne of Abbeville, and other lands, the Cities and Townes in Picardy, upon the watter of Somme, Amiens, Corbie, Peron, S. Quintin, but these list as it were in page till " fouze

* Reginald.
Councils
at Arras to com-
pote the quarrels
of the English,
French and
Burgundians

* He 1. 3.

* Poly. Virg.

* Serres, lib. 1.

The Commons
of Normandy
rise against the
English.
* He 1. 3.
* Poly. Virg.

* Poly. Virg.
lib. 1.

Scenes in Char. 9.

serres.

The French and
Burgundians
agree.
* 14 Sept. 1435
* Serres.

The Earle of
Arundel deceaseth.

* Poly. Virg.
* In Card. 9.

* Paul. Amy.

The incredible
rage at which
K. Charles per-
ceived the Bur-
gundians good
* Paul. Amy.
* Poly. Virg.

* Serres, lib. 1.

* Paul Arceyl.

* four hundred thousand Crowns were satisfied: Briefly, what not! the Charity of King Charles was so fervent to make the Duke of Burgundy a true Frenchman once again: hee paid to deare for it, that wee may thinke him worthy to obtaine his desire: yet was it worth his cost; for *Eustasius* faith most truly, that the cause of that indignation did release the French from a servaine government, as the first assuming thereof had made the English Lords over France. But, howsoever the high and iust displeasure, which this Prince took for the wicked murder of his father, (abundantly satisfied for by this treake) moved him first to embrace the English amity, hee afterward most sublely concerned the revenge (by way of taking amends) to the enlargement of his proper riches, power and amplitude. After his Ambassadors returned, hee sends backe all contracts to the Duke of Bedford at Paris, and renounceth the alliance of England with a watchword, that every one should looke to himselfe.

A. D. 1415.

Aug. 14.
The Burgundian
reneuued his
the Regent his
travelling with
England.

* Inuent of Fr.

(25) Each man hercapout (saith *Serres*) thrusts his sword and scoures his Armes, to recover that by force which they could not obtaine by reason: *Serres* might better have said, *rescuing*. All things certainly favoured the French designs; for this was the generall estate of the English affaires. King Henry scarce out of his Child-hood; and when he came to mans age, not Man enough to manage so turbulent occurrents; the Princes of the blood weakly united in love, for the common good; the Protector vigilant over England, the Regent carefull for France, but both privately enuied; *Richard Duke of Yorke* (whose strengths daily increased, which in time he meant nothing lesse then to vie for the benefit of King Henry, ambitiously rekrwing himselfe for a deare day, most of the great warriors (saith) and in briefe a great instability (for want of a Soule, willing and fit to looke so sterner and dismall adventures in the face) through the whole body of the English forces; which though otherwise they might have lingered out the warre, and kept their footing, yet the death of the great Duke of Bedford Regent of France doubled the difficulty, or rather the impossibility. In taking this triumphant Peere away, God made it manifest, that he held the English unworthy and unfit to continue their Empire among the French any longer. This Prince not long after this revolt of Duke Philip, died at Paris, viceraine to some, whether through griefe of the evils he foresaw, or other malady. But the Analogy and colour of his whole former life, doth contradict their conceit, who thinke that such a grief should determine his daies, because it could not but proceed from a kind of feare and despair, an humor absolutely opposite to Magnanimity, wherein hee abounded. How mighty a Prince he was this his style sheweth: *Regent of France; Duke of Bedford, Alanson, and Amiens, Earle of Maine, Richmond, and Kendale; and Constable of England*. But (which excelleth his greatness) he was one of the best Patriots and Generals, that ever blossomed out of the roiall *Refuge* of England. His valour was not more terrible to the enemy, then his memory honorable. For (doubtless) whether with more glorie to him, then to the speaker) *Lewys* the eleventh being afterwards counselled by certaine enuious persons to demolish and deface his stately Tombe, *whetein* with him, "such one was buried all the Englishmens good fortune in France" which was created over his body in the Northside of the high Altar, in our Ladies Church at *Rouen*, vnder these indeed most Princely words.

The Duke of
Bedford Regent
of France died
at Paris.

* Constance in
Bedford or Lark
hermes Henry in
brave before
Fremple.

* Walter Cam-
den beareth.

* Henry Arceyl,
but Mather
Camden saith
was *Arceyl* of
Camden, ibid.

King Lewis his
Privately reb-
mney of the late
Regent's return.

(26) What honor shall it be to us, or you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground the bones of him dead, whom in his life-time, neither my father, nor your Forefathers: with all their puissance, were once able to make sit one foot higher and I who by his strength, pollicie, and wit kept them all out of the principall dominions of the Realme of France, and out of this noble Dutchy of Normandy? wherefore I say to you, God save his Soule; and

let his body new be in rest: which when he was alive, would have delighted the proudest of us all: And as for the Tombe, I assure you, it is not for us to see, or comment at his honor and all's defence.

(27) The Regent being now dead, the late peace made at Arras between King Charles and Philip Duke of Burgundy, presently disclosed, and put forth effects most dangerous to the English; for many Townes voluntarily yeeld, and multitudes of the French (who hitherto through feare contained themselves) starting away, all the English dominions were full of private conuencions, practices, and correspondences with the Enemy. Such English as then were in France, are not altogether sloathfull, but yet, through a fatal either feare or negligence at home, there was not speedy sufficiencie of resistance ministered.

(28) *Richard Duke of Yorke*, (whose services neuer did good to the English common-wealth) is created Regent of France, and Edward Duke of *Summer-set* (his perpetual rival, or perhaps an intelligent censor of his manners) conuinc his commands in *Normandie*. The Duke of *Summer-set* opposed the advancement of Yorke to that slippery dignity. He was no babe in so doing, but more fore-seeing then the Protector, and all the Council of England. Yet his opposition was vnreasonable, and fruitlesse, for the others carriage had woonne such a party about the King, (whom he meant by embracing to pull down) that notwithstanding the disadvantage of his illendited title, which was alone a great cause to haue made him earliastly incapable of so great trust and meane, he prevailed. But before he could arrive, Paris was lost. *Robert Lord Willoughby* was Governour there for the English, who had with him about two thousand, the faith of the Citizens was presumed vpon to make vp therell at a pinch, for a common resistance. On the contrary, they proceeding vpon what termes the English affaires stood in France, chiefly after the late Regents death, conspire against them. The treason was carried so cunningly by some of the principall Magistrats of the Towne, who capitulated for a general pardon, from King Charles (which was gladly yielded vnto,) that the mischief sooner tooke effect, then it could be discovered. *Thomas Lord Beaumont* began the losse with his misfortune; for *Arthur Earle of Richmond*, Constable of France, hearing about Paris, in hope to recover the same, the Lord Beaumont with certaine hundred of English, fell into his danger about *Saint Denis*, and were distressed. While as yet the terror of this discomfiture (not greiv in regard of the numbers slaine, but in regard of the Circumstances) was fresh, the French aduance their Banners vp to the City, where a gate was opened vnto them by their persuals. What should the English doe in this generall mischief? The townemen, lately vassals, turne enemies on a sodaine: women and children aslaie the English from their windowes with all sorts of mislill things. Many are beaten downe and massacred in the streets. The Lord *Willoughby* Governour of Paris, *Lewys of Luxembourg* Bishop of *Tierman*, Chancellour of France for the English, the Bishops of *Lisieux* and *Meaux*, with other, flie to *S. Antomes* gate and the Bastile, places which they had retained for defence till extreme necessity. Many more had been flaine in those places, but that the perfidious Citizens drew chaines thwart the streets, and empedded their retreat. Heare the tell in a *Frenchmans* words.

Richard Duke of
Yorke made Re-
gent of France.

* Mather
Camden.

The Parisians
conspire to dis-
possesse the Eng-
lish.

* Paul Arceyl.

* Serres Inuent
by *Lewys*, *Camden*.

The City of Paris
closed vp to
the French.

(29) All runne to the Bastile. The Tournels are presently seized, and all approaches vnto the Bastile are sone won. Such as were within it, at first made some show of defence, but all things were prepared to force them: they demand a Parlee, and agree to depart with their lues and baggage. They are conducted about the Towne beneath the Loure, to embark vpon the River of *Seine*, and so passe to *Rouen*. They could not well have passed through the City. The people herof advertised runne

to the waller, and cry out with great floutes, * halting the English like Dogs, whom a little before they had feared, and honoured as their Masters. Who of the English reads these things without indignation? but, they are the perperall manners of the base multitude, & the fortune therein of the English, the same which followeth all like accidents. Some will thinke that the Lord *Willingby*, and his people might have done more nobly, to have taken vp their granes in the place which they pretended to make good against the French. Fortitude is neuer separated from Prudence. Succour was depaired. The Duke of *Tork* was not as yett armed, and in maintaining their strengthes against the whole City of *Paris*, and all the present French forces for the space of about ten dayes, they sufficiently cleared themselves both to point of honour and loyalty. *Paris* was thus lost in the worst time for an Army to march in. They did wisely to choosethis vnfavourable season, their market might have else bene marred; for the new Regent (not so much hindered from sooner coming by the Duke of *Somerse*s emulations, which some ascribe, as by the very quality of the winter weather) arrived afterward, accompanied with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Wessex*, the Lord *Falsamburgh*, and other worthy perions, with an Army of eight thousand men. But this Regent did neuer good in France: Hee who so writes, might have also safely added, *nor elsewhere*. The English affaires were not as yet come to the very breake-neck point. They held (in the late conquered parts of France) *Normandy* entire, though not without much trouble: for the people againe rebel in *Caen*: but that mischief was destroyed with the greater and more merueille confusion of the Authours and Actors, then the former. About fise thousand of them were trampled to death by the iust fury of the English, vnder the leading of the Lord *Seales*, the Lord *Hewand* and others. They burnt all their dwellings, made booty of their goods, drave their whole numbers out of the Country. The Lord *Seales* not long after discomfited *La Hire*, and his Companie not farr from *Rouen*. The war was handled on all sides without full or complete armies. Skirmishes were the ordinarie formes of fighting. The French were schooled from setting their rest vpon a pitcht field. Thus hovered the affaires.

(30) *Philip* Duke of *Burguigne* had as yet in person giuen no proof against the English of his affection to King *Charles*. Now hee addresseth himselfe to an enterprise worthy of that expectation, the recovery of *Calais*. You would suspect that hee consiued still a friend to the English, in making choice of a scribe, wherein hee was most likely to waste his time in vaine, and yet make shew of much forwardnesse; but hee was reall, though the rather stirred thereto by the desire of priuate reuenge. The English, vpon his forsaking their alliance, had attempted to kindele the *Gamoine*, and other of the *Flamish* towncs (Subiects to the Duke) to rise in rebellion: but the opinion that *K. Henries* fortunes in France were desperately shooming, made their wits too daunt to take fire. The notice now withstanding of this attempt came to the Duke, which sharpened him to reuenge, whereof (as the former passages abundantly declare) hee was not ordinarly thirsty. He brings his Armie before *Calais*. Chiefe commanders there for King *Henry* were the *L. Dudley* who had charge of the Castell, and *Sir John Ratcliffe* of the Towne. The Dukes purpose was to haue cloyed the harbour by sinking shippes laden with stones, and such like choaking materials; but vpon the ebbe-water the Calisians deliuered the haven from that perill. The King of England advertised that his precious Fort and Towne of *Calais* was thus emperiled, *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* the Protector comes in person with a very great Fleet (some write fise hundred saile) to the rescue, and in it a great puissance, with full purpose to giue battell, glad perhaps that hee might now reuenge old grudges. It

is able to moue choler, to consider how Writers torture vs with the disscurities of reports; but the generall agreement is, that the Duke of *Burguigne* did raise his siege before he was fought with. Some say the very rumor of the *Protector*s approach drave him away, and that the *Protector* came the next day after the *Burguadians* flight. Others excuse him (probably enough) in saying that the *Blowing* grew vawieldie to his commandments, and would needs home.

(31) The *Protector* was master of the Dukes Camp, and spent eleuendayes in his Domitions, burning *Pepping* and *Beil*, and greatly diminished him about * *Granville* and *Ralegnis*, then fettereth hee the state of *Calis*, and * retournes with great honour to his charge into England. But the English were thought to haue created store of worke for this basle Duke at home, where many great tumults rose, in * one of which, his owne person was endangered at *Bruges*, *Lisle-Adam* the Captaine of his guard being there presently slain. Hence it came perhaps that a meane * was found by contracts made with *Isabel* the Dutchesse his third wife (a small witty woman a Portuguese) to hold a league with England, and yet no breach with France.

(32) These haue hitherto bene the actions of Men, let vs not neglect two great Ladies, because much concerning our historie depend on their courses. *Queen Katherine*, the widow of King *Henrie* the fifth, and mother by him of this sixth *Henrie*, about this time departed out of the world. This most noble Lady, when her husband the King was dead, being not of iudgement (by reason of her tender yeeres to vnderstand what became her grates, or hauing found perhaps that grates was no part of happinesse,) secretly marieth one *Owen* ap *Ibedore* or *Tedre* the most voble and most goodlie gentleman of all the *Welsh* nation, and endued with admirable vertues, whodrew his descent from holie *Cadwalader* last King of the *Britaines*. This husband had by her sundry children, two of which, *Edmund* and *Gaffer* doe beare a part in the royall history, and King *Henry* the sixth (their halfe brother) created the first of them Earle of *Richmond*, the other of *Pembroke*. This *Edmund* is he, who by *Margaret* the daughter of *Isabel* Duke of *Somerse*s, (grandchild to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*) had *Henry* the 7. the most famous and prudent King of England.

(33) In that yeare in which this excellent Queen died, the young Dutchesse *Doragor of Bedford* (widow to the late Regent of France) married also (below her degree) a vigorous English Knight, one * *Sir Richard Woodville*, of which match yet *Serres* needed not to haue spoken so contemptibly, calling him an English aduenturer, of small account: since thereby (saith he) giuing cause to laugh at her: which censure miseth perhaps of the French leuen and preiudice, because the Lady was sister to the Earle of *S. Paul*, who would not make one in the peace of *Arras*, but held with the English.

(34) But let vs see the sequel. Out of this Matrimony also sprung *Queenes*; for her husband (afterward made Earle of *Rivers*) had sundry children by her, whereof *Elizabeth* being one, had the honour to marry *Edward* the fourth King of England, and hereby was both herselfe a Queene and a Progenitresse of those glorious Kinges and *Queenes* which followed after from her and this match sprang another *Elizabeth*, the renowned wife of King *Henry* the seauenth, as King *Henry* himselfe did of the former: both those marriages proved most fortunate to England: but another marriage which then threatened preter danger to King *Henry*, was that which *Lamie* the first King of *Scots* made with France, who gaue his daughter the Lady *Margaret* to *Lewis* the Dauphin for wife, and sent new supplies of men against the English: hee meant also to haue attempted some personall hostility, but that hee was most wickedly murdered by certaine bloody Traitors in *Perth*.

* *Philip* *de* *France*
He returned with honour into England.
* *Serres*.
* *Philip* *de* *France*
An.D. 1437
Katherine Queen Dowager of England.
* *Paul* *Apul*.
* *Philip* *de* *France*
King Henry the 7. first Grandchild.
* *Erasmus* *Annals*.
The Dutchesse Dowager married with *Woodville*.
Elizabeth with *Lewis* a daughter of that bed.
The murder of *K. James* the first of Scotland.

* *Phil* *Fabian* *Chronicler* *Gregory*.

17 Feb. A.D. 1436.

The new Regent comes with an Army into France.

* *Erasmus* *Annals*.

Calais besieged by the Burgundians.

The Protector of England reduces Calais with great Fleet and host.

| | | | |
|--|---|--|--|
| | <p><i>Perth</i>, suborned thereunto by <i>Walter Earle of Arkel</i>, (his owne kinsman) in hope to attaine the Crowne, crowned indeed he was, but not (as his Withces & Sotterers had ambiguously insinuated) with the Crowne of that Realm, but with a Crowne of red-hot yron, which was clapt vpon his head, being one of the tortures wherewith he ended at once his wicked dayes and desires.</p> <p>(35) Let vs now cast our eye to the doings of our new Regent the Duke of <i>York</i>, that we may be wisedome, how farre by his endeauours, the affaires of King <i>Henry</i> were aduanced in <i>France</i>. The silence at this time is euery where very great, yet had he opportunitye to haue achieved somewhat. Two* thousand French horsemens were murthered, and roused vnder great disorder. <i>Paris</i> was fearfully punished with famine, and the attendants of famine, pestilentiall maladiet. The Countries about lay open: the Courtiers were discontented and diuided: Nothing is yet done by our Regent, which* some impute to <i>Edmond Duke of Somerset</i>s opposition, who out of enuy and dislike hindred his dispatch. Wee must in the meane time find out them that did some hurt. The Duke of <i>Somerset</i> himselfe accompanied with the Lords <i>Talbot</i> and <i>Faenbridge</i>, with other Gallants, and a competent force of the English, besiege <i>Harflou</i>, which the Normans in the late rebellion tooke from them, and still maintained against them vnder French Captaines: King <i>Charles</i> sends some of his principall Commanders with foure thousand men to rescue the Towne; who did their best, but not able to effect any thing, <i>Harflou</i> was rendered to the Duke.</p> <p>(36) In <i>November</i> <i>Richard Earle of Warwick</i> came as Regent into <i>France</i>, being furrogated in that office to the Duke of <i>York</i>, who returned into <i>England</i>. Hee carried with him a thousand fresh Souldiers, and arrived at <i>Harflou</i>, from whence he repaired to <i>Rouen</i>, the chiefe seat (<i>Paris</i> being now lost) of the English Dominions in North <i>France</i>, as <i>Bordeaux</i> was in the South; whereto now the Earle of <i>Huntingdon</i>, with certaine troupes and companies of Souldiers, was sent as <i>Sheriff</i>. This new Regent husied himselfe in the generall affaires of his place. Vnder him the Duke of <i>Burguins</i> forces were driven from <i>Cretoy</i>. <i>Abbeville</i> freed from the danger of a <i>Rapide</i>, with which the Duke had peat that Towne in, and the English for twentie dayes space together poole their pleasure in spoiling the Country of <i>Picardy</i> about <i>Amiens</i> and <i>Arras</i>. These and some other actions hauing bene worthily carried during this Regents government, himselfe dyeth. The Duke of <i>York</i> againe succeeedes him. Our interest in <i>France</i> was retained, not so much by King <i>Henries</i> ministers and Armies, as by remission of King <i>Charles</i>, whom also <i>Lewis</i> the Dauphin (afterward King) did greatly trouble by rebellious decisions, and absentments of himselfe. The feare of the English reconciled the sonneto the father the sooner. K. <i>Charles</i> was now fallen into dislike with his people, hnt to redeeme his credite, hee attempts the recovery of <i>Pontefry</i> (a towne neere to <i>Paris</i>) which the Lord <i>Clifford</i> had not long before surprisid by stratageme and money (an ordinary meanes as then for the expugnation of places) and comes in person to the enterprize. There attended vpon him for that seruice about ten or twelue thousand men. The L. <i>Clifford</i> is within, and makes a braue defence.</p> <p>(37) The Duke of <i>York</i> lately landed in <i>Normandie</i>, as Regent, assemblith his maine strengthes, being about iuen or eight thousand; offers the French King battell. Hee keeps himselfe within his trenches. The Duke (according to the ancient hamor, and discipline of the English, who loue to sit all vpon a poole) desirous to fight, vnexpectedly passeth the riuer of <i>Ouse</i>, which ranne betwixt the two Campes. King <i>Charles</i> dislodged so fearefully, that the French doe not oser boldly excuse him of* flying. The Duke hauing had the spoile of the French</p> | <p>Kings Campe, refortifies <i>Pontefry</i>, and assaults a <i>Rapide</i>, where <i>Charles</i> had left three thousand Souldiers to maintaine the face of a siege. It was held better to pursue the King, who was gotten to <i>Pontefry</i>. There the Duke of <i>York</i> againe very nobly proouokes him to a field. It would not be; King <i>Charles</i> saw the hazards were not equall, and therefore endures his brauado. What could the Duke doe more? hee is of necessity to returne to the maine of his charge in <i>Normandie</i>, and doeth so. King <i>Charles</i> ran into such obloquie and contempt with his people by this dishonourable retreat, but chiefly with the <i>Parisians</i>; that if hee had not attempted again and preuailed against <i>Pontefry</i>, it might haue icopared his whole estate; for there was a faction which would haue made vse of his disgrace. Hee returnes in great fury to the siege, and finally enters the town, not without much bloodshed. <i>Sorres</i> saith, that five hundred English left their dead bodies at the breach. The King was one of the first that entered, choosing rather to be thought temerarious then timorous. This exploit established his opinion among the people. A fauetic of warre filled both sides, and the estate of <i>England</i> vnder King <i>Henry</i>, whole softnesse and lenitie gaue way to sundry dangerous Court-factions, needed quiet Commissioners meet at <i>Calis</i>: nothing is concluded but the enlargement of <i>Charles Duke of Orleans</i> for the summe of three hundred thousand Crownes. Hee had bene Prisoner in <i>England</i> about twentie and five yeeres, euer since the Battell of <i>Agincourt</i>, where hee was taken. The Duke of <i>Burguins</i> was a speciall Actor in his enlargement, with a purpose to secure his owne greatness by benefices: this high borne Prince for the murder of his father, being naturally the head and chiefe of that deadly sewde, which had most mortally ragged between the houses of <i>Burguins</i> and <i>Orleans</i>. <i>Humfrey Duke of Gloucester</i> prudently foreseeing the dangers like to ensue on <i>Orleans</i> his enlargement, stoutly opposed himselfe thereunto, and that vpon important reasons which* hee required to haue requited, that they might remaine on Record for a testimony and discharge of his duty in that behaife.</p> <p>1 First, for that the French King wanted discretion and iudgement to order his affaires, which defects might bee supplied by the Duke, (being a man of experience and very subtile) if hee should bee let at liberty.</p> <p>2 That the said Duke might procure an vnion of the factions (now hotely maintained in <i>France</i> among the Nobility) to the preiudice of the Crowne of <i>England</i>, and hazard of the losse of the Kings territories in <i>France</i>.</p> <p>3 That the Dutchie of <i>Normandie</i> (hauing sustained a great charge in maintaining the warre) seeing the Duke of <i>Orleans</i> deliuered, and no royall Army on the English part to withstand the common enemy, was likely enough to revolt.</p> <p>4 That if the Duke should be deliuered, it might be probably concluded, that he would sooner break his oath, which he should (being prisoner) make to the King of <i>England</i>, then the oath of his allegiance to the French King his Soueraigne Lord, of whom he holdeth his lands and dignity.</p> <p>5 If the Articles concluded between his Maiesty and the French on the Dukes behaife, should not be performed, what remedy might his Maiesty haue or expect?</p> <p>6 That considering his colen of <i>Huntingdon</i> was to leaue the Dutchie of <i>Gueneue</i>, and for that the alliance betwixt the said Duke, and the Earles of <i>Armauch</i> and <i>Faix</i>, and the Lord de la <i>Barre</i>, was to bee suspected as dangerous, it was very necessary that good prouision should be made for defence of that Country, being his Maiesties ancient inheritance.</p> <p>7 That his Maiesty hath no alliance with any Christian Prince, but onely the King of <i>Portingall</i> being but of tender yeeres and farr off: And therefore it was not safe for his Maiesty to deliuer him, that</p> | <p>King <i>Charles</i> pursued by the Duke of <i>York</i>.</p> <p>Prisoners taken by King <i>Charles</i>.</p> <p><i>Charles Duke of Orleans</i> taken in captivity by the English.</p> |
| * <i>Hee</i> <i>See</i> <i>Part. 1st</i> . | | | |
| The new Regent doth nothing. | | | |
| * <i>See</i> <i>Part. 1st</i> . | | | |
| * <i>See</i> <i>Part. 1st</i> . | | | |
| <i>Harflou</i> recovered by the Duke of <i>Somerset</i> . | | | |
| The Earle of <i>Warwick</i> comes Regent into <i>France</i> , and <i>York</i> returns. | | | |
| A. D. 1438. | | | |
| The Duke of <i>York</i> Regent againe. | | | |
| King <i>Charles</i> and his sonneto reconciled against the English. | | | |
| The siege of <i>Pontefry</i> . | | | |
| * <i>See</i> <i>Part. 1st</i> . | | | |

was likely to proue his Capitall enemy, and to seeke meanes to deprive him of those lands which his noble father had left him.

8. That if any of his Maiesties kinned, or other Lords on that side the Sea, should happen to be taken prisoners, the said Duke of Orleans might ransom 4 or 500000.

9. That it were fit to take aduise of the Lords, and other his Maiesties subiects in the Realme of France, and dutchy of Normandy, whether they thought it expedient that the said Duke should be deliuered or not. Otherwise the world might crie shame thereon, when men should call to minde the losse of his brethren of Clarence, and Bedford, and other noble Personages, in defending and keeping those Lands.

10. If he (the said Duke of Gloucester) should consent to the said Dukes deliuerance (the same being also quite contrary to the last will of his Maiesties Father) such inconueniences, as would ensue thereupon, should be imputed to him.

(11) Notwithstanding the weight of so many thousand Crownes overpayed all these important and ponderous reasons; and the warre rages on still in the body of France, but not with so sharpe teeth, nor so full engorgement as before. Townes and people are taken on both sides. The Countie of Amiens was spoiled by the English Lords, Winghamby and Talbot; The Regent and the Duke of Somerset, march into Angou, where they charged their carrriages with much spoile and returned. Then the Duke of Somerset seizes himselfe, and doth sundry exploits in and about Britaine. Disip in Normandy being besieged, was rescued by the Dauphin of France to our losse. The contemplation of these mutuall violences touched all Christendome: for the Turke, common enemy thereof, encreased. Ambassadors are sent from all parts, to determine their bloody differences. William de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, was chiefe for the English. A truce was hereupon taken for eighteen months, between King Henry and King Charles, and an hope of perpetuall amity, weakly grounded vpon a match, which the Earle of Suffolke contracted for King Henry, with Margarete the daughter of Reuante, Citizely King of Sicile, Naples, and Ierusalem, Duke of Angou and Lorraine, Prince of the blood. To effect this, the Earle consented that the English should abandon the possession of Angou, and that to her father. A strange purchase of a wife, who though she brought youth, beauty and hope of a perpetuall peace with France, (the more profitable opportunity whereof, the English had more brauely then happily neglected) yet was free otherwise without portion. The Earle notwithstanding (whose drift herein could not be without manifest ambition, to make himselfe one of the greatest of England, by this gratification of the French, with his Maisties charge and dishonour) is not abashed to expect publike thanks for this high service, and an whole lifetime for the charge of her transportation. Sundry Lords of Councell and the King himselfe thought him worthy, and according to his deuise and ouerture, the whole affaire was carried. Suffolke made Margarete be sent over with many honorable persons, both men and women, to conduct the faire and goodly (but most vnsortunate and fatally) Bride into England. * Polydore giues vs a visting Character of this Lady. Shee was prouident enough, very desirous of glory, abounding in discourse, counsell, gracious behaviour, and manly courage; but not free from womens humour, which he vsually vehement and apt to change. In England ye may easily suppose, that there was most roially entertained; Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, among others, meeting her with a traine of * five hundred horsemen in a livery, that worthy Poet Iohn Lydgate Monke of Bury, deuising the speeches for such gratulatory triumphs as were made at her entrance into London. The King being married lawfully enioyes her em-

bracements, from which he was often afterward violently separated by the miseries of a most cruell warre, wherein shee had her piteous portion. Suffolke in the meane time hauing the most assured fauour of the Queene pursued his ambitious purposes. Shee in the meane time was solemnly Crowned Queene of England at Westminster vpon the * thirtieth of May.

(12) Would to God it stood now with the quality of this argument, to turne our eyes from the view of those actions which ensued; for here the mournfull tragedies of our poore Countrey began. But we cannot but open those olde and most execrable forces, that, in their example, all true English blood may the rather be tender ouer their bowels, beholding such effects as the diuell and all the furies of hell were (by Gods seuerer permission) Actors in. Fabian giues vs the causes and contents of those effects, in these graue and few words.

(40) "It appeareth that God was not pleased with that marriage: For after this day, the fortune of the world began to fall from the King, so that helth his friends in England, and his reuenues in France: For shortly after, all was ruled by the Queene and her Councill, to the great disgrace of the King and his Realme, and to the great miserie (it is Fabians word) and obloquie of the Queene, who (as since hath bene well proued) had many wrongs, and false report made of her. All which miserie fell for BREAKING OF THE PROMISE, made by the King vnto the Earle of Armerikes daughter, as most writers agree: Which misery in this Story shall fourde deale appear by the leading of Normandy, (as all things else, except Calais, which the English held in France) the dronion of the Lords within this Realme, the rebellion of the commons against their Prince and Soueraigne, and finally the King deposed, and the Queene with the Prince sent to the land, and left the rule thereof for euer. Then he: but all this fiere sort of the evils that were the brood and offspring of the following times. The Parliament in the meane time grauesides of money, that vpon expiation of the truce there might be present abilities to maintain warre. The Duke of Yorke is reuoked, and the Duke of Somerset (in an euill hour) is sent in his place, with such provisions as were reputed competent.

(41) Humphrey the renowned Duke of Gloucester, Lord Protector, felt the first stroke of the euill Aungell, which was sent to punish England, and to reuenge ouer her Nobles. This Duke was much mist of the Queene, and her faction, as the onely man who by his prodence, as also by the honor and authoritie of his birth and place, seemed to empeach that foueraigne command, which they pretended to settle in the Kings owne person, but meant indeed (as the manner is vnder soft Princes) to reigne themselves in anothers name. Many great Lords were drawne on (at the time of a Parliament then * holden at Saint Edmunds Bury,) to concur for his ruine, not perceiving, that thereby they pluckt vp the floodgate, at which the Duke of Yorke entered, ouerwhelming all of them in a deluge of blood. Whether they had any true or iust feare of Gloucester himselfe, least perhaps he should take reuenge vpon some particular persons among them, is doubtfull, though it be probable enough, that they had. Heere come things that forewent this Parliament. About five or sixe years before, * the Dutchesse of Gloucester Elizabeth, was conuited for witchcraft and sorcerie, and afterward ended of treason in the Guild-Hall in London, before the Earles of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolke, and Northumberland, and certaine Lords, as Fastolfe, and Hungerford, with others, and Iudges of both benches) of which crimes shee was appealed by one Balingrave an Astronomer, and Thomas Swinburne a Channon, which Swinburne was charged to haue said Maiesties ouer certaine instruments, by which the Astronomer should practise Necromancy against the life of the King. These being taken, accused her as accessorie

Shee is married to King Henry and Crowned.

* A.D. 1445
A. Reg. 23.

Fabian,

This contract by protestis said to haue bene made to the twelveth yeere of King Henry 5 and shalbe the Earle of Suffolke was chiefe, and sole after in breaking it.

The Duke of Somerset's Kingdom of English France.

The Duke of Gloucester was called.
AD. 1447.

* In February,

* Polydore Dorset, 3 he Dutchesse of Gloucester as accused of sorcerie and treason.

A short truce and a match contracted for King Henry with the daughter King of Sicile daughter.
A.D. 1444.
A. Reg. 22.

* Polydore Dorset.

* Polydore Dorset.

rie, theehaung desired the helpe of their Art, to know what would befall her. Some part hereof shee confessed, for which shee was put to publike and solemne penance in *London* vpon three seuerall daies, with wonderfull shame to her person, and after shee was committed to perpetual prison vnder the ward of *Sir Thomas Stanley* in the Castle of *Chelster*, but from thence removed to *Kewenorth*. Her pride, falsehood, avarice, and lechery were causes of her confusion, faith *Stew*; who hath set forth that businesse very diligently, though not seeming to attribute much credit to that accusation of treason. The Duke of *Gloster* her vnhappy Lord and husband (whom shee by love-curses and enchantments was said to haue enueigled, vsing therein one *Margerie Girdaine* a witch of *Ey in Suffolke*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*) living with this reproach, might reasonably be thought not vnwilling to doe somewhat. Howsoever that was, his destruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in this Parliament at *Berie*, was arrested of high treason by *John Lord Beaumont* high Constable of *England*, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerset* with others. Certaine of the Kings household were appointed to guard him. Not long after he was found dead. His body was shewed to the Lords and Commons, as if he had dyed of a palsy or an apoplemie. Of thirty and two of his seruants which were attached, *Sir Roger Chamberlaine* Knight, *Richard Middleton*, *Thomas Herbert*, *Arthur Twisse*, *Eligiers*, and *Richard Nedham* Gentleman, were condemned of high treason, and had this vnexemplat punishment. They were drawne from the Tower to *Tilbury*, hanged, let down quick, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a Charter of pardon shewed for their liues by the *Marquisse of Suffolke*. But the yeoman of the Crowne had their liuelihood, the executioner their cloathes. Their pardons were thus obtained by the careful diligence of *Doctor Gilbert Walsingham*, a famous preacher, parson of *S. Andrews* in *Wiltshire*. *Thomas wilde* Elquere, the Dukes servant also, being condemned and pardoned among other, had for a preamble in his letters patents words importing, "that hee had bene one among many other traitours against the King, with *Hamfrey Duke of Gloster*, who went about, and practised to deliuer *Eleonore*, late wife to the Duke, from out of prison, for which purpose hee had gathered a great power, and number of men to come to the Parliament at *Berie*, there to haue contriued the Kings destruction.

(42) Such was the end of this great Prince, who, notwithstanding this open shewing of his body, and these pretended crimes, was by the people of *England* thought to be double murdered, by detraction, and deadly practise. He was not only a true lover of learned men, but himselfe also a learned, and (saith our Author) a father of his Country. His maine opinion concerning the government of King *Henrie* French dominions, was as mainly opposed by the Cardinal of *Winchester* and others, who altogether perswaded *Pease*, to which the noble Duke (standing precisely vpon the honorand Maistie of the English name,) was an absolute enemy. From this troubled fountaine of diuident Councell many following blacke aduentures did flow. The Duke thus brought to his end, *Gonsoum* (saith *Polydore*) fearful of their owne offences, did of their owne accord forsake the Court, into whose roomes many succeeded, who for the more part looking how to rise in dignity made open an easie way for new fallowes. The Cardinal of *Winchester* (the other halfe-arch of the Kingdome) ouerlived not the Duke above fifteene or sixteene daies. The whole frame of government was thus drawne to repose it selfe vpon the Queene, and such fauorites, as the King by her commendation the rather liked.

(43) The *Marquisse* of *Suffolke*, prime man in grace, was created Duke, which made him a more

conspicuous marke of enmie, then that any shadow of the King or Queene could shelter or protect. After the Cardinals death, the affaires in France (where *Somerset* was new Regent) were neither disordered, nor the government of the Country well aduised. But the King and Realme of *England* lay, much more then France, open to the inevitable deepe, and pernicious conspiracies of *Richard Duke of Torke*. Hee (by the error of King *Henrie*, and the euill starres of our Country) being of himselfe a great Prince, and growne stronger by affected popularitie, perswading the King to be a Ruler, and not to Raigne, began secretly to allure his friends of the Nobilitie, and prouly desired to them his title to the Crowne, as likewise hee did to certain Governours of Cities and Townes, which attempt was so politically and closely carried, that his prouision was readie, before his purpose was opened. The very state of things insuited this fallall conspiracy: a milder King then *England* was worthy of, a Council out of fauour with the people, manifold losses and dishonours abroad, a turbulent and ialous condition of things at home. Of all which and much more, the Duke of *Torke*, having King *Henrie* the fourth (the enemy of his house) for a pernicious example, made his precious vie, cherishing the popular avarices, without seeking to redresse any euils, but representing them worse then they were, thereby to ripen that breach of loialty in the hearts of men, which his ambition wrought vpon. His displacement from the Regency of France, did not a little (perhaps) offend him at first, because the Duke of *Somerset* got it over his head; but it will not be long, before *Somerset* shall carrie of that truth, and the declining fortune of *England*, will giue him occasion to reioice at the foile of his dreaded enemy. Let vs not be long in the rehearsal of the publike shame and damage of our nation.

(44) During the truce betwene *England* and France, one *Sir Francis Sarrasin* an *Aragoune* (Knight of the Garter) serving vnder the Regent, vniu'sallie surprized *Flanders*, a towne of *Brittaine* vpon the confines of *Normandie*. Restitution is demanded. The Duke of *Somerset* (a proud man (saith *Servet*) who thinking to doe better then the rest, did absolutely raise the English affaires) contrary to good discipline, cherishing his souldiers in their riots and disorders, neglected the iustice of nations in that point. The French make this their example, and surprize *Port del Arch*, and towne after towne, so many and so fast, that King *Charles* (who, that he might haue God on his side, and wrong on his enemies, contained himselfe with great modesty, till he saw all quiet restitution desperate,) reconnered *Reas*, *Caen* and all *Normandie* within a short space after.

(45) Thus *Somerset*, and the English, are compelled to quit *Normandie* not only inglorious, but also in *England* it selfe vncomfitted. The next maine parcell of the English inheritance, beyond our Ocean, was *Galesaigne*. King *Charles* and his people detious (against plaine right) to make all that theirs, whatsoever was comprehended within the French language, inuaded that *Dutchie* also, and within verie few yeeres altered the fortune of warre, and disloyalty of the people every where fauouring them) extorted the same out of the English mens possession, after it had continued theirs about two hundredth yeeres, and nine yeeres, to the immortal dishonour and damage of our nation. The Duke of *Torke* in the meane time, who thirsted for the Crowne of *England*, hath occasion mislired to impute more feasters into his spiriting wings. *Ireland* is intamable. Thither the Duke passed, and now only appeareth the disorder of that Nation, but as yet such fauour is showne them, as could neuer be separated from him, as his longer. Thus diligently the Plouer makes his mines into the quiet and felicity of his Country, silling his caule the quarrell of right and iustice, as pretending that the Crowne of *England* appertained to his name and familie.

St. Asaph made a Duke.

Stewer died.

Richard Duke of Torke practised to attain the Crowne.

Stewer died.

The loss of Normandie occasioned by breach of truce.

Servet.

Servet Normandie lost.

A.D. 1449.
A.D. 1450.
Secundum Jo. Tol.

A.D. 1452.
Sicut Polyd. et Tol.

Galesaigne lost.

Stewer died.

The Duke of Somerset died.

A strange manner of life continued for treason.

A crowd, and storme deaths.

Reverend.

A.D. 1449.
Jo. Tol.

Still in the Dukes Articles against the Cardinal.

The Cardinal of Winchester the English.

A.D. 1448.
A.D. 1449.

(46) But the odor of this vile successe in France, comming into England, filled mens hearts and senses with great perturbation. The Queene and Suffolke suffer obloquie for these effects in the generall iudgement. The common wealth is not silent. A Parliament is called to be holden at *Westminster*, which from thence was assigned to be kept at *Leicester*. The place likes not; few appeare. It is brought backe to *Westminster*. There the whole body of publicke councill meetes. Many Articles are exhibited by the lower house against the Duke of Suffolke, wherein hee is charged with *treason*, *murder*, *misprision* and *treason*: who therupon is committed prisoner to the Tower: from thence, within fower or five weeks hee is discharged, which more augmented the generall indignation then his commitment had ministred facilitation. The perillous Duke of *York* warms himselfe at these blazes, and vnderhand cherishest them as opportunity will permit, having his cunning factors and instruments fitt for such occasions secretly spread ouer the Realme, to inflame the paysons of discontentment, and desire of change into the giddy multitude. When wee reade in our vulgar Chronicles, that about this time *Adam Malins* Bishoppe of *Chichester*, Keeper of the Kings Priny Seale (theough the procurement of *Richard Duke of York*) was by *Stephen Laine* at *Portsmouth*, and yet no cause of so foule and wicked a murder expelled, it cannot but offend any curious Reader, who would recieve facilitation rather by the realis of factions then by the enemies. His guiltinesse in the fact was so apparant, that *K. Henry* in his answer made yeere or two after to the Dukes dissembling, and deceitfull letter, confidently mentianeth the same, where thus hee speaketh. *Such is it that long time among the people hath bene vpon you many strange language, and an especiall anone after your disorder and vnlawfull slaying of the Bishoppe of Chichester, diuers, and many of the contrary saymen and other, said (in their manner) words against our state, making menace to our owne person by your sayings, that you should be fettered with many thousand, and you should take vpon you that which you neither ought, nor as we doubt not will attempt, &c.* What cause led the Duke to commit this so impious a deed, may easily now be coniectured, being none other but the common hatred hee bare to all such wise or valiant persons, as might in any sort vphold the most iust and gracious *Henry*; and his sincerity in the Bishoppe could not be but a dangerous crime in the Dukes ambitious eyes, which his enuie was euen then too intolerable; for when the Kings iustice when such a fact might hope of impunity? The Duke did effect it by his bloody complices as hee did many other most feditious and perfidious things, while hee was absent in *Ireland*. *Thomas Thane* notwithstanding calling himselfe *Blow-beard* being a *Factor* of *Conestrie*, and attempting to gather the people, mischievous in his treason, and for that was hanged and quartered: this was a preambule to the following tumults. The Duke of *York* whole and onely hopes were reposed in the generall perturbations of this Country.

(47) The Duke of *Suffolke* (a principal pillar of *K. Henries* safety) being let at liberty, attends the King and Queene in their Parliament at *Leicester*. Behold the humor of the Commons which were fowed with the prillient leauen of *Yorks* conspiracy. They cannot endure the sight of this Prince, because his readuancement seems done to despite of them. Calumniation and odious families are exhibited against him: hee must dwayne to make way for *K. Henries* most vnworthy ruine. The most vile part of this Parliamentall accusation was, that they should charge that for a crime vpon *Suffolke* which themselves had vniuersally in another former Parliament assented vnto and ratified. Which was the delivery of *Anno* and *Malin* vpon the marriage, concluded (for the good of England, if others had not inuetered or interrupted the successe by their temerity) with *Renette*,

father of Queene *Margaret*. Neither did the enuy onely of the secret *Turkys* ouerlade this noble Gentleman, but the impotency of the Duke of *Somersetts* faction, whose rashnesse and vanity hauing lost all Normandy, would gladly find any others to shoulder, vpon which to cast the impuration, either in part or whole. In that former Parliament assembled immediately vpon *Suffolkes* returne from that treaty with *Renette* out of France, this was the summe of the whole proceedings. *Suffolke* (as hee was very eloquent) must knowe to both houen his counsels and seruices, and the effect of his Embasie, praying they might be approued, and enrolled for his discharge. Whereupon the next morning, *Burley* Speaker of the lower house, and the body thereof repaired to the Kings presence, then sitting among the Lords, and there humbly required, that the request of the *Marquisse* (afterward created Duke of *Suffolke*) might be granted: and the Lords made the like petition, kneeling on their knees. The King concided to their desires, and so the whole matter was recorded for his acquiail.

(48) What can be more caident (or who can enough admire the vanity of popular mutabilitie? The Duke the (principal) marke, though the Bishop of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Sey*, and others were also accus'd) vnable to stand the pull of so generall an opposition, must be banished. The King vnwillingly giues this sentence against the Duke, or rather against his owne life and safety: five yeeres are limited to his exile. Being vpon the sea, hee is taken by his enemies, who at *Dover* had broke off his head vpon the side of a Cocke-boar. This diuillish murder (for it was none other, the Kings authority being vsed therein) committed vpon so great a Prince, was the lesse pittied, for that hee was not among the people to haue been a priuy actor in the Noble Duke of *Glosters* death, who perished (saith a learned Author) by the fraud and practise of a woman (belike) Queene *Margaret*. The Bishop of *Salisbury* before said more impiously, and irregularly lost his life in the following tumults, being murdered (after hee had finished diuine seruice) by his owne Tcnants, who dragged him from the Altar to an hills-top, and there (while hee was making his last prayers) cleft his sacred head: The Lord *Sey* Treasurer of England fell likewise into the peoples fury, and had his head cut off by the commandement of that execrable rebell *Jacke Cade*, at the Standard in *Chepe*, as yett shall hereafter learne.

(49) This *William Duke of Suffolke* was indeed a great and worthy person, for whom his Father and three Brethren had valiantly perished for their lines for their Country in the warre of France, hee serued in them foure and thirty yeeres, in queneene of the which hee neuer returned home, hee was once taken prisoner, being then but a knight, and paid for his ransom twenty thousand pounds sterling, hee was fifteen yeeres priuy Counsellor, and thirty yeeres Knight of the Garter. Notwithstanding all which, the same Author truly addeth: That as for these causes hee was in highest grace with the King, so hee was the more disgraced or hated of the people, and for certaine very bright matters, and these most very apparant, but was drawn into basishment, and (as you haue already heard) was intercepted vpon the sea in his passage to France, and by his aduersaries killed. What honest heart doth not melt at the relation of these violent contempt of all religion, honour, reason and iustice? yet are they but the drops which doe sorgeo those many bloody flowes, which the cloud of *Yorks* faction raide vpon our miserable Nation. They who murdered this great triumphant Gentleman, were certaine persons who waied vpon the Seas in a Barke called the *Nicholas* of the Tower, which belonged to *John* a *Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, Constable of the Tower of *London*, whom Gods reuenging hand shall not leaue vnpunished.

(50) The *Turkys* hauing thus rid *Suffolke* out of the way, thought it now a fitt season to spring their

* Still Chron.
The Duke of S. f. fully executed prisoner in the Tower and enlarged.

The Duke of York procures the murder of the Lord Priust Seale.

* The Crownes of England.

A fuller extension for creation.

The Duke of Suffolke King Henries chiefest Ray, secured by the Commons at the Parliament.

* This was in A.D. 1446.

* Strives almost.

The Duke of Suffolke going in his baselment of his daily more threat.

* Could in Glos.

The bloody clef in the Duke of Yorks purple robe.

* Consider in Suffolke.

The noble and great desires of the Duke of Suffolke.

* I cannot do enough you pardon equivalent.

* Strives almost.

The Kenish
rebels under
Cade go on
the Duke of
Buckingham

partise. Herupon the Commons of Kent, (who haue seldome refrained in such turbulent times) while the Duke of York was as yet in Ireland, take Armes. One *Jacks Cade* is their Capitaine: hee had bene the seruant of a *Suffis* Knight, Sir *Thomas Dagge*; kills a woman with Child; abhorred the land; turns *French*; swearing service to them, and now retuning, is the instrument to hang out *Mortimer* name, like a flagge to draw a party, faising himselfe to bee a Colin to the Duke of York. A peitlent deuil, to found the affections of the multitude, and to proclaim the Title to the Crown, which the Duke (as heire of that family) afterward challenged, for who would not aske, what should moue him to vfe the name of *Mortimer*? This Cade whom some (by contrarie) call *John Armentall* (that is, *John Marre-all*) hauing drawn great numbers to follow him, encampes at *Blacke-Heath* by *Greenwich*; and in his writings calls himselfe the Capitaine of Kent. His pretences (as of all like diuolish actions) were the common good and such other. The King at the report of these flatter is stirred. The Capitaine of Kent demands.

Cade demands.

1 That *Richard Duke of Yorke* be called out of Ireland, and (with certaine others named for States and colour) be principally vsed in Council.

2 That as the Duke of Gloucester was falsely proclaimed a Traitor, so the Authors of his death might bee punished.

4 (For the third Article contained no demand, but onely scandalous matters to aggravate hatred against the dead Duke of *Suffolke*, and his lining adherents:) That all the exortions (so the Rebels phrased them) daily vsed among the common people, might be laid downe: that is to say, the greuous taxes, which is falsly vsed to the perpetuall destruction of the Kings true Commons of Kent. Also the Kings Bench, the which is too grieuous to the Shire of Kent, without prouision of our Sovereigne Lord, and his true Councell. And also in taking wheat and other graines, horse, mutton, and all other victuals, the which is importable to the said Commons, without the briefe prouision of our said Sovereigne Lord, and his true Councell, they may no longer beare it. And also vnto the Statute of Labourers, and the great exortions, the which is to say, the false Traitors, *Sleg, Cromwe, Rye, and Robert Eys*.

(51) Thus traucously to the Kings welfare, and scandalously to his most gentle gouernment, writes this arrogant Capitaine of Rebels. The King vpon view of these braues, begins to feeble the indignity and danger. An Armie is raised, Cade retires to *Seauenoke* in Kent. The King supposing hee had fled, sends after him * Sir *Hamfray Stafford* Knight, and other Gentlemen with some forces. Wee read none of these things without a suspition, that the King was alwayes betrayed by such hypocrites about him, as would not haue him prosper. Marke the event. At *Seauenoke* Cade abides, probably not without encouragement from secret Traitors, and after long fight slew Sir *Hamfray* with many others. Hee armed himselfe in the dead Knights a-billments with guilt spurs. The King and Queene hearing of this mishap, leaue the Tower of London to the custodie of the Lord *Scaler*, and of that renowned Esquire *Matthew Gough*; and London is selfe to the Lord Maiors fidelity, themselves departing to *Kentworth*. The headlong crewes of London fauour the Rebel, and giue entrance, *Robert Harne* Alderman, like an honest wile man, would haue had them resisted. This free necessary speech endangered his life; honourable in his memory for the hazard only, what should hee haue bene if hee had glorious loffe? but money buyes out his perill with the Tyrant, who fined him at "five hundred Markes. The time was very slippery and loose; for the Essex men also were encamped vpon *Middle-end* by London: All men are afraid of their owne estates; inch secret well-wishings attended vpon the Arch-Rebels pretences. The King before hee had

left London was enforced (by such hollow friends as were about him) to commit the Lord *Say* Treasurer of England to the Tower, after that the valiant and loyal Sir *Hamfray Stafford* was slaine, and the newes of his valucky deafe were confirmed.

(52) Cade therefore being admitted into London vpon the second of Iuly with his forces, (where for a short while to delude the people with a shew of confidence, they abstained from robberies) strikes with his sword vpon London-bridge, laying: *New is Mortimer Lord of this City*. At night hee returns into *Southwark*: One * *Robert Penning* of *Southwark* Esquire was his sword-bearer and Caruer. It is needlesse to be particular in this Rebels behaviour: The next day hee returns, and the Lord *Say* is beheaded in *Cheapside* (as is before said) at Cades commaundement, and his body cut into quarters. The King being by the losse of so truly and grane a seruant, not a little weakened.

(53) The next tragedie was *Cromwe* an Esquire, and high Sheriffe of Kent (the Lord *Sares* sonne in law) who is drawn out of the Fleet (and to appeale the Essex Rebels) sacrificed by behanding without any triall at *Atile-End*. The City sturres not for all this. *Malpas* and *Gorsie*, two rich Citizens, at whose houses Cade had feuerall dined, being spoiled and robbed by him (left perhaps it might appeare, that hee durst commit treasons, had not also the heart to commit felonies) reach what others are to expect. The Maior, *Thomas Chelton* and the wiser wealthy ones, overruled by faction rill then, see their danger now, and secretly send to the Lord *Scaler* for aide. *Matthew Gough* at night is come among them as sent by him. The Kentishmen, hearing their entrie was barred, ranne furiously to armes. Cade endeavours to open his way by force; but in despite of all his power, the Citizens made good & defended London-bridge against him, though with the losse of many valiant and honest men; for the conflict endured all night till nine in the morning. Among such as were laine on the Kings side, were *John Switen* Alderman, *Matthew Gough* himselfe, and *Robert Heydon* Citizen. This *Gough* (an Esquire of *Wales*) was a man of excellent wit, murthered, and sent to his Country, and of great renown in the warre of France, where hee had serued with special commendations faithfully, for the space of about twenty yeeres. His delects at this time destroyed a Statue in the City, for whose safety hee spent his last blood. To giue a quicker end to these miseries, impunity is proclaimed for all offenders, and sent to them in the Kings name by the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor, vnder the great Seale of England: the rebels are feared with this assurance of their safeties, and every man retires in peace from following so peitlent an Impostor. A thousand Markes (when Cade afterward attempted new troubles) are promised to him, who kils or takes this counterfeite *Mortimer*. *Alexander Eden*, a Gentleman of Kent, had the happinesse to discover and kill him at *Hatfield* in that County: his wretched carcase was brought to London, where his false head was set sentinell vpon London-bridge, and his quarters were aduanced for terror in severall parts of Kent. There died also by the stroke of iustice twenty and sixe more, whereof eight were executed at *Canterbury*, and the rest elsewhere in Kent and *Suffis*. The multitude it selfe * came naked in their shirts to the King on *Blacke-Heath* humbly praying mercy which they obtained.

(54) The Kentish rebellion thus pacified, farre greater and farre more dangerous troubles ensued, as if * *Fortis* in humane bodies, which relapsing into sickness, are shaken so much the more terribly. These troubles had their fountaine and mediate Originall, from *Richard Duke of Yorke*, no degenerate sonne of that *Richard*, whom King *Henry* the fifth had created *Earle of Cambridge*, and enriched with much wealth, honoring him about others in regard of his blood

A. D. 1450.

Cade beheaded in London.

* S. 12. v. 2. d. 1451.

Cade (sent) shall come to London bridge.

Alderman Switen and Matthew Gough slain in the conflict. See 1. v. 15.

* The Kings proclamation. Cade proclaimed and killed.

* Feb. 23.

* 7. v. 1. v. 15.

Switen and Eden.

* Page.

The list shall containe this King, where Cade hath the victory.

Switen a worthy Alderman of London protesting the resistance of Cade is in danger of his life.

* 7. v. 1. v. 15.

"The Duke of York comes out of Ireland."

and parentage that "no haunts nor benefits could change a treacherous disposition for (as you have heard before) he conspired to murder his benefactor King Henry the fifth, as the Duke of York his true progenie labored to depose this King Henrie his aduancer. The honors of the popular body, were, in the last commotion, not obscurely discovered. The Common weale had perhaps some few eunomies through the abuse of Magistrates and men in place, but yet such, as the malice was infinitely lesse pernicious then the remedy. Vpon this intelligence the Duke comes suddenly out of Ireland, and to begin his vspured censorship and disfigure, apprehends "John Sutton Lord Dudley, Reynald Abbot of Saint Peters, at Glasbury, and auerth, whom he imprisoneth within his Castle of Ludlow. Intolerable beginnings of more intolerable sequele. Edmund Duke of Sommerfet was the man, who (after Suffolkes death) most supported the Kings side by his vigilance, earnestness, and good Counsels, endeavoring by all means to clear the Realme from factions, and to preferre the King and state in quiet.

The Duke of York comes out of Ireland.

"Suttons Arrest."

"Zep. 20. 15. 13."

(55) Turke seeing this, doth find that Suffolke perished in vaine, if Sommerfet held like grace against whose person he had a particular pretence of quarrell, for that the City of Caen in Normandy, which was the Duke of Turkes charge, was rendered vp to the French by him, when the English affaires grew desperate in those parts; Sir David Hall Knight, being at that time Captaene there for his Lord and Master the Duke of Turke, and not allowing it, although the renowned Talbot himselfe was present at the render, and becamean hostage for performance of the Capitulations. Turke hereupon consults with his special friends, Richard Earle of Salisbury, and Richard his son, (who was afterward that most infamous & great fighting Earle of Warwicke,) Thomas Courtney Earle of Desmoneth, Edmund Brooke Lord Cobham, and others, how Turke might get the Crowne of England, and for that cause begin to raise or fret out the Duke of Sommerfet, who standing, they were to looke for strong opposition. In the end, they conclude to take armes, but yetto sweate the mention of the Duke of Turkes title, giving out to the world for the reason of their doings, that they meant all honour and obedience to King Henry, and only to remove a raine bad men from about his person who afflicted the people, and made a prey of the Common-wealth: which, to gaine the more credit, and to hild the good King, the fabule Duke declares by Proclamation; where in thus he speaketh that Ambitious Hypocrite. God knoweth from whom no thing is hid, I am, have bene and ever will be his true loyal man; Owe. And to the very people it is so, I offer my selfe to sweare that on the blessed Sacrament, and reuerent, the which I hope shall be my salvation, at the day of doome, Owe. In that it was the caill hap of the Duke of Sommerfet, that Normandy was lost during his Regencie, his enemies had the more commoditie to incommode him with the people, who forbore not at his returne to offer to him sundry dishonours and injuries, till vpon paine of death they were restrained, for breach of which Proclamation, one had his head cut off in 1528 Cheap London.

(56) The King (notwithstanding all his Cosens arts and dissimulations) seeing the hookethrough the bait, and the snake through the grasse, by the aduise of his trusty friends, chiefly of Edmund Duke of Sommerfet, thinks not fit to relye vpon his enemies good nature, but having a strong power, and store of honorable men to conduct them, he marcheth toward Wales against the Duke. The King did herein wisely, but not so much as the cause required. Turke hauing notice of the Kings approach turnes aside, and with all speed marcheth toward London. That City, (the vaine hope of all Rebellions,) would not haue it; Thereupon he slides with his people into Kent, the nest of his hopes, and at Brent-wealth neere Dersford (a towne about twelue miles from London) encampeth, meaning to fight. The

The Duke of York comes vpon pretence to reforme the State.

A. D. 1452. "Dat. 9. Jan. 10. M. C. at the Dukes Castle of Ludlow."

The publishers declaration (from Duke in his dedication).

The King next the Duke of York.

King is not flow, but leauing his march toward Wales, pitcheth vp his totall pavilion vpon Black-Heath, with a purpose to reach his coien of Turke more duty. Behold the fortune of England. God puts an excellent opportunity into the Kings hands of tearing vp the danger of his house by the rootes, for the Duke was farre inferior in numbers. Such therefore as secretly fauoured him, fearing his overthrow, were willing to aduise a reconciliation. Messengers goe betweene the holts. The Duke, in his wonted manner, pretends loue and particular mineries, as that the Kings seruants, Sir John Talbot at Wall Castle, Sir Thomas Stanley in Cheshire, and others in other places, were set to harrowe vpon him. That by "two of the Norrices, Baskely, Graff, Beauland other Gentlemen" he was forbidden to land at Brynmor, or to haue any refreshment affirming that he (the Duke of Turke) was against the Kings intent and as a Traitor. The King stoppes so much as to answer the letter, letting him to knowe: That the suspicion vnderstandly conceited of his behaviour, moved these effects: neuertheless, in regard of the humble obedience which was now prest, he, for the easing of the Dukes heart, doth declare, repaite, and admit him as a true, and faithful subject, and as his well-beloued Cosen. The Duke then aduanceth his practice one step further, and writes to the King, that Iustice might be done vpon all persons of what degree fouer, which were guilty, or noised to be guilty of treason: aiming at the Duke of Sommerfet, whom he doubted not to ouerhelme with sleights and calumnies, as hee and his had done the Duke of Suffolke.

(57) The King is contented (such weak or treacherous counsels he relied vpon) that Sommerfet (for his facilitation) should be commanded Prisoner to his owne home, and Turke (having first dissolved his armie) should come in person, and put himselfe into the Kings hand. When he was come, he exhibits a great complaint against the pride and auarice of the Duke of Sommerfet, and cunningly accusing none but him, he ferkes the good-will of all others. A conning drift as any, considering that hereby he deriued vpon his enemy all the enuie of the people, and left him single to withstand the efforts. Sommerfet (a Prince of great spirit and wit) not thinking it reasonable, as well in regard of his owne honour as the Common-wealths interest, to endure such indignity, presents himselfe to the King against his accuser, and resoluing not to be tender-mouthed in the so apparent perill of the King and Realme, whose quiet was vndermined, answers Turke face to face, and, in plaine termes accuseth him of highest treason, as hauing conspired to depose the King, and take vpon himselfe the Soueraignty: vehemently vrging: That "the Duke of Turke might be committed and arraigned, to the intent that by his deferred death, and the disablement of his Iones, could warre might be extinguisht, praying finally that God would not suffer the enemies of the King to escape the hand of iustice.

(58) This had in likelihood bene done, but that the publike faith seemed to stand engaged for the Dukes indemitie, he hauing come in vpon the Kings word, and also for that the hearts of men were not well affixed to the King, which by executing Turke would perhaps haue bene more vnfixed, because not looking into the depth of the Kings perill it would haue bene thought that he had bene deliuered to gratifie Sommerfet, and not to secure the Realme. There was hope likewise to recouer Aquitaine, for that Bourdeaux had offered to returne: Lastly, the Dukes sonne and heire, Edward Earle of March (afterward King) was reported to be ready with a great force of Willoughs to succour his father. Vpon these and other reasons, the Duke is no longer restrained, as vpon Sommerfets most weighty accommodations he had bene, and to assure the gentle and indulgent King, of his allegiance, he maketh his submission, and solemnly TAKES HIS OATH to be true, faithful and obedient subject. This was done vpon

The Kings army being greater then the Dukes, prece in vantageously made.

"As Sir John Blyth or Drake."

"Zep. 20. 15. 13."

"The Duke of Sommerfet constantly stands the Duke of Turke of treason."

The Duke of York takes his Oath in the name of King Henry.

upon the tenth of March in the Church of S. Paul in London, the King himselfe, and most of the chiefe nobility being present, as the Dukes of Buckingham, Norfolk, & Sommerfet, nine Earles, the Viscounts, Beaumont and Melb, many great Barons: Of the Clergy, the Cardinall of Yorke the Archbishop of Cantuari, the Bishops of Winchester Elze and London.

(59) Let vs view the forme and words of this Caution upon which King Henric (measuring other mens hearts by his owne) was aduised to repose his life and Kingdome, which are these.

"I Richard, Duke of Yorke, confesse and beknowen that I am and ought to be humble subiect, and liege man to you my Soueraigne Lord, King Henry the sixth, and owe therefore, to heare you faith and truth, as to my Soueraigne large Lord, and shall doe all daies to my liues ends and shall not at any time will or assent that any thing be attempted or done against your most noble person, as but to hereafter I shall haue knowledge of any such thing imagined or purposed, I shall with all speed and diligence possible to me make, that your highnesse shall bene knowledge thereof, and, over that, doe all that shall possible be to me to the withstanding, and let thereof to the uttermost of my life: I shall not any thing take upon me against your reall estate or obedience that is due thereto, nor suffer any other man to doe as ferre forth as shall be in my power to let it. And also shall come at your commandment, wheresoever I shall be called by the same, in humble and obedient wise, but if I be letted by any sickness or impotencie of my person, or by such other cause as shall be thought by you my Soueraigne Lord reasonable, I shall neuer hereafter take upon me to gather any rout or to make any assembly of your people without your commandment, or licence, or in my lawfull defence, in interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull defence I shall report me at all times to your highnesse, and if the case require to my Peers: nor any thing attempt against any of your Subiects, of what estate, degree or condition that they be. But whensoever I find my selfe wronged and aggrieved, I shall first humbly for remedie to your highnesse and proceed after the course of your lawes, and none otherwise, leaving in mine owne lawfull defence in manner abovesaid, and otherwise hane to your highnesse as an humble and true subiect ought to hane him to his Soueraigne Lord. All these things abovesaid I promise you truly to observe and keep by the holy Euangelists contained in the booke that I lay my hand here vpon, and by the holy Crosse I heretouch, and by the blessed Sacrament of our Lords body, that I shall now with his merite receive. Andauer I agree me, and will that if at any time hereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I neuer shall, any thing attempt by way of state, or otherwise against your reall Maiestie and obedience, that I owe thereto, or any thing take upon me otherwise then it is aboue expressed, I from that time forth be enabled, held, and taken as an vnrue and openly forsworne man, and vnable to all manner of worship, estate or degree, be it such as I was occupie, or any other that might in any wise growe to me hereafter. And thus I haue here promised and sworn, proceeding of mine owne desire and free volent and of no constraint nor gaine Coaction. In witness of all which things a have written, I Richard Duke of Yorke aboue write subscribe with mine owne hand and seale.

This Oath he also took at Westminster and Countre at sundrie times. Who now can consider the effects of this so publike and solemne Oath, and doeth not reembre in enerie part? Let vs haften to their view, least God perhaps may quietly seeme to haue bene mockt to his face by a vaine ambitious man.

(60) To direct these home-breeding rancors and practices, by employing the wits and bodies of men in other more honest things, the Earle of Cardal (sonne = to Capite de Andrie who had vpon necessity submitted his Seignouries to Charles the French King, but referred his person out of that obedience) and the Lord L'Escarpe come secretly from Bordeaux and pray an Armie, for that Bordeaux and the Gas-

caigns would returne to the English, if they might be supported. An Armie is decreed for their redemption. John Lord Talbot the first Earle of Shrewsburie of his name as Generall in that enterprise, lands in Gascoigne, where he doth sundry exploits, and the fame of his former cheualerie flying before with terror, makes many places the rather to yeeld. Bordeaux her selfe secretly opens a gate vnto him, which the French Garrison perceiving fled out at a Postern, but many being overtaken were slaine by the Lord L'Escarpe and the English. New supplies and victuals arrive, whereof the Earle of Shrewsburies younger sonne, (the Picquet Lale by his wife,) was a principall conductor. Bordeaux thus thoroughly muned and fortified, the Earle is aduertised that the French lay at siege before Castillon, a place of importance vpon the river of Dordogne. Thither the Earle marcheth, and with too great a confidence charging the enemy vpon vnquell termes, was there slaine, together with his sonne the Picquet Lale and others. Bordeaux received such as fled. The English fortunes and hopes which began to quicken, made this vnhappie catastrophe in Talbot, to the infinite losse of our nation and griefe of the Gascoignes, who generally miliked the French and inclined to the English, hauing so honourable, and for so long a time governed those dominions. This was the end of that great Earle, after he had for the space of twenrie and foure yeeres serued his Prince and Countrey in the French warres, with highest commendation; a most noble and most valiant man, by whose vertue the English name did chiefly become terrible in France. Bordeaux it selfe, and all other places after this, were by siege brought againe vnder the French King, who prosecuted those affaires in person. From that time forward the English neuer obtained there any hold or further footing, the felicity of this attempt breaking all combinations of the Gascoignes. This Duchie of Aquitaine contained four Archbishops, four and twenty Bishops, fifteen Earldomes, two hundred and two Barons, and about a thousand Captainships and Bacheliers. The losse of so goodly an inheritance which had continued English for almost three hundred yeeres, the world may easily coniecture how lustily it was grieved and lamented for. In this false estate of the English, the Queene vpon the thirteenth day of October was deliuered of her first sonne who was named Edward, proving the child of sorrow and infelicity.

(61) It were to be wished we might now rather number the following evils of England, then describe them; for what can we learne out of such vnnatural and savage destructions, but matter of horror and detestation? but sith they must be handled (the law and necessity of our taske exacting it,) the sooner to be quit of so vnapleasing obiects, it will be best abruptly to thrust into the narration. The Duke of Yorke (wickedlie carelesse of an Oath so religiouslie and publiquely taken,) to make his way to the Crowne more ealie, hath now procured his chiefe and most fearefull enemy the Duke of Sommerfet to be feloniously attainted of high treason, (doubtfull whether by any authority but his owne) in the Queenes great Chamber, and sent to the Tower of London, vpon pretence that he had capitall matter to charge him with. Yorkes principall friends (vpon confidence of whom he dared so high things) were Richard Nevill Earle of Salisbury second sonne of Ralfe Nevill Earle of Wiltshirland, whose daughter the Duke of Yorke had married. This Richard was Earle of Salisbury in right of Alice his wife, sole heire to Thomas Montacute, the famous Earle, slaine at the siege of Orleans. The Dukes other maine hope was Richard Nevill (sonne of the former Richard Nevill,) who in right of his wife, the Lady Anne (sole sister, and heire of the whole blood to Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick) was by this King Henry the sixth created Earle of Warwick in a most vnhappie houre both for the King & kingdome, being in his owne Ove a man of an vndanted mind, but flitting faith.

The Earle of Shrewsburie and his younger sonne slaine in battle.

An. D. 1453
A. reg. 31.

*Cambridge
Shewsburie
Earle of York
in battle.

The English
spoke English
out of all ap-
pareances.

Prince Edward
is borne.

A. D. 1454.

*Cambridge
in prison.

(62) The

The Duke of
Orkney and
Lindisfarne.

*A. D. 1453.

Hope conceived
to remove Gas-
cogne.

*Surrey.

(63) The King in the meane space, while the Duke of *Summerset* was thus endangered, lay sicke; and *Turke* (as Regent) swayed and overwayed in Court; but when the king (perceiving malice and practise to be the chief bates of *Turkes* accusations) had recovered his health, and reclaimed the government, *Summerset* is set at liberty and made Captaine of *Calles*; *Turke* and his adherents repaire to open force: They leay their arme about the Marches of *Wales*, with which they repaire toward *London*, the maine object of Pretences. The King hearing of his enemies approach, is accompanied with *Humfrey Duke of Buckenham*, *Edmond Duke of Summerset*, *Humfrey Earle of Stafford*, *Henry Percie*, *Earle of Northumberland*, *James Butler Earle of Wiltshire*, and *Ormond*, *Beaufort Earle of Dorset*, *Jasper Thedre Earle of Pembroke* the Kings halfe-brother, *Thomas Courtney Earle of Devonshire*, the *Lords Clifford*, *Sudley*, *Berners*, *Roffe* and others, with them enters into *Saint Albans* in warlike manner, having certaine thousands of common souldiers. Thither also the Duke of *Turke* and his adherents came. This was toward the end of *May*: The Dukes request to the King was, that he would deliver such persons to be severely punished as he would name. The King (to let them know who he was) returns this confident answer: That hee and the rest were Traitors, and that rather then they should have any Lord from him who was with him at that time, hee himselfe would for their sake in the quarrell upon that day live and die.

(64) The *Turks* herupon assaile the Kings people within the Towne, and *Warwicke* breaking in through a Garden, a sharpe battell is begun. The losse fell lamentably upon King *Henrie* side, for besides the Duke of *Summerset* and there were slain the *Earles of Northumberland* and *Stafford*, the *L. Clifford*, with sundry worthy Knights and Esquiers, of which forty and eight were buried in *Saint Albans*, there being slain above five thousand of *K. Henries* party, and of the *Turks* about six hundred. The King himselfe was shot into the neck with an arrow, & other of his chief friends were like wise fore wounded and taken. The *Earle of Wiltshire*, and *Thomas Thorpe*, Lord chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, with others lined themselves by flight. The Duke of *Turke*, the *Earles of Salisbury* and *Warwicke* with the King, (whome they in these did vie most reverently, and as if they had meant nothing unto him but good) such) upon the morrow ride to *London*, where in *Iuly* immediately following, a Parliament is holden in King *Henries* name. The fore-runner whereof was a Comet, or blazing Starre, which appeared in the moneth of *June*, the beams wherof extended themselves into the south. The first popular act of this assembly, was to restore the memory of *Humfrey Duke of Gloucester* to honour, declaring him to have bene a true subject to the King and Realm.

(65) The next provisions which the *Turks* made, were for themselves and their owne security, willing and commanding that the Duke of *Turke* and his partakers should incur no blame by reason of the journey at *Saint Albans*: the whole fault wherof was laid upon the dead Duke of *Summerset*, the Lord Chief Baron, and one *William Aspley* Esquier, who (say they) kept from the King a pacificatory letter which the Duke of *Turke* had sent. It is a wonder and a shame to reade how officiously these violent Lords (meaning nothing lesse) behaved themselves to the King, of whose majesty they will needs seeme to be the onely Champions and coadjutors. The Duke of *Turke* in the same Parliament creates himselfe Protector of England, the *Earle of Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellour, and the *Earle of Warwicke* (his former) Captaine of *Calles*: they spared as yet to touch King *Henrie* life, because the people did wonderfully honour, reverence him for his singular holiness, and for that he had great friends left alive, and a name. In the meane space, that they might without trouble, and at their pleasure, converse or kill him, they

by little and little displaced the ancient Counsellors, and substituted their affected favourites. Another Act of that absolute force and fraud, which they exercised in this dreadful perturbation of all things, was the drawing of *John Holland Duke of Excester* out of *Saint Marie* at *Wylmshurst*, conveying him to *Pomfret Castle* in the North.

(66) *Henry Beauford Duke of Summerset*, (sonne of the former) the Duke of *Buckingham*, (whose sonne and heire the *Earle of Stafford* was slain at *S. Albans*) and other the Kings friends, perceiving whereunto this faire shew tended, consult with the Queene at *Greenwich* concerning her husbands danger, and how to prevent it. Herupon the Duke of *Turke* is displaced from the Protectorship, a ridiculous title to be assumed, where the king was aged about five and thirtie, and had no other fault or vices, but that he was too good to live among them. The *Earle of Salisbury* was also deprived of his Lord Chancellorship.

(67) The King having thus recovered his dignity and authority, but not sufficient meanes to suppress his dangers, the French take courage at our intestine divisions, and landing at *Stanwich* with fifteen thousand men (part of their forces) they kill the *Muir*, *Bailiff*, and other Officers of that Towne, with sundrie Gentlemen of the Countrey, spoile all they could lay hand upon, and among all they rob two great vessels laden with merchandise, which lay there bound for *London* and departed. Another part of them, burnes *Kenwy* and certaine other townes in *Devonshire*. On the other side the Scots hostilely entered into *Northumberland*, but upon notice that the Duke of *Turke* approached with a power, they returned, having not as yet done any great harme.

(68) These indignities and losses might have vinted the disloyall affections of true English hearts, which was greatly desired by such as loved their Countrey: For which purpose the King, Queene, and their chief friends, being at *Conventry*, the Duke of *Turke*, the *Earles of Salisbury* and *Warwicke* are sent for by the Kings letters vnder his pitiaie Seale, to give their attendance, whither they come, but they (either warned of some plot contrived against them, or fearing it, or faining to feare) suddenly leave the Court, without leave, the Duke departing to *Wiltshire* in the Welsh marches, the *Earle of Salisbury* to his Castle of *Atledham* in the North-Countrey, and the *Earle of Warwicke* to *Calles*, whose bodies though thus divided, their minds continued most firmly fastionated. But the King (a pattern of Christian goodness) being tender over the generall estate of his Countrey, and wonderfully desirous to reconcile differences among his subjects, that they might the better withstand their imminent foreign enemies, returns to *London* there to consult how to effect his holy wishes. The great Lords are perswaded to meete there; which they did, but yet not without loss of followers, for the Duke brought with him four hundred men, the *Earle of Salisbury* five hundred, the *Earle of Warwicke* six hundred. The Dukes of *Excester* and *Summerset* eight hundred, the *Earle of Northumberland*, the Lords *Egremont* and *Clifford* fifteen hundred. This was the fashion of that swording age.

(69) In *March* the king and Queene with a very roiall company alight at *Wylmshurst*, to accomplish, if it were possible this charitable and necessary worke of amonement and reconciliation. *Godfrey Boleyn* was at that time Lord *Mayor of London*, (being the ancestor of two renowned and vertuous *Queenes* of England, Anne second wife to King *Henry* the eighth, and *Elizabeth* their daughter, through whose great vigilance and providence, the City stood so well guarded, that the Kings peace was doubtles kept, notwithstanding the great Lords of both the factions (*Turks* and *Lancastrians*,) were with so great troups of followers lodged within, and about

Aug. 14.

The Duke of Turke is elected and the elected Proceeeded.

The French take Stanwich in Kent and Pomfret in Devonshire.

The King at Conventry, from whence the Duke of Turke and the Turke depart suddenly.

He comes to Salisbury Aug. 24.

In Januar. A.D. 1458. Aug. 36.

The Lords meet the King at London to compile all guards.

Godfrey Boleyn at that time Mayor of London the ancestor of 1500 Queens.

The King marcheth to Saint Albans against the Duke of Turke.

The Duke of Summerset slain and the King taken in hand.

Humfrey Duke of Gloucester declared to have bene a true subject.

The Duke of Turke protector of the Realm.

Poly. V. fol. 112.

the same: for during the whole time of their abode he had five thousand Citizens in Harnesse, himselfe riding daily about the City and suburbs, to see the publike quiet preferred: and for the night watch there were assigned to three Aldermen two thousand consist-men.

(69) During this watch, a great Councell was holden by the King and Lords, where at length by the diligent traualle, good exhortation, and prudent aduise of the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and of other learned and godly Prelates, the parties offended were induced to a communication and afterward to a final accord: the points whereof, considering they held for some a while, (for as 'one saith truly, *the dissimiled time day hang but by a small thread*) were frivolous to dwell in their rehearsal. The King himselfe (a singular testimonie of the opinion which all parties had of his integrity) was whole arbitrator of their differences. Certain satisfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of *York*, with the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, for the death of *Edmund Duke of Sommerfet*, and others slaine at *S. Albans*. And the same Duke of *Sommerfet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Clifford* (slaine in that battell by the *Turkists*) are declared for true liegemen to the King at the day of their death, aswell as the Duke of *York*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*. So both parties stand in safe and rest in curia. Many other articles and awards were made, to solder and glue together their alienated hearts and affections. The reioicement caused by this seeming peace (which on the behalf of the kings persons was undoubtedly sincere and true) was wonderfully great among all good Englishmen, who flocked to the publike celebration thereof. Upon our Ladies day in Lent, a solempne procession was made within the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul* in *London*, where the King (adorned with Crowne and robes of maiestie) went in person, before whom went hand in hand the Duke of *Sommerfet*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Excester* and the Earle of *Warwicke*, and so of either faction one and one, and behind the King himselfe, came the Queene and Duke of *York* with great familiarity in all mens sights. Otcelling, & honour, & sinceritie, that your diuine verine should not have contained these spirits in the harmonie of sweet obedience; but if you could not, what alas should? *England* must be more severely scourged, thenthat so goodly a blessing of publike reconciliation should continue, whereby the proud tops of her nation (offensive to God and men) being taken off, the way might be opened to other names or races, which as yet were nothing thought on.

(70) There is no reason to doubt, but that the Duke of *York* (a man of desperate retirement in himselfe) secretly continued his purpose for the Crowne, notwithstanding all these his vermouthed pretences, and did only therefore not as then put for it, because he presumed the time was incommodious. Again the Queene (true head and life of the contrary part) aswell in regard of her selfe, her husband, and young sonne, may in likelihood be thought to haue laid downe any thing, rather then the wakefulness and lealouise, which former perils and the enemies present strength might worthily keepe alive in her. The thinne alies therefore, which covered these glowing coles, were thus againe first varnished and set to blaze.

(71) The King and manie of the Lords, still being at *Westminster*, there hapned (or perhaps 'was plotted) a fray betwene one of the Kings seruants and a follower of the Earle of *Warwicke*, who hurt the Kings seruant. Hereupon his fellows of all sorts (as Cookes with their spits &c.) in great disorder assaile the Earle himselfe, as he was coming from the Councell, and had there slaine him, but that the euill fate of *England* and his owne, reserved him to doe and suffer greater mischiefs. The Earle hardly gets to his Barge, and repositing all things vnare a-

bout the King, gets ouer to his place at *Callice*. The *Turkist* directly charge the Queene with this, as with a plot drawne for the Earles destruction. Not long after this, the young Duke of *Sommerfet* is sent Captaine to *Callice*. *Warwicke* will reigne no roome, notwithstanding the Kings command, alleging he was made by Parliament: *Sommerfet* is reiectid with danger to his person. *Warwicke* partly maintains himselfe, and such as flacke to him in that charge, with spoiles which he got at *Sea*; How lawfull it appeares not; though *Warwicke* is said to haue been *Admirall* by Patent, though now reuoked. The Ordinarie bookes haue, that he, with foureteene shalke of men of warre, sit upon three Caricks of *Gene* or *Genoa*, and two of *Spain*, greater then the Caricks: three of which *Antreacht-fleets* (which how they should be lawfull prize, we see not) he vanquished after two daies fight, with the losse of about an hundred men of his owne, and a thousand of theirs: The bootie was worth at meane rates ten thousand pounds; such also as followed the Duke of *Sommerfet* coming into his hands, he beheaded at *Callice*. These were strange darings in the Earle of *Warwicke*, whom yet the vnsittfull, and drunken multitude so highly praise: but what are these in regard of them which will presentlie follow?

(72) The Duke of *York* in the meane time, and *Warwicke* with his father, the Earle of *Salisbury* (the *Triumuir* of *England*) consult of their affaires: *Salisbury* is resolu'd with sword in hand to exposituere the danger and injury offered to his sonne at *Westminster*. The Queene (a Lady of incomparable magnanimity and foresight) confident in this, that new King *Henry*, or the Duke of *York* must perish, and that one Kingdome was not wide enough for both these *Familiars*, belittres her selfe to maintaine the possession of a Crowne, and to aduance to the same her owne flesh and blood Prince *Edward*, by ruining his house, whose whole building consisted of Lancastrian beneficence. She consults, she sends, she speaks, she giues, and strengthneth her selfe with friends on all sides, chiefly in *Cheshire*, causing her sonne to distribute silver (wannes (his badge or deuise) to all the Gentlemen of that County, and to many other through *England*. *Salisbury* lets forward from his Castell at *Middleham* with foure or five thousand men. *James Touchet*, Lord *Audeley* encounters him vnadvisedly vpon *Thre-beats* neere *Muchellstone*. The fight was long and bloody, but in the end *K. Henries* euill fortune gaue the better of the day to the Earle of *Salisbury*, where, besides the valiant Lord *Audeley* himselfe, were slaine not fewer then two thousand and foure hundred, but the chiefe losse fel vpon the *Cheshire* men, who were the Princes *Lincnes*.

(73) The Earle of *Salisbury* in this sort opened to himselfe a way to *Ludlow*, where the head of their combination, *Richard Duke of York*, busied himself to gather forces: being met, they conclude, that seeing the matter was now become deadly, they would deale in cloudes no longer, but fight it out to the extremity. Men are drawne out of all parts with large hopes & promises of sharing in their fortunes, and the Earle of *Warwicke* bringing with him from *Calice* (which he left with his friends) that valiant Captaine *Andrew Trulap*, and a band of rout and choise Souldiers, comes to the generall Rendreous of the *Turkists*, the Castell of *Ludlow*. The King in the meane space, (and not before it was need and time) hath assembled a great puissance of faithfull Subiects, and being attended with the Dukes of *Sommerfet* and *Excester*, and other of his chiefe friends marcheth against his enemies. His first worke was, to offer them generall pardon. It is refused, and called by them a *passie of reule*, or *gloffe Buckler*. The sword must decide the quarrell; whereupon the king commands his Standards to aduance: while he was in his March, "a letter fraught with the wonted

* *Rob. Fab. Grev.*

* *Rob. Fab.*

The quarrels ended by the Kings award with some of common liking.

* *Mariage.*

The probable conclusion of things after the reconciliation.

* *Spald. Virg. 413* makes it doubtful, whether an ally.

The Earle of *Warwicke* slaine, and escaping, and escaping, escapes to *Calice*.

* *Rob. Fabian*, who also reports a much greater number of slain than *Shakspeare*.

The civill warre begins againe.

Barrell at *Shrewsbury* where *K. Henries* side took the vict.

The Duke of *York* and his friends take *Arden*.

* *Whetstones*.

* *Dated at Ludlow 10. Octob.*

A. D. 1459.

The horrible
state of Christi-
an Sen-aimen
to beguile the
King.

*One lion Clow.

Capeira de-
draw Trellap
includes the
Trimmur of
Turk's Campe.

The Turkis
scattered without
Bancell.

*Toly's, Lp.

The Duke of
York and others
accused of the
treason by Par-
liament.

*The Whirlwind
Archery. (Latter
Jillcocke then say
Article 8.

wonted hypocrites) is delivered to the King. There
ate in it among many other infinations these also:
*Most Christian King, right high and Mighty Prince, and
our most dread Sovereign Lord, Gve, wee first vnto your
good grace by the Prior of the Cathedral Church (of Wor-
cester) and divers other Doctors, and among others by M.
William Lowwood doctor of Divinity, which manifested vnto
us severally the blessed sacrament of the body of Iesus,
whereupon wee and every of us deplored of our said truth
and duty.*

(74) Thus these prophane and ambitious men
play with God, who in the end will severely bee
avenged on them for their impiety: but the letter
made no overture of any course, vpon which they
would yeeld to lay downe Armes, alledging, *they
would make their way to the King for redress of iustice,
so that they were enforced to stand together for their own
defence, against such great Cowards and Sumourers, as
(say they) intended their destruction;* meaning indeed
such persons whose vigilancy and manhood might
protect and guard him from their prauid and violence.
The King is now in fight, whom the Tri-
umvirs *Turke, Warwick and Salisbury* being long-
ly encreased before *London*,* meant to assault. *An-
drew Trellap* (who had in the Kings pay done great
service vpon the French) was acquainted with all
their counsell, and finding himselfe extremely de-
ceined, (for hee thought and so by the Earle of War-
wick was made to believe, that the preservation of
the King was intended, and not destruction) aban-
doned the *Turks Campe* at midnight, & with a chouse
number of trusty men presents himselfe and seruices
to the King, who graciously receiued him and his.
The truth of the Trimmurs plot, and bottoome of
their conspiracies was thus made clearly knowne:
The *Turks* vpon notice of *Trellap* act, despairing of
success, at that present fled. The Duke of *Turke*
with the Earle of *Rutland* his younger son into *Ire-
land*, the Earle of *March* his eldest sonne and heire,
Warwick and *Salisbury*, with much difficultie escape
to *Calais*, which place (as* one saith probably) if
it euer had in time taken from his enemies they had with-
out question bene forthwith recoverably rained.

(75) The multitude which stood vnder *Turke*
found mercy, but their Tenantes were many of them
executed, maimed, or generally raniacted. The town
of *London* is still was spoiled to the bare walls, and
Duchesse of *Turke* deprived of all her goods. What
lesse could bee the effects against the friends of such
aduersaries, vpon so publike an act and aduantage?
The point is followed more sharply vpon the
great Offenders in the next Parliament which was
holden at *Conuenter*: there *Richard Duke of Turke*,
Edward Earle of March, *Richard Earle of Warwick*,
Edmond Earle of Rutland, *Richard Earle of Salisbury*,
Alce Counsellor of Salisbury (in whose right her
husband was Earle) two or three Lords, 9. Knights,
and certaine other, were openlie of high Treason at-
tainted, and their whole estates confiscated.

(76) *Calais*, a most important place, being in the
meane space violently possesed by *Warwick*, the Duke
of *Summerfet*, the Lords *Rosse* and *Audley*, are sent
with forces to take it; their successe was euill, for the
Duke was glad to flee, his Souldiers were robbed by
Warwick men of their harnesse, the Lord *Audley* is
taken into the Towne, and the Lord *Rosse* hardly e-
scaped. Letters are hereupon written into forraigne
part, entreting* that no redress bee manifested to the
Trainers who kept *Calais* against the King, and all men
are at home forbidden to transport any victual or re-
freshment thither. Euidēt it is, that the Council of
England rather wished that the Town and Castell had
bene French againe, then as it was: neither therein
erred they, for it could not bee so mischievous to the
maine of their cause, as now it was. The Duke of
Summerfet being in *Gaines*, a neighbour Castle, doth
daily by his Souldiers skirmish with the *Califians*:
Warwick meditates other things. Hee must speake
with the Duke of *Turke*, at whose commandement

all *Ireland* (where hee abode) seemed to be readie;
but is advertised that the King had certaine shippes,
which lay at *Sandwich* to transport supplies and lac-
cours to the Duke of *Summerfet*. Hee meanes not
to leaue such a perill behind him vnremoued,* ha-
ving therefore eiped his time, hee with his people
to shippes on in the night to *Sandwich*, which they
accordingly did, tooke the Lord *Rosse*, and his son
Anthony woodlode prisoners, and brought away all the
shippes, except one called *Gracie de Dies*: one Sir
Balmaine Fulford Knight, haueing (after thus) as-
sumed to doe seruice vpon the Earle of *Warwick*, and
to take him, retournes empty. *Warwick* sailes now
to *Ireland*. The King makes the Duke of *Everest*
Admirall, and gives him commission to apprehend the
Earle of *Warwick*. The Duke with a great na-
uir puts forth to Sea from *Sandwich*. Behold the ill
carriage of things. At *Dorchester* many of his Sould-
iers, pretending want of money and victuals, for-
sake him. Meane while the Earle of *Warwick* passeth
by the Duke, not daring to assault him, nor hee wil-
ling to assault the Duke, for that hee was Admirall
and of the Kings blood. Such was the act and cun-
ning of the *Turks* to prevent recurrence vnto that,
which most of all they thirsted to: fied: Five hun-
dred fresh souldiers attend at *Sandwich* to bee shipt
ouer to the Duke of *Summerfet* for safe-conducting
him into *England*. *Warwick* men sodainely come
vpon them, slew *Summerfet* their Captaine, and ma-
ny other, and disarmed the rest. Such was the dis-
tracted estate of our poore Country at this time,
through the pride and restless ambition of one or
two unhappy men. But though nothing was more
plaine then that the Duke of *Turke* fought the crown
of *England*; yet nothing is truer, then that they as
yet pretended nothing lesse for the veneration of
King *Henrie* parity of life, would haue prevailed
with the people greatly to their peridice.

(77) The King failing thus to obtaine the per-
son of *Warwick*, or his Towne of *Calais*, the *Turks*
send ouer certaine Articles into *Ross*, in which (as if
they were the onely Patriots and best Subjects of the
world) they complaine of certaine generall corrup-
tions concerning incomes due to the Church, and the ill
ministration of iustice, abuse of purveyors and takers,
the Kings powerty by the corruption of his officers,
and the like plausible stuffe: where they speake of
the King, they sequester him from all exception, as be-
ing of so noble, so vertuous, so righteous, and so blessed
disposition: (these are their words and the truth) as a-
ny Prince earthly. Where they speake of their ene-
mies, (that is, the Kings principall friends and faith-
full subjects) they name the Earle of *Salisbury*, the
Earle of *Wiltshire* and the Lord *Beaumont* which must
euer bee an honour to their memories, and put the
blame (if it were blame-worthy) of such arraidors
which were enacted against the *Turks* at *Conuenter*,
vpon these three Lords specially. Where they speake
of themselves and their intentions, they profess alacri-
ty and loyalty to King *Henry*, and that they onlie
meant to come vpon their guard to speake with him
concerning the common-wealth, and their owne
safeties, and that now they would attempt the same
again, in the name of the Land, and not to suffer such
mischiefs to raigne vpon them. The conclusion
of their cunning and painted pretences hath these
fained holy words: *Requering you (the people) on
Gods behalfe, and praying you in your owne, therein to
assist us, doing alway the duty of Liege-men in our per-
sons to our said Sovereign Lord, to his estate, prerogati-
ue and preeminence, and to the fury of his most no-
ble person, whereunto wee haue curr bene, and will bee
as true as any of his Subjects alme: so hereof we call God,
our Lady Saint Marie, and all the Saints in heauen, to
witness, and record.* But of the thing it selfe (that is
to Crowne the Duke of *Turke*) they make not the
least mention: what wanted in these men to the
height and depth of humane malice? They pre-
nail with the multitudes, a shallow braind, but a
great

The Duke of
Warwick
take the Lord
Rosse and son
of the Kings
Noble at Sand-
wich.

The King ar-
rives in Sea, but can-
not take the
Earle, who
retourns from
Ireland to Calais.

The Turkes
send ouer Ar-
ticles to induce
the people.

The Earle of
Warwick leads
his side on Oath.

great and many headed beast. The Lord *Fauntleroy* is sent to loane their affections, and to draw the purulent matter to an head: he finds great forwardness. The Earles of *March*, *Warwick* and *Salisburie* advertised of all things, land in Kent. But the people only were not deluded; for *Thomas Bourchier* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and other grave men, beleaved they meant looths which that they might rather doe, the Earle of *Warwick* made open oath upon the Croffe of *Canterbury* that they had ever borne true faith and allegiance to King *Henry*. A strange humor in the English, that could neither brooke bad nor benigne Princes. The King had before their coming quit the City of *London*, as nor greatly troubling the affections which the people thereof bare toward such as the Yorkish faction had made odious about him, and appointed the Rendezon of his forces at *Northampton* where he abode. The enemy (shewing friend) advanceth thither. It is a shame to reade that some of the great Prelates would simply be drawne to countenance such an enterprise: but their intentions were different; they hoped to reconcile enemies, the Earles, to make *York* King. Meane while their complaisance about to take the Tower of *London*, within which there were for King *Henry* these loyal Nobles. The Lord *Scaloe*, *Hungerford*, *Wesley*, *Level*, *Delaware*, and *Candale* a Galloigne with sundry others.

(78) At *Northampton* things were carried thus: The King meaning there to abide his adversaries, when it was not thought meete to admit the Earle of *Warwick* to his presence, (which thing was courageously sued for to raise a ground of justification for battell) they prepare on both parts. The Earles of *March* and *Warwick* (with like or greater counting, then they had desired admission to the Kings speech) let cry through the field, that no man should lay hand upon the King, nor common people, but upon the Lords, Knights and Esquiers.

(79) The hoatts joyne. No stroke they gave but seemes to wound vs also. Let vs swiftly turne our eyes from vnnatural slaughters. The * *L. Grey of Arundel* began the discomfite of the Kings side, for hee (let the world judge with what commendation,) having the point, did quit his place and fled to the Earles. The Kings Arme is defeated, and vnterle broken. Many were slaine and drownd. *Falsham* and *Greyston* lay ten thousand: The chiefe of the Nobles who there lost their lues, were the Duke of *Buckingham*, *John Earle of Sherrborne* (a most hopefull young Gentleman, and in all points like his heroicke Ancestors) *John Viscount Scamond*, *Thomas Lord Egremont*, and among sundry other prime men, * *Sir William Leger*, who making halt to the fight, was vpon his first approach chopt downe with an axe. The Kings Ordinance could not play, there fell so great a raine.

(80) This worst battell was fought vpon the * ninth of Iuly. The King (as a man borne to all calamities and miseries, though he not therefore the lesse, but the more happy through that excellent fortitude of mind, with which hee invincibly sustained them) comes into his enemies hands; but the Queen and the Prince, and the remains of their scattered fortunes flee into the North, there to reinforce their powers, and to * *Salisbury* (as hee caused them to be proclaimed) the Kings Rebels and enemies. The Tower of *London* after this misfortune renders itselfe. The Lord *Scaloe* is wickedly murdered vpon the *Thames* by Wheremen, belonging to the Earle of *Warwick*, as hee intended to passe to * *Salisbury* at *Weymouth*. The Earles when they were possessed of the King, continued their admirable hypocrities (which God will terribly plague them for) thereby to leade the people on, and had to him these words.

(81) *Most noble Prince, displesse you not, though it be pleas'd God of his grace to grant us the victory of our mortall enemies, who by their vicious malice*

have vntuly stirred and moved your Highnesse to exile us out of the land, and would have put vs to small shame, and confusion: wee come not to vanquish or grieve your said Highnesse, but to playe your noble person, desiring tenderly the high welfare and prosperity thereof, and of all your Realme, and to be your true Liegemen while our lives shall endure. Our foules are amazed at these acts, and men blinde to publish to the world things so vnworthy.

(82) The * *Florentine Secretary* was scarce borne at this time, but the *Direlli* was as great a Master then as afterward. The King and Edies in the meane time goe to *London*, where a Parliament was summoned in his name to be holden in *October* following. The Duke of *York* (advertis'd of his vntolerable speedes from *Dublin*, the chiefe City of *Ireland*, to bee at that Parliament, where we shall at last see the true face of his purpose, his owne selfe taking away the maske which hitherto concealed it.

(83) *Seotland*, by reason of late affinity with the house of *Beaufort*, whose chiefe and roppe was the Duke of *Somerset*, (descended from *John Duke of Lancaster* by the Lady *Katherine*) was a speciall backe, and second to King *Henry* in all his tempestuous adventures; but now that refuge was also hazarded: for King *James* the second, partly in fauour of King *Henry*, and partly as making vse of the troubles in England, laich siege to *Richborough* (Belated the best callety the same Caltie * *Marshall* being in the custody of King *Henries* enemies, where while himselfe (whose * skill and delight in shooting of Ordinance was great) coming down the trenches to see the * *Lisa* (a new great piece which had lately bene cast in *Flanders*) and the other Artillery discharged, one of them brake, and with a shauer thereof flew the king, and dangerously wounded the Earle of *Angus*. This vnhappy accident happed vpon a Sunday, the * third day of August. The Queen of *Seotland* neuertheless maintaineth the siege, and aswell obtains that place, as the Caltie of *Warke*, both which shee (in revenge) threw to the earth. *James* the third, a child of seven years old succceeded to his father, aswell to the cherishment of the distressed English, as to the Crowne.

(84) The Parliament being begunne, about the * eight of *October* at *Weymouth* in King *Henries* name, thither comes with flying speed, *Richard Duke of York*, who brake open the Kings lodging Chamber, and placed himselfe therein, insinering the King to provide elsewhere. Then makes hee his claime to the Crown of England, and publisheth it in open Parliament together with his pedigree. The whole house (such among them excepted as were priuie to the Dukes intention) was * greatly dismayed both for that hee did set himselfe in the Kings seate, and for this his vnexpected challenge: But the Duke though at first hee greatly meane to have depozed King *Henry*, and with speed to bee crowned himselfe at *Abbatshide* next, yet finding such amalefaction and silence, hee sends them his pedigree and his claime in writing, that they might the better consider, yielding (as it seemes) to be ordered therein, according to their generall agreement during the treaty whereof hee would not visite King *Henry*, alledging himselfe was perchelesse in England. The maine points of his Title were as followeth. King *Edward* the third had issue, *Edward Prince of Wales*, *William of Hatfield*, *Emell Duke of Clarence*, *John of Gaunt D. of Lancaster*, *Edmond D. of York*, *Thomas D. of Gloucester*, and *William of Wyndesore*. *Edward Prince of Wales* dyed, leaving his father, and left issue *Richard* the second King of England, who died without issue: as did also *William King Edward* the second.

(85) *Edward* the third Iune had issue *Philip his daughter* and heire, married to *Edmond Mortimer Earle of March*, who had issue *Roger Earle of March*, who had issue *Edmond Earle of March*, *Roger*, *Anne*, and *Eleonor*, which *Edmond*, *Roger*, and *Eleonor* died without issue. *Anne* the heire of that house married *Richard Earle*

* *Marshall*.

The humilitey
of Scotland vs
Henries friends
differed.

* *Writ. Ber.*
mess. 10. 11. c. 1.

* 1ste. in *Ann. 1.*

* *Greys* Chanc.

James the second
King of Scotland
died with the
issue of a great
piece.
A.D. 1460.
* *Legis* in *lat. 1.*

An. reg. 39.
The Duke of
York returned
out of Ireland
to claime the
Crown of Eng-
land.

* *Rob. Foh.*

The main point
in the Duke of
York's Pedigree.

* The Russell at
Northampton
where the King
is slain.

a French doubt
who search in
many circum-
stances of this
battel from
some other au-
thors
* *Payd. Perg.*
* *Greyston*.

* *Rob. Foh.*
* *Greyston*.
An. D. 1460
A. reg. 38.

* *Rob. Foh. Chanc.*

* *Brown* *Annal.*

The Earle would
be the King.

Earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund Duke of Yorke, fifth sonneto King Edward the third, which Earle of Cambridge had Richard commonly (saith the Booke) called Duke of Yorke.

(86) John of Gaunt the fourth son and younger brother to Lionel, had issue Henry, who immediately after King Richards resignation, unlawfully (saith the Booke) entered upon the same, for that Edmund Earle of March, sonne of Roger Earle of March, and of Philip daughter and heire of the before said Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder brother to John Duke of Lancaster was then alive, and that after the said Henry, eldest sonne to John Duke of Lancaster, as his descendants have hitherto holden the Crowne of England, &c. usually, for that himselfe the said Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke was the lawfull heire, being the sonne of Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge, and of Anne before said.

(87) This was the effect of the Duke of Yorks title, which for the points of the Pedegree was very true, though in barre thereof the friends of King Henry (without deoying any part of the premises, being all of them more evident then that they could be honestly denied) had not a little to say for him: for they could among other things alledge, that Richard the second resigned up his Crowne and Regality at large; and that none else making claime but Henry Duke of Lancaster, hee was thereunto by the consent of all the three Estates admitted; that Richard Earle of Cambridge was for high Treason attainted and executed, and his issue made incapable of any inheritance; that this Richard his sonne now challenging the Crowne of England, being refused by the meere clemency and goodwill of this King Henry the first, had voluntarily acknowledged him for his lawfull Soveraigne, and sworn the same, and that the said Richard was finally for treason attainted, and adjudged uninheritable: they could hereunto have added sundry Acts of Parliament, made to establish the right of the Lancastrian line, the succession of three Kings, all Henries, that is to say the fourth, fifth and sixth; the petitive addresses of the first of those Kings, the noble vicilleries of the second, and the body life of the third; which three Kings were contained of raigne about threetye yeeres, in which number this was the nine and thirtieth of King Henry the sixth, who was descended of the male line, and the Duke of Yorke was of a female of which female line none had ever been in possession of the Crowne. Great and weighty points, (if any) and the rather to be considered, for that King Henries person being (in very truth) Prisoner, no act of his to establish Yorks title could hold in law or conscience, and the lesse, for that hee had a wife, and by her a sonne, who was at liberty, and ready with Armes to free his father, or hazzard to destroy the whole English name. But they who on Yorkes behalf abstractively disposed these highest questions, knew a rule of law, which saith, *Tura legemini mulo iure civili derimo possund*, and the Lancastrians were not without their speculation and remote considerations, to countenance the particulars of their cause. Thus we see that in Monarchies (though the noblest forme of Regiment) where lineall succession is the rule of inheritance, these sometimes fall out as great and as indeterminable difficulties, as where Election designeth the Successor; whereof the French tragedies which our Nation made among them, and now these in England, are without all exception, the most fearful instances. For France had heretofore her time of afflition, but now (O deare England) it was thine.

(88) While this weighty controversie was debated, a Crowne which hung for garnishment in the middle of the roome, where the Knights and Barges of the Parliament met to consult, and the crown which for like cause stood upon the highest Tower of Dover Castle, fell suddenly down, which were vulgarly construed to portend *I hat the raigne of R. Henrie was at an end, and that the Crowne should be transferred from one royall line to another.* But the Queene, her sonne Prince Edward, and her fall friends in the

North (the seate of their hopes) being nothing discouraged at their late ill fortunes, prepare all the forces they cau to recouer K. Henrie and the Kingdome; which thing whiles they are pursuing, the conclusion of the Parliament concerning the crown, was, *That Henry the sixth should raigne, and her King during his life, the remainder thereof in Richard Duke of Yorke, and the lawfull heires of his body in general taylor, King Henries heires to be excluded.* The Duke in the meane time is proclaimed heire apparent, and called Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earle of Chester, and Protector of England. The agreement was engrossed, sealed and sworn vnto. The Queene will have nothing to doe in this bargain, being so dangerous and preiudicious to herselfe, her husband, and her sonne; and therefore when the King (at the Duke of Yorks instigation) sent for her to repair vnto him, she relying vpon the Dukes of Somerset and Excester, and other the Kings friends, vicerly refuseth: Henry continueth king. The Armes therefore, which the takers for his deliniance, haue the more iustice. The Duke of Yorke missing the prey hee expected, leaves the king with the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earle of Warwick at London; himselfe with the Earles of Salisbury and Rutland, and certaine forces, stretch forward to Wakefield to pursue the Queene and her sonne, lending direction to the Earle of March that hee should follow with all his power. The Castell of Sandall standeth pleasantly vpon a small hill, in view of the faire town of Wakefield; there the Duke of Yorke (comming thither vpon Christmas Eue) reposeth himselfe, and expecteth the encraile of his numbers. The Queene aduertised, thinks it wisdom to fight before the Duke grow too strong, and thereupon marcheth forward, hauing an Army of eightene thousand men, led by the Dukes of Somerset and Excester, the Earles of Devonshire and Wiltshire, the Lords Nevill, Clifford, &c. and in effect all the Northern Nobility. The host (or so much thereof as they thought necessary to shew) presents it selfe before Sandall, to prouoke and dare the Duke to battell. His blood impatient of these braves, & ignorant perhaps that the enemy had so great a multitude, will needs fight, though the Earle of Salisbury, and Sir David Hall (an ancient fruent of his, and a great Souldier) gane him aduise to stay, till his sonne (the Earle of March) approached with such Wellmen and Marchers, as hee had in great numbers assembled. But God would forbear him no longer, but like a seuerer Master meanes to take a present account: at which he found whether all the kingdomes of the earth are worth the least sinne, much lesse a willfull perurie.

(89) The Queene therefore addeth stratageme, and writ to her force, to the intent hee might not escape her hands; whereupon the Earle of Wiltshire vpon one side of the hill, and the Lord Clifford vpon the other, lie in ambush to thrust between him and the Castell; the Dukes of Somerset and Excester, stand embattled in the open field. Their policy had the wished successe; for the Duke being not fully five thousand strong, issueth out of the Castle downe the hill. The battels which stood in front, ioyne furiously, when suddenly the Duke of Yorke sees himselfe inclosed, and although hee expresse great manhood, yet within one halfe houre, his whole Armie was discomfited, himselfe and diuers his deare friends beaten downe and slaine. There lay dead about him the Lord Harington, Sir Thomas Newill sonne to the Earle of Salisbury, Sir David Hall, with sundry Knights and others about two thousand, & two hundred, among which were the heires of many Southern gentlemen of great account, whose blood was shortly after reuenged. Let vs not linger vpon the particular accidents of this battell, but consider what it wrought for King Henries advancement; yet these few things are not to be vnmembred. The Earle of Rutland (a younger sonne to the

Henry is seeking for some of his, and the Duke of Yorke after his death.

* Henry's Armes. The Duke of Yorke pursues the Queene in the North.

* Henry's Armes. Great Armes.

The Queenes Army comes to Wakefield.

They overthrow the Duke of York and his host.

* Great Armes.

Allegations for R. Henrie the 6. and the Lancastrian side.

Signes forgering the end of King Henries raigne.

* Custom, Crowne, & Griefes.

the Duke of *Tork* being about twelve yeeres old, was also slaine by the Lord *Clifford*, (who overtooke him flying) in part of reuenge for that the * Earles father had slaine his. A deed which worthily blemished the Author; but who can promise any thing temperate of himselfe in the heat of martiall fure? chiefly, where it was reuolued, *not to leaue any branch of Tork line standing*, for so doth *oue make the Lord *Clifford* to speake.

(90) That mercilesse proposition was common (as the euent will shew) to either faction. The Duke of *Torkes* head, crowned with paper, is presented to the Queene. Cruell irony is seldom fortunate. *Caesar* wept ouer *Pompey* head, but the Queene (ignorant how manifest causes of teares were reuerend for her owne share) makes her selfe merrie with that gaily and bloody spectacle. The Earle of *Salisburie*, after wounds received, being in this battell taken prisoner, is conueighed to *Penfrith Castle*, from whence the common people (who loued him not) *violently baled him, and cut off his head; which perhaps was not done without the good liking of others. The Dukes head, together with his, were fixed on poles and let vpon a gate of *Tork*, and with them (if *Grafton* say true) the heads of all the other prisoners which had bene conducted to *Penfrith*.

(91) This battell (called of *Wakefield*) was fought vpon the last day of *December*; of whose weathers complexion if their courages had participated, mischance might haue made her stop here, which now is in her fieriest course.

(92) For the Earle of *March*, sonne, and heire to this late valiant Duke of *Tork*, hearing of this tragick aduenture, giues not ouer: but, hauing gathered an armie of about twenty thousand to march against the Queene, he findes employment neerer hand: being certified, that *Isabel* Theder Earle of *Pembroke* (half brother to King *Henric*) and *James Butler* Earle of *Ormond* and *Wiltshire*, had with them a great force of Welsh and Irish to take him. The youthfull and valiant Earle of *March*, whose amiable presence and carriage made him gracious with the people, (and the rather for that he had the generall good word of *women,) meanes to try his fortune against the said Earles. He suddenly therefore turnes backe from *Shrewsbury*, and at a place called *Mertimers Crosse* neere *Ludlow*, where the camie abode, he fers vpon them; it was *Candlemas* day in the morning, at which time there appeared (as some write) three Summes, which lodicely ioined in one. This luckie prognosticon, and ominous Meteor exceedingly fired the Earle of *March*, and was (some say) the reason, why he vsed for his *Baile*, or roall device, the *Sunne in his full brightness*. The Battell maintaine their fight with great fure; but, in the end, the Earle of *March* obtains the victorie, killing of his enemies three thousand, and eight hundred men; the Earles find themselves by flight. The sonne of honour and fortune did thus begin to shine through Cleuds of blood and miserie, vpon *Edward*, whom shortly we are to behold King of *England*. There were taken * *Sir Owen Thedre* (father to *Isabel* Earle of *Pembroke*), who was beheaded by *Edwards* commandement, as also *Sir Iohn Skeldener* knight with his two sonnes, and other.

(93) The Queene on the other side (hauing ordered her affairs in the *North*, seized the citie there of, and refreshed her people,) within a while after drawes neere with her *Northern* armie to *S. Albans*. There came before them an euill fame of their behaviour to *London*, whose wealth lookt pale knowing it selfe in danger; for the *Northern* armie, (in which were *Scots*, *Welsh*, and Irish as well as *English*;) made bold by the way with what they liked, making small distinction of sacred or profane, after they were once past the riuer of *Trent*, *Captaine Andrew Trollop* being their Coronell. King *Henry* himselfe in person, with the Dukes of *York* and *Suffolk*, the

Earles of *Warwicke* and *Arundel*, the Lord *Banville*, & other, with a great puissance encampe at *S. Albans*, to giue the Queene battell, and stop her farther passage toward *London*. But the Lords of her faction being ready to attempt on her behalf, asside the Kings forces within the Town, and after some sharpe affions, break through, and driue their aduersaries out with much bloodshed, till they fell vpon a squadron or battalion of the Kings, wherein there were about foure or five thousand men, which made good their ground for a while with great courage, but in the end the Queenes side clearely wanne the day. There perished in this conflict about two thousand.

This hapned vpon *Shrewsbury*, the fouteenth of *February*. The King, Queene and Prince meet ioyfully, where he knights his sonne, (being eight yeeres old,) and thirte others. The Lord *Banville* and *Sir Thomas* * *Kiriel* of *Kent* being taken in the fight, were beheaded, but all the other great men escape. The common people of *London* doe notwithstanding stand wholly for the beautifull Earle of *March*, and stand the more confidently, because they had sure intelligence, that he had vanquished the Earle of *Pembroke* in the *Marches* of *Wales*, and that the Earle of *Warwicke*, escaping from *S. Albans*, had met with the Earle of *March* neere *Cosford*, and that both with ioint forces were marching toward *London*. These newes made the King and Queene retire into the *North*, and leaue their Citie and the Southern Countreys to their Enemy, till they might recover a fairer opportunitie or more sufficiencies. *Edward* vpon notice of the Kings departure, entrench *London*, and games period to *Henrics* regne, which is accounted to take end after he had successfully ruled this Land the space of thirte eight yeeres, sixe months, and foure daies.

His Wife.

(94) *Margaret* the wife of King *Henric*, was the daughter of *Reymur* King of *Ierusalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Aragon*, Duke of *Andegauis*, *Lorraine*, *Barre*, and *Calabria*, Earle of *Provence*, *Comtat*, and *Coutz*. Shee by promise was espoused vnto King *Henric*, at the Citie *Tours* in *Touren* in the Church of *Saint Martin*, *William de-la-Paule* being Procurator to the King in the presence of the French king and his Queene, which king was uncle to the Brides Father, and the Queene Aunt vnto her mother. Shee with great pompe was conveyed to *Southampton*, and thence to the *Abbey* of *Tutfield*, where the yeere of grace 1445, and twentie two of *April*, shee was solemnly married to King *Henry*; and honorably attended by the greatest Estates of the Land, was crowned at *Westminster* the thirtieth of *May* following. Shee was exceedingly beautified in face, and of goodly feature, of a great wit and deepe policie, but of stomacke fure above her sexe, as in the managing of those troublesome times did too well appear. Shee was his wife twentie sixe yeeres, and twentie nine daies; and (after her husbands depoullion from his regall throne) her forces being vanquished at the battell of *Trenthorpe*, in a poore religious house, whether shee had fled for the safety of her life, was taken prisoner, and so carried Captiue to *London*, where she remained in darance, till Duke *Beim* her father did purchase her liberty with great summes of money, vnto whom shee returned, and lastly died in her native Countrey.

His Issue.

(95) *Edward* the only Child of King *Henric* and Queene *Margaret* his wife was borne at *Westminster* the thirteenth day of *October*, the yeere of *Christ* 1433. and the 31. of his fathers Raigne, and the next yeere following vpon the sixteenth of *March*, by authoritie of Parliament, was created Prince

* *Grafton*, *Chron.*

* *Grafton*, *Chron.*

* *Stowes* *Annals*.

A.D. 1461.
A. Reg. 39.
The Earle of
March publishes
his letters de-
signes,

* *Phil.* *Comit.*

The battell at
Mertimers Crosse
where *Edward* is
victorious.

* *Grafton*, *Chron.*
Stowes *Annals*.

The French in-
tell. at *S. Albans*
where the
Queene is victo-
rious and re-
turns to the King.

* *Phil.* *Wills*
Vol. 2. d.

The King and
Queene retreat
into the North.

Orig.
text.

Prince of Wales & Earle of Chester. For the title of Duke of Cornwall (as it is noted by warrant of record) is reputed vnto the Kings eldest sonne, the very day of his natiuitie, and by vertue of a speciall Act is presumed and taken to be of full and perfect age, so as he may sue that day for his liberie of the said Dukedome, and ought by right to obtaine the same; hauing his royalties in the Shannary, wrackes at Sea, Customes &c: the first Duke thereof was Edward commonlie called the *Blacke Prince*, whome his Father, King Edward the third created in great Estate Duke of Cornwall by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger and a silver verge. He proued a Prince of great hope and forwardnes, being skillfull in martiall knowledge, matters of gouernement, and Lawes of the Realme. At the age of seuentee, the better to

bandie against his Fathers Competitor, King Edward, (the Maal of the Lancastrians claime) adorned in *France*, Anne the second daughter of Richard the *Blacke-king*, Earle of Warwick; whose other daughter was married to George Duke of Clarence. This Prince when the day was lost at Tewkesburie, sought to escape thence by flight, but being taken, was brought into the presence of King Edward, whose resolute answeres enraged the Conqueror so much, as he dashed him (in vnprincedly part) on the mouth with his gauntlet, and Richard the *croake backe* ranne him into the heart with his dagger. His body was buried without all solemnity among the poore and meane perions liane, in the Monasticall Church of the blacke Friers in Tewkesburie. Anno Domini 1471.

EDWARD



Edward III]

Monarch 54

**EDWARD THE FOVRTH. FIRST
KING OF THE HOVSE OF YORKE,**
KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, LORD
OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE FOVRTH MO-
NARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XVII.



Edward, borne at *Raen* in *Normandy*, and bearing the title of *March* in *England*, hauing wunne the battell at *Marston* Crofte (though the *Lords* his Confederates had lost that of *Saine Albans*) from *London* hastied towards

London, & on his way was seconded by *Richard Neuill*, the stout Earle of *Warwicke*, to the great encrease of his number and power, which so terrified *Queene Margarete*, now ready to possesse the South, that with her husband and sonne, in a perplexed feare, she returned againe into the North; vpon which advantage *Edward* now Duke of *Yorke*, presently played. For *London* was resolued whether Prince to obey (the one very powerfull, and the other in possession) dayly

consulted for their safest estate; when on the sudden *Edward* with *Warwicke* entered their gates, whose warlike viages so daunted the aduersie affected, that they beganne with the first to make him way to the throne, & the Noblemen likewise made him offers of their seruice, to establish his claime, neither were the Clergy to learne the obseruance of time, or to sway with the man vpon whom the world limited. All these set in Council to confer of the state, Duke *Edward* made knowne his title to the Crowne, and in well set termes declared, how the body of the whole Parliamēt formerly had thereunto consented, and *Henry* himselfe subscribed with his owne hand, whose title, though now carried through three descents; yet what right *Lancaster* had, they all knew, and how insufficient this last man was for rule, *France* to their dishonour did witnesse, where all was lost through his neglect, whose simplicity ever minded more his pri-

The City of *London* resolved vnto whether part to yeeld.

Prince *Edward* sheweth his right to the Crowne.

Edward Duke of *Yorke* and *Rich.* Earle of *Warwicke* come into *London*.

uare deuout, then the poeet managing of a So-
ueraigns command.

(2) These things wrd (and moſt of them true)
their voices were current, that *Edward* was the vi-
duubred King, whereunto the *Londoners* the ſouner
yeilded, for that his dreaded Northerne Army was
then encamped in Saint *Iohns* field: neither was
any reſtoration made (as before) of *Henries* unnatural
life, but hee is now abſolutely neglected as unwor-
thy of his Crowne, how acceptable ſouer he had
ruined till then, whoſe following miſeries were
not ſo much lamented, as his conſtant patience was
admir'd in vndergoing the ſame. *Edward* thus mount-
ed, before his foot had well touch'd the firſt ſteppe,
was vpon Sunday the ſecond of *March*, among his
Northerne Soldiers proclaimed King; *William* L.
Fauconbridge Earle of *Kent* declaring his claime, and
diſabling *K. Henry* of title or Government, whoſe
weake head (as hee alledge'd) had ouer long ble-
miſh'd the Engliſh Crowne.

(3) Vpon the next day, with all pompe hee was
conueied to *Wykeſminſter*, and ſet vpon the Kings ſeat
in the Hall, where holding the ſcepter of Saint *Ed-
ward* in his hand, the voice of the people was againe
demanded, and againe granted; ſuch was the hap
of vnfortunate *Henry*, and condition of the multitude
euer to diſlike the preſent, and to aſſect the new; but
no *interim* left to diſſwade or attempt, the next day
his title and title was againe proclaimed by the name
of *King Edward the fourth*, being the fourth of *March*
and about the 20. year of his age.

(4) Theſe ſudden alterations made the richer ſort
ſomewhat fearefull, eſpecially, thoſe whoſe heart
ſtood firm for *K. Henry*, (who was now in the North
new muſttering of men) and among thoſe, *London* af-
forded many, as *King Edward* ſcalouſly ſuſpect-
ed, whereof one *Walter* a ſubſtantiall Citizen and Gro-
cer was a ſufficient prooſe, who for wordes ſpoken
concerning his owne ſonne, that hee would make
him heire of the Crowne (meaning his houſe hauing
that Signe) was the eighth day of this Kings raigne
apprehended, and beheaded in *Smithfield*. And al-
beit his words intended no treaſon, (the Grocer
not once dreaming to touch *King Edwards* title) yet
the time being when the Crowne lay at ſtake, the
tenure of the Law made them his death. This
rough beginning moued many to doubt, that they
had wronged themſelues in wronging *King Henry*,
which opinion was more confirmed in that hee re-
tain'd "a great ſumme of money borrowed of the
Scaplers-Merchantes, and diſturbed in his affairs,
whoſe reſtitution hee utterly denyed with an aultere
commandement to ſurceſſe the demand. But hea-
ring how *Henry* was beloued in the North, & what
followers were gathered to recover him the Crowne,
vpon the twelfth of *March* with a complete Armie
hee ſets forth of *London*, accompanied with his
brethren, and many other Nobles: with whom
marching towards *Pauſey*, hee there appoints the
Lord *Fitzwater* to keepe the paſſage of *Ferribry*, o-
mitting no directions of a worthy commander.

(5) *King Henry* for his part though nothing ſo
warlike, yet thought it beſt policy to employ ſuch
leaders as deſired reuenge againſt the houſe of *Turke*,
ſuch were the Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Earle of *Nor-
thumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whoſe fathers
had been ſlaine in the firſt battell of *S. Albans*, which
laſt, though in degree the leaſt man, yet fought to
raide his fame with the firſt, and therefore to leaue
no attempt vnſuſſayed, hee ſo ſuddenly charged vpon
the Troupe appointed for *Ferribry*, that the L.
Fitzwater vnarmed (only with a pollix in his hand)
came haſtily to the Brigg, thinking a fray had been
among his owne Soldiers, where, with the Baſtard
of *Salisbury*, hee and many of his newe were ſlaine by
the enemye.

(6) The brute of which guſt blowne into *Robert
Wormicker* eare, hee mounted his Coarſer, and po-
ſting to *Edward*, poſſing, blowing, and almoſt out

of breath, ſaid, *Sir I pray God haue mercy on their ſoules
which in the beginning of your enterpriſe haue loſt their
lives: I ſee no ſuſpect on the world, but in God, in whom
I commit the vengeance.* And ſo alighting, forthwith
ſlew his horſe with his ſword ſaying, *Let him ſlee;
that ſlee will, I will tarry with how that will tarry
with me:* which hee confirmed by kiſſing the croſſe
of his ſword, the vſual complement of coeneanes
made by martiall men. The valiant Lord *Faucon-
bridge* fearing leſt this beginning would giue an edge
to the ſequell, got ouer the riuer at *Caſtleford*, three
miles from the bridge, meaning to incloſe the ta-
kers vpon their backs, which *Clifford* perceiuing,
ſought to auoide, and whether for haſte, heere, or
paine, put off the gorget hee wore; when ſuddenly an
arrow without an head, ſhot from the Bow of ſome
laide in ambuſh, pierced through his throat, and
ſtucke in his necke, which ſet a period vnto his
life.

(7) The next day more fatall for *Englands* blood,
was celebrated with ſpeeres in ſtead of palmes, viſu-
ally borne on * that Saboth of *Lent*, in whole daw-
ning, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, who commanded the
forward (the Duke of *York* being ſicke) rooke
the field on a plaine, betwixt the townes of *Towm*
and *Saxton*, where *King Edward* ioyning his whole
forces (being forty eight thouſand, and ſix hundred
ſixty perſons, as *King Henry* were alſo threeſcore
thouſand) cauſed proclamation to bee made, that
hee who feared to fight, might forthwith depart; but
if any Soldier abiding, ſhould ſeek to ſlee or turn
backe, hee ſhould bee ſlaine by his next fellow, and
the ſlayer to receive a great reward, beſides the ſi-
pend of a double pay.

(8) Both Armies ready to ioyne, a ſmall ſleet
of ſnow hapned to fall, which with the wind was car-
ried into the face of the Lancaſtrian hoſt, whereby
their fight was much empached, which advantage
Fauconbridge ſoone eſpying, forthwith commanded
his Archers to ſhoot each man a flight, and then to
ſtand without further proſſer. The Northerne men
feeling the arrows, but not ſeeing the Archers, made
haſte to acquire them with the like, and ſhot their
whole ſheques of arrowes without intermiſſion, but
ſhort of the marke by threeſcore yards at the leaſt;
which ſtorme being paſt, and all their ſtoreperi,
the worthy *Fauconbridge* advanced forward, and
within reach of his Archers ſore galled the enemye,
making a double advantage of what they had done:
for their owne quiers being full, when the others
were empty, they gathered vp & ſhot theirs, againſt
their owne ſhooters, yet left ſome of them ſlacking
to gull the legges of their purſuers: by which ſoely
ſtratagem, as was conſtantly ſuſpected, the battell
and day was loſt and wonne.

(9) The fight was bloody and continued tenne
houres, for all being Engliſh, acquire themſelues Eng-
liſh-like, no taking of priſoners, nor looking for
raſhonne, but all to retaine, and to get honour that
day; wherein died the Lords *Beaumont*, *Neuill*, *Wil-
loughby*, *Wells*, *Seales*, *Cray*, *Daer*, *Fitchagh*, *Bri-
ketham*, and *Clifford*, (who died the day before) the
two baſtards of *Exceſter*, Knights, Eſquiers & Gen-
tlemen a great number, and in all (on both parts)
thirty five thouſand ninety and one; ſo that not
only the field lay ſtained with Engliſh blood, but
the riuers ran red for a great diſtance, ſo markable
is this battell of *Englands* civill wars.

(10) *Henry*, who neuer was victor whereſoeuer
hee came, hearing this loſſe which ſeemed irreco-
uerable, with his Queene and ſonne halted into *Sp-
land*, where, of *Towm* the young King hee was roya-
ly entertained, with comfort of aſſiſtance to reco-
uer his eſtate, in regard whereof he ſurrendered the
ſtrong towne *Towm* into the Scots hand, and con-
cluded a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* his ſonne,
and Lady *Margaret* the ſiſter of the laid King. Theſe
things thus effected, milde *Henry* conceiued ſome
new budding hopes, and Queene *Margaret* his wife,
L I I I (indord

Early Wormick
approach and
death of King
Edward.

The L. Clifford
ſlaine with an
headleſſe arrow.

A. D. 1400
Difference of
Authors hath
been ſometimes
made fine of
yeres.
* March 19.

K. Edwards
proclamation
much forwarded
his ſervice.

The battell of
Towm.

A pollixes pro-
vided to waite.

Prince Summers
bloody battell.

K. Henry with his
Queene & ſonne
then into Speland.
John 1. 15.

Lady Margaret
of Scotland pro-
posed in marriage
vnto Prince
Edward.

King Henry
day used of his
Courtier.

Edward Duke
of York preſent
and King of
England.

March 3.

* He was borne
A. D. 1341.
April 29.

The ſonne of
the Londoners.

proſer a Citizen
beloued for
wordes.

Danger ouer to
medle with a
Crowne.

Guilt.

* Base, poſſible.

King Edwards
baggage
conſidered as de-
bited.

K. Edwards
expedition into
the North.

The Lord Fitz-
water and Ba-
ſtard of Salu-
bury ſlaine.

Queen Margaret
retireth into
France.

indeed the better warrior) passed thence into France, where, of King Lewis and her father Reiner there obtained more men, then her coffers were able to relieve with pay; the base of all courage in adventures of warre.

A.D. 1461.
King Edward
crowned.

(11) Victorious Edward, after those his prosperous successes in the North, in triumph returned to London, and the eight & twentieth of June with great solemnity was Crowned at Westminster, where in St. Peters Church, the next day it was againe most solemnly set on his head, and the third day so Crowned he came to Saint Pauls in London, and therein was created with great applause of the People. In November following a Parliament began, wherein King Henrie, Queen Margaret, and Prince Edward their issue, were deherited of their right to the Crowne; the Dukes of Excester and Sommerfet, and the Earle of Devonshire, with an hundred and forty more, were attained also and deherited; so fortune dallied in setting the dice of her favours, or frownes.

A.D. 1462.
Queen Margaret
returned into
Scotland.

(12) Queene Margaret floured with men, but in want of money, with her French powers made into Scotland; whole coming was most welcome to the two Kings there, and thence, with great shew of courtier, hoisted her flagges for England, but having touched the bay of Tyneside (whether vpon better aduise, or feared with their owne shadowes,) shee with her French put backe to the Sea, where such a fore tempest tooke them, as had not Queen Margaret in a small Carrell got vnto Berwick, shee had not liued to vexe the new King, nor seen the vnfurunate losse of her husband, her son, and Realme, nor the miserable calamities of her owne old age; her French by Bayard oule were beate into Italy land, many flaine, and foure hundred of them put to their ranlomes.

Edward's
Ogle
come
to
the
French.

A.D. 1463.

(13) This fainting French enterprize, though it dulled the edge of some spirits, yet did it nothing daunt the courage of the Queene, her better hopes being fixed vpon the States valour, so, cleaving Prince Edward for lazie in Berwick,) with her husband and Scots there cured Northumberland, took the Castle of Bamburgh, and so passed forward vnto the Bishopricke, their forces daily increasing through the confluence of such English, as fauoured King Henrie.

King Edward
come
to
York.

(14) King Edward hearing these stirres in the North, made his preparation both by Sea and Land, and with his brethren and Nobles came to York, from whence he first took Lord Montague, with a power of men, as somewhat mistrusting the loialties of the Northumbrians, who passing forward, vpon Hegeley Mount was suddenly encountered by the Lords Hungerford and Ross, with whom was Sir Ralph Perre, a most valiant Knight; but Montague, accompanied with such as would neither looke backe, nor stand gazing on, abode the encounter, and at the first pulh put backe the two Lords, and finally slew the said Perre, who no waies would depart out of the field; but in dying said, I haue saved the horse in my brest, meaning his oath made to King Henrie.

The laying
of
Sir
Ralph
Perre
in
his
death.

Montague
of
Hegeley
Mount.

(15) Lord Montague Sinne thus mounting in the Horizon, call forth the rayes of his rising fame, which as he well hoped would higher ascend. And therefore learning by espials, that Henries host lay incamped vpon a plaine called Lewes, nere vnto Heston by the Water Demell he halted thither, and so valiantly assailed their Camp, as after great slaughter, in chase were taken Lord Henrie Duke of Sommerfet, the Lords, Ross, Malins, and Hungerford, all which were beheaded, and Sir Ralph Grey, who first solemnly disgraced, his guilt (parres cut from his body, by the Maffer Cooke, his sword broken ouer his head, his Conceit armour rent, another reuered put on by the King at Armes, was so led to his execution. King Henrie himselfe got away (as Sten said) into Lancashire, where, with some few he liued full hardly in Caves, and vnkowne, more than a yere, but

May. 15.

Lords
taken
and
beheaded.

The
drifing
of
Sir
Ralph
Grey.

In
Sten.
King
Henry
put
to
flight.

(with Grey) hee fled into Scotland which is more likele.

(16) Edward thus cleared of the Cloud threatening home, thought best ere others did light, to provide for himselfe, and therefore he raised Bulwarks, built new Fortresses in places of danger, put forth his espials vpon the Marches of Scotland, and commanded that none should keepe Henrie or Margaret in secret, whose light he feared, would draw the affections of many, which otherwise stood in case of obedience. But ouer-borne Henrie (whether pallid at feare, or enforced by destiny in dignified apparel) pall into England, where he was loone apprehended by one Canley; but Sten said by Thomas Talbot in Cleburn and besides Bangerly Hipping James in Lancashire, being betrayed in Waddington Hall as hee sat at dinner, and thence brought to London with his legs bound to the stirrups, arched by Warwick, his gault spurs taken off, and committed Prisoner to the Tower of London.

(17) The Lyon thus pent, his pawes cut or pared, and Queen Margaret in quiet with her father Reiner, King Edward now fraies let his minde vpon Government for the good of his Realme. In his Court of Kings Bench he vied to sit in person certaine daies together, to see how his lawes proceeded with Iustice; ordained penal Seauers against excoisive pride in Apparell, especially against long picked shoes then usually worne, which grew to such an extreme, that the pikes in the Toes were turned upward and with filter chaines, or filke lores tied to the knee. But among many good prouisions, one proued very bad, as the sequell shewes; for concluding a league with King Henrie of Castile, and John King of Aragon, he granted a licence to transport certaine numbers of Catefoeld Sheepe, which are liue grow ne to such an exceeding increas, as the Clothes made of their woolles is a great hindrance to our Marchanes, which aduerture in the Lewant Seas.

(18) His next care was to finde a fit Regent, both for the hope of issue to succed him for alliance and power to assist (if need were) against Henries claimer. Filt therefore minding to lead into Scotland, so desire in marriage the Ladie Margaret (sister to king Leues the third) thereby to frustrate Henrie further hope; was made to beleue that the said Ladie was, by reason of sicknesse, not capable of conception, which altogether declined his affection from that way. Next, as some say, a motion was made for Lady Elizabeth sister and heire apparant vnto Henrie King of Castile, as a match most conuenient, considering King Edward had thereunto a Claim, whose great Grand-mother was one of the heires of Castile, being the daughter of Don Petyr the King, besides which high match, and combination of Alliances, a hope was conceived that the Duchies of Guien and Aquitaine, might be recovered by the assistance of these English, without great charge or cruell to the English. But the tender spring of the one, and the luby growth of the other, would not be grafted into one stocke to beare fruit, the little aboute fixe, and hee about twenty three, farr vnfit to abstaime till they could giue him content.

(19) A third Princesse was assaid, against whom could be no exceptions, for birth, beautie, yeeres, or alliance, which was Lady Beue, daughter of Lewis Duke of Sauny, and sister to Carlet the French Queene, at that time residing in the French Court. This double firing was thought most fit for king Edwards bow; for the Duke more temerous, might strengthen him abroad, and the French neuer home would be made a good neighbour, hating the night-bird still singing in his eare: especially to call a rubbe to king Henries way, whose hopes lay most vpon Lewis, for that Reuer of Amies, being himselfe King of Naples, Sicill and Ierusalem, had more honour by that verball title, then rents or reuenues to maintain his estate, or any subiection acknowledged by them; so as if king Lewis were Edwards, Amies was not to be feared

Rich. Greyson.

King Henrie
come and pre-
sents.

King Henrie dis-
guised cometh
into England, and
is apprehended.

King Henry hard-
ly tied, scathed
and committed
Prisoner to the
Tower.

King Edwards
care of justice.

The pride and
about in shew.

Sheep trans-
port into Spain,
was too full to
England.

King Edwards
care for choice
of his Queene.

His second pro-
posal for a match
Rich. Greyson.

Candlen
Rich. Greyson.

His third offer
for a wife.

The allegation
for the kinde of
breeding mar-
riages.

Lady here is call
Queen for
Edward.
and the great
Earl of Warwick.

Ed. 3d.

Warwick wooing
and entreaty
made in 2 verse.

E. Edwards left
his ladies choice
of his wife.

John Hastings
marries here.

That lady Eliza-
beth Gray a sup-
plicator to King
Edward.

The beauty and
feature of the
Lady Elizabeth
Gray.

K. Edwards mo-
ther (asketh to
dislike, his love.

The counsel
and conference
of the old Dis-
possession of King
with her young
K. Edward.

How and when
when it was ce-
lebrated his
King to marry.

K. Edwards ven-
tion for his own
free choice.

feared. This match being most approved in coun-
sell, none was held more fit to solicit the business
then Lord *Richard Neul* the great Earl of *Warwick*,
a man esteemed for power a Demy-King, and for
magnificence and hospitality matchlesse: in whose
house at *London* (as some have verified) sixe ozen
were spent every day, and most Tasteries in the
City full of his meat.

(20) *Warwick* in great state arrived at *Tours*, &
his message knowne, was accordingly entertained in
the French Court, where he wrought the Queen her
selfe to be the chief Agent, who drew on her sister
Jane, with recommending the state and stile of a
magnificent Queene (a sound very tunable in a La-
dies care,) and her husband *Lewis*, with assurance
of a potent and wise Alliance, a pleasing theame to soft
natured Princes, as the French King was. And in-
deed to all here undertooke all good contentments;
so as on that side all things were cleare, and *Warwick*
dismissed with Courteous French complements; the
Earle *Damp-marvis* was to passe into England for the
final confirmation.

(21) But whilst *Warwick* had bene industri-
ously wooing in *France*, King *Edwards* affection in
England was working another way; for being on
banking in the Forrest of *Hyewood* beside *Stony-
Stratford*, hee there found other game, that made
game in his eye, which was the Lady *Elizabeth
Gray* attending the Dutchesse of *Bedford* her mo-
ther, who then sojourned at his Mannour of *Graf-
ton*, whither hee repaired for his recreation. She
had bene attendant vpon Queene *Margaret* the
wife of King *Henry* the sixth, and had bene mar-
ried vnto *John Gray* Esquier, knighted, and slaine
at the battell of *S. Albans* vpon King *Henries* part,
who now was a suter vnto the King, for something
taken away in the extremity of that time, to hee re-
stored to him the maintenance of her estate. But
howsoever her suit pierced his eare, her sweetly com-
posed feature strangely affected his heart more for-
mally then was, and loudly in countenance, then ei-
ther tall or exceedingly faire, yet both sufficient to
meete in one person, of an excellent witte, a sober
demeanour, a modest looke, a feminine smile, and
her speech vntersed in such a natural eloquence as
her answers eare set on edge King *Edwards* desires,
which howsoever distastfull to the appetite of his
wanton bed, (affirming with blisshes, that as she
accounted her selfe most unworthy of the name of
his *Queen*, so shee held her selfe of more worth, &
her chaste honour dearer then to bee his *Concubine*)
yet held they him in chaste till shee had taken him
in the faires of her love.

(22) Their many meetings and lowres comple-
ments, made the old Dutchesse of *Turke* (the Kings
mother) much to suspect it would bee a match; to
hinder which, with a parents authority the entered
discourse, alledging it honourable, safe, and of
much profite to linke with some great Princesse
in forraigne lands, both for the increase of possessions
abroad, and (as the case stood) to bee assisted at
home: that *Warwick* had gone so farr in his suite
in *France*, as if in himselfe now were the stay, he fea-
red their displeasures would not bee staied. To marry
his Subject shee held it vnprincely, especially one
without reuencues, alliance, or riches, no other
thing moving, but a wanton doting on the person;
and although that in Lady *Elizabeth* nothing was to
be misliked, yet was there nothing so excellent, but
the same was incorporated in farr greater Ladies,
more meet as shee thought of a Queenslike estate. A
virgine (quoth she) is most fitt for a sacred Prince
his bride, whose head is annointed with holy Oyle,
and whose Maistie is outwardly more sublimethen
the Levitical Priests: yet were they forbidden to
make widdowes their wives, lest the holy callings
should bee defiled with the stain of Bigamie.

(23) When his Mother had said, and expected his
answer, the King who had taken counsell of his

owne desires, and knew himselfe to bee out of his
mothers rule, partly in earnest, and partly in plea-
sance, made her this reply: That marriage being a
spirituall type, ought rather to be conioyned where
God had framed the parties to conioine (as this of
his was) then in regard of any temporal respect
whatsoever. That his choice was pleasing to him-
selfe, and would be to his Subjects he certainly knew,
whose amity before all other Nations hee most pre-
ferred and desired; neither could hee give them bet-
ter occasion of love then in this, that being their So-
veraigne, hee diddane not to marry into their
Tribes, and so likewise for his life, there could
not any Prince be better beloved then he that was
their naturall Prince, so borne of both parents. That
if forraigne alliances were so needfull, hee had many
of his kin, to contract them, and that with content
of all parties: but for himselfe, to marry for pos-
sessions, or to please others with displeasing his own
affections, hee saw it no wisdom, having already
sufficient of the one; and the other offend'd, even
sweet pleasure would seeme some pain; especially,
the choice that is made by another mans eye. That
there are many comparable to her, said hee, I make
no question, and am the more glad, let them have
them that like them, I will not repine, neither I
hope will any abridge mee of that which I allow to
others: (the Proverbe is) (Mother) that marriage
goes by *Desire*, but to be wised against a mans own
liking is an earthly *Purgatory*. And therefore my
Cousin *Warwick* I am sure, neither loveth me so lit-
tle, to grudge at that I love, nor is so vnreasonable
to looke that I should in choice of a wife, rather be
ruled by his eye, then by mine owne: as though I
were a *Ward*, that were bound to marry by the ap-
pointment of a Gardian: I would not bee a King
with that condition, to forebear mine owne libertie,
in choice of mine owne marriage. As for possibi-
lity of more inheritance by new affinity in forraigne
land, it proves often the occasion of more trouble
then profite; and wee have already tie by that
meanes, to so much as sufficeth to get, and keep well
in one mans day. That she is a widdow, and hath
already children, by Gods blessed Lady I am a *Pa-
reidour*, yet have I some too, and so each of vs hath a
proofe, that neither of vs is like to bee barren. And
therefore (Madam) I pray you bee content, I trust
in God, shee shall bring a young Prince that shall
play on your lappe to your great pleasure, and your
selfe shall blisse the wombe that bare such a babe:
and as for your objection of *Bigamy*, let the Bi-
shop hardly lay it in my way, when I come to take
Orders: for I vnderstand it is forbidden a Priest, but
I neuer wist, that it was forbidden a Prince.

(24) The Dutchesse seeing the King so set on
his owne choice, that she could not pull him backe,
rooke it in such disdain, that vnder pretext of her
duty to Godward, she desired to frustrate the match,
and rather gave furtherance that Lady *Elizabeth* *Lan-
cey* should bee his Queene, whom not long before
hee had with wanton dalliances enticed to his bed:
for which act, vnder pretence of a contract with her,
whose husband hee was before God, (as they alled-
ged) his mother openly objected against this his in-
tended marriage, in the discharge (forsooth) of her
owne conscience, which was the cause of such an ob-
stacle, as either the Bishops darst not, or the Kings
proceed to the solemnization of this wedding, till
the same were clearly purged, and the truth openly
testified: whereupon Dame *Elizabeth* *Lancey* was sent
for; which Lady albeit shee was by the Kings mo-
ther, and others to ascerne the same, yet when shee
was solemnly sworne to speake truth, she confessed
that they were never affianced in deede, howbeit
shee affirmed his *Gravissimus* loosing words vnto
her, as the verily hoped he would have married her,
and that if it had not bene for such kind words, shee
would never have shewed such kindnesse vnto him.
This point cleared, and no impediment resting, the
King

His mothers
duals to confesse
his yepode of
marriage.

Lady *Lancey* in-
gaged to loose
marriage of King
Edward.

K. Edward married Lady Elizabeth Grey.

The defunct and purchase of the Lady Elizabeth Grey.

Queen Elizabeth crowned.

The Queen's husband highly praised.

Earle Warwick for offended against Edward.

Treasoning between the king and Earle of Warwick.

Francis Gaucelm Count of Angoulême.

John Nevill created Marquis of Montague.

Rich. Grey. A. D. 1468.

Averings made between Earle Charles and Lady Margaret.

Philip, Com. J. 1464.

The marriage celebrated.

King took to wife this later beloved Lady Elizabeth Grey, who had been formerly married unto his enemy, and many times prayed full heartily for his life, in which God loved her better then to grant her her boote, refusing greater honour for her life and her posterity.

(21) She was honourably defended, especially by the surer side, whose mother was Jaqueline daughter to Peter of Luxembourg, Earle of S. Paul, and Duchesse to John Duke of Bedford Regent of France; after whose death she married Sir Richard Woodville knight, and among others have unto him this Elizabeth, England's faire Queene, who being privately married at the Manour of Grafton, was afterwards crowned Queen at Westminster with all due celebrations, upon the sixte and twentieth of May, Anno, 1465. Her father then by this new made sonne in law, and Sovereigne Lord, was created Lord Rivers, and made high Constable of England, her brother Lord Anthony, married to the sole heire of the Lord Scaler, and her sonne Thomas Grey borne to her first husband, was created Marquisse Dorset, and married to the heire of the Lord Bonville.

(26) But when Warwick had knowledge the wanton King had got a new wife, and his courting of Lady Bona, to bee but a ball to make Edward play; hee stormed not a little, whose credite hee rooke to be crackt in the French Court, and himselfe rather thought to have dallied in this motion, then to deale by commission from his King, for which cause hee conceived so inward an indignation, that his affection was withdrawn from King Edward, and rheueforth came upon Henry retained in prison, to which end he temporized with the prelar king, applauded the Queene, and bare countenance in Court with no discontented there: The King as wary as Warwick was, cast an eye of dislike, or of any suspicion, gave him countenance in Court, and in familiar conference heard him before others; yet left the item of his greatness should overtop his crown and his brethren the spreading branches shadow his designe, heeooke the Chancellorshippe from George Nevill, the one of them, then Bishoppe of Exeter, afterward Archbishops of York, and from the other John Nevill Baron Montacute, the Earle-dome of Northumberland, bestowing the same (at the suite of the Northumbrian, set on by himselfe) upon Henry Percy, whose father was slain at Towton, and himselfe at that present fled into Scotland for safety. Whereupon Montacute was removed, and to avoid suspicion was created Marquisse, a greater name, but farre lesse in power. And to have a stake in store howsoever the dice chanced to turne, hee sought to joine friendship with forraigne Princes, having offended France for the refusing of his Queene's sister: so hee sought, and obtained the amity of Henry King of Castile, & of John King of Arragon, andooke a truce with his neighbour the Scottish King for fifteen years following.

(27) But these confederates for the more part too farre to be called for by whille, fortune beyond expectation left him another enen at his elbow, which was Philip Duke of Burgundy, Prince of Flanders, Brabant, and Zealand, whose onely sonne legitimate, (Charles Earle of Charolais a widower, and without any sonne) hee sought to conioine to King Edward's faire sister, not so much for any love hee bare to the house of York, himselfe being a Lancastrian by his mothers side, as to buye against Lewis King of France, whom hee had lately overcome in a battell at Montleberry, and as then stood upon his defence, as hee was sure King Edward did. This motion King Edward and his Councill well liked, only Warwick with stood it, in favour of the French: but the Lady Margaret sent over according to her estate, and Warwick left fuming with a discontented mind, after some complements of mirth with his brethren the Archbishops and Montacute at his Towne of Warwick, beat forth into warlike consultations

for the deposing of Edward, and restoration of Henry, whose wrongs (as he alledged) did crie for right at their hands. The Bishoppe lightly consented to side for King Henry, but the Marquisse would hardly bee drawn from King Edward, which Warwick perceiving, laid his line twiggis yet another way.

(28) For being a man of a deepe trench and witte, hee well saw that George Duke of Clarence the Kings second brother, bare not the best liking to the sway of the times: him therefore hee sought to allure to his fist, which once manded, Edward should loose the best Falcon for his game; him therefore by Promises hee meant first to ptooe and according to their digest, purposed to proceed. So falling in familiar converse with Clarence, beganne to complain of some unkindnes in the King, both in breach of some promises, and stinne of his honour in the French Court. The Duke as discontented as Warwick, interrupted his tale before it was told, why my Lord (quoth Clarence) doe you looke that a Leopard should have no spots in his skaine, or a Camelion no colours, but one, in faith you are deceived, and looke but your labour to wash the natural Blackamore: for will you have him kind that is by nature unkind, and to be respected of him, that respects not his owne hound: or thinke you (a Colen and Allie) to be raised by him, that seeth (if not seetheth) his owne bretherens faul. For the heire of the Lord Scaler (you see) hee hath married to his wifes brother, the heire of the Lord Bonville and Harington to his wifes sonne, and affianced the heire of the Lord Hungerford to the Lord Hastings, marriages indeede more meete for his two brethren and kinne, then for such new foundlings as hee hath bestowen them upon. But my George I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester would joine with mee, wee would make him know that wee are all three one stinns sonne, and of one and the same mother.

(29) Earle Warwick having that which hee greedily sought after, seconded the resolution with his owne assistance, imparting now boldly what confederates hee had made, and to joine more faithfully in this his designe, hee proffered Clarence his eldest daughter Lady Isabel in marriage, faire and well qualified with the one halfe of his wifes inheritance, she being sole heire unto Henry Beauchampe Earle of Warwick her brother, and nothing inferior to any of those whom Edward had bestowed upon others, which no looner was spoken, but was as presently embraced, and the plots conferred how to proceed, which was concluded, forthwith to saile unto Calles (whereof the Earle was Captaine, and where the virgine Lady lay) as well to confirme the contract betwixt them, as to be absent while the commotion should beginne, as the faller from suspicion and the surer to strike when the Ball came to hand, so fir which, the Archbishops and Montacute were appointed for the North.

(30) The occasion pickt to make Malecontents, was the abol of Charity unto an hospital dedicated to Saint Lazarus in the City of York, whose renewen stood most upon come yearly received from Farmers in the Country, as an oblation of their first graize. This the factious made their onely ground vnder a holy pretext (forsooth) that the poore were defrauded, and the Master and Priests onely fed & waxen fat. To redresse which one Robert Haldern entered in action, and with silence roused strong enterprised for York, in which City the Lord Marquisse Montacute was President for King Edward, who with a small number, but well chosen, lifted out against the enemy, put them backe, and strooke off the head of their Captaine before the gates of York: but whether hee did it in policie to grow more in trust with the King, or else of duty of oblige, not moulded thoroughly to the commotion, is vacertain. But certaine it is, the Rebels were nothing daunted at Halderns death, but rather made resolute

Earle Warwick plots with K. Edward's deposition.

Warwick detests Clarence into action against the King his brother.

Warwick and Clarence make affinity.

A. D. 1466.

The occasion found for a new motion.

Haldern Captaine of the Commotion.

to continue what they had begunne.

(31) To which end they choose them two Chieftaines, of greater account, and eminent calling, which were *Henry* sonne and heire to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and *Sir Horie Newill*, sonne and heire to the Lord *Lutmer*, the one of them being Nephew, & the other Cousin-germaine vnto the Earle of *Warwick*, the bot young, and not altogether experienced in Armes, choole for their Tutor *Sir John Conyers* a Knight of offch courage, skill and valour, as to the *North-parts* few were his like: who meaning to strike at the head, determined to march forthwith to *London* proclaiming in his way, that *Edward* was neither a iust Prince vnto God, nor a profitable King vnto the Common-wele.

(32) King *Edward* hearing of these Northern proceedings, and that his brother and *Warwick* were preparing against him, sent for the Lord *Herbert* whom he had created Earle of *Pembroke*, to be his General in the North (who partly to defende the Kings liberality in aduancing him to such honour, and partly in emulation he bore toward *Warwick*, being the sole obstacle (as he tooke it) why he obtained not the wardship of the Lord *Bonils* daughter and heire for his eldest sonne) did not a little reioice of that his imployment. And therefore accompanied with *Sir Richard Herbert* his brother and eightene thousand well furnished *Welshmen*, marched towards the enemy, and after him was sent *Humfrey Lord Stafford* with fixe thousand Archers to second him in his warres. These Lords meeting together, had notice by espials that the *Northerns* made forwards towards *Northampton* to intercept whom, the Lord *Stafford* lately made Earle of *Deuonshire* was imployed and *Sir Richard Herbert*, who with two thousand horse laid themselves covertly by the side of a wood, and suddenly fell vpon the reerward, the rest hauing passed: but the *Northerns* were nimble turned about, and bad the *Welshmen* such welcome as few of them returned to tell of their entertainment.

(33) The King vnderstanding of this hard beginning, mustred his subiects on euene side, intending to cope with the *Northerns* himselfe. And Earle *Warwick* as forward to forward his fortunes, gathered his friends, with purpose to encounter with *Pembroke* and his Host. But before any supplies came to either of both; it chanced the Armes to meete at vnwares, vpon a faire plaine called *Danet* more neere to the Towne *Hedgnot*, three miles from *Barbarie* and prefindly fell to a bickering, wherein *Sir Horie Newill* Knight, sonne of the Lord *Lutmer*, vpon a lusty courage, venturing how far too farre was taken prisoner, and notwithstanding he yielded himselfe to his Takers, was cruelly slaine, which vnmartiall act redressed not long vnrepaid with the losse of most of the *Welsh* the next day. For the field withdrawne the Lord *Stafford* repaired to *Barbarie* and there tooke his lodging, where his affections were much enamoured vpon a faire damsell in the Inne. But the Earle of *Pembroke* coming to the same Towne, tooke into the same Inne, and commanded the Lord *Stafford* to provide him elsewhere, contrary to their agreements made before, whereas *Stafford* was displaced, and departing thence with his whole Band, left the Earle naked of meo in the Towne, and disabled the field of the Archers, whereby the day was lost vpon the kings part, for which he shortly lost his owne head.

(34) The *Northerns* enflamed for the death of young *Newill*, the next morning most valiantly fell vpon the *Welshmen*, and by the force of Archers, draue them from their ground of aduantage, which *Pembroke* winning, supplied with his owne promise, and *Richard* his brother with his Pollaxe twice made way through the battell of the *Northerns*, without anie mortall or deadly wound: so that by their valours it was verily fopped the field had beene woone, had not *Iohn Clappan* an EQUIRE and fir-

mant to *Warwick* displaced his Lords Co'ours with his white beere, and from an eminent place cried a *Warwick* a *Warwick*, whereas the *Welsh* were so terrified, as they turned and fled, leauing their Generall and his brother alone in the field, who valiantly fighting were incompailed and taken with the death of fusthouland of their men. The Earle with his brother *Sir Richard Herbert* were brought to *Ranbery*, where with ten other Gentlemen they lost their heads, *Conyers* and *Clappan* being their Iudges.

(35) This second victory thus got, and the *Northerns* now belied, vnder the leading of *Richard of Riddisdale*, halted to the Kings mannor of *Grafston*, where the Earle *Ranert* father to the Queene then lay, whom with his sonne *Iohn*, they suddenly surprized, and in *Northampton* stracke off their heads without any iudgement. The deaths of these Lords the King greatly lamented; and sought to reuenge: first therefore writing his Commuitions for the apprehension of Lord *Humfrey Stafford* of *South-wick* (who by diligent search was found at *Great-march* and beheaded at *Tridgewater*, as he worthily deierued) next he prepared a mighty Armie, and with the same marched to ward *Warwick*, his company increasing euer as he went.

(36) King *Edward* let downe his tents at *Walsay* foure miles from *Warwick* where the Duke and the Earle of *Warwick* host lay ready for Battell, but by the mediation of friends a peace was insured, and letters written from eicher parties, expressing the griefs and wrongs sustained, with proferts of redresse, in amending all, and in shew so fare it proceeded, as the King conceiuing certaine hope of peace, rested secure, not learing any soole-play, which polique *Warwick* (by his spall perceiving) thought it not wisdom: to looke the aduantage, and strertup on to the dead of the night with a selected Company he entred the Kings Camp, killing them that kept the watch, tooke the king in his bed, and brought him his prisoner to his Castle of *Warwick*, and thence by easie Iourneys in the night had him conueyed to *Stiddeham* Castle in *Yorkshire* not farre from *Richmond*, where vnder the custody of his brother *George Newill* Archbishop of *Yorke* hee was retained.

(37) His vlage was Princely, and according to his estate, which he often acknowledged to the Archbishop with all kind thanks, and complements of wordes, whereby he wrought himselfe into such trust and fauour, as he had the Forreits to hunt in, and the parkes for his pleasure, whose pales are well knowne, vnsufficient wals to pen the lyon, as appeared by this King, who being abroad and on hunting, *Sir William Stanley*, with *Sir Thomas Burgh* brought him fresh horse, and such a crew of followers that his keepers more feared their owne lues, then were forward to force him backe againe to prison, and so let the game goe without further chafe. King *Edward* thus escaped, *Warwick* like a wild man furiously ragged, but seeing no remedy made vfe of necessity, and gaue forth that himselfe lo could it, haing power to make Kings and to vnmake them againe.

(38) The King forthwith repaired to *Yorke*, where with great honour hee was iouslly received, and abode certaine daies, which made him well hope of a further supply of friends and men. but faying thereof, and fearing the Archbishops persiute with a small traine he posted to *Lancaster*, where he found the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine well accompanied for his Cosuey: his spirits then reioiced, and traine daily increasing, with speedie Iourneys hee came vnto *London*: where all his studies and consultations were, how to be reuenged vpon these dissolial Lords, his brother, and Earle *Warwick*, and thye againe fretting at the Archbishops follie sought to make stronger their factions against the King.

(39) The Land thus rent by these vnnaturall

A.D. 1469.

The Earle of Pembroke with others beheaded.

Batter of Riddis. deliverye of the Northmen.

The Earle Rannert with his sonne Iohn is surprized and beheaded.

Lord Stafford beheaded.

Sir Henry, slaine.

King Edward taken at Walsay.

Is imprisoned in Stiddeham Castle.

King Edward is escaped out of prison.

Warwick tryngs to make and vnmake Kings.

Warwick prepared upon both parts.

Two Captaines made by the rebels.

Sir John Conyers chosen general of the rebels.

The Lord Herbert Earle of Pembroke is made Lord general.

D'Conuers beheaded: Pembroke and Warwicke.

The Lord Stafford repulsed.

King Edward preysch the Earle of Warwick.

Pembroke and Stafford will not for their lues.

The value of Pembroke and of Sir Richard Herbert.

M m m m dissolus.

The matters of small wars.

ditions, and no estate sure to enjoy what was theirs, the Nobles anew began to sollicite the parties unto a Peace, having first obtained libertie to poll to and fro without their impeachment, and so effectually laid downe the state of the Land whose ruines now were to eminent by these intestine wars, that the Nations lamented, the Forrein rejoiced, and God they saw highly displeased, whose sword thus given into their hands, was to be feared would be the destruction of the English, as *Nobles* *advertisers* of *Barb* *bell* was of *India*, and indeed so effectually wrought, that the Duke and Earle upon perfect confidence came to *London*, accompanied with a small number in respect of their great danger : where falling into conference with the King, he talked them with dissolutive, and they him with ingratitude, so that their spleens were nothing appeased, but much more increased, and with high wordes departed, the King unto *Canterbury*, and they againe to *Warwick*.

The King and the Lords met at *London*.

A.D. 1470.
A commotion in *Lincolneshire*.

(39) The stout Earle of *Gloucester* must have vent, otherwise the Duke must needs breake, caused new barres to be raised in *Lincolneshire*, vnder the leading of *Sir Robert Ffytch*, an expert souldier, and sonne of the Lord *Ffytch*, who with thirte thousand Commons, disturbed the Countrey, and in euerie place proclaimed *King Henrie*; setting downe his battell not farre from *Stamford*, meaning to abide the encounter of his oppositors, which when the King heard of, he sent for the Lord *Ffytch* his father, commanding him to write to his sonne to forswear the warrs, and to marching toward *Stamford* tooke *Ffytch* in his companie, with a good hope that the sonne would not beare armes against his own father in field, but how fower he had writ, or the King conceived, *Sir Robert* went on in his former deliquies, which so fore moored *Edward*, that he beheaded Lord *Ffytch* with *Sir Thomas Dymoke* that had married his daughter, although he had given them promise of safety and life.

The Lord with and *Sir Thomas Dymoke* beheaded.

(40) Young *Ffytch* then hearing of his fathers death, sought the revenge vpon this vtruly Prince, and not staying for *Ffytch* who was in preparing to come, set manfully vpon the King and his power, where betwixt them was performed a most bloody fight, till at last *Sir Robert* was taken, with *Sir Thomas Deland* and others, whereas the *Lincolneshire* men were so terrified, that calling off their Coates, they all ranne away, in regard whereof this battell to this day is called, the battell of *Leisest field*, wherein were slaine ten thousand men at the least, after which victory the King commanded *Ffytch* with many other of none to be put to death as the chiefe causes of these dangerous Commotions.

The beheaded *Stamford*, *Sir Robert* and taken.

Leisest field.

Sir Robert and put to death.

(41) This vniuicely conflict and vnfortunate onethrow, made *Clarence*, and *Ffytch*, at their wits end, who vnprovided to field against *Edward*, gave way to necessity, and from *Durhamshire* embarked themselves and wives for *France*, both to intigrate King *Lewis* no friend vnto *Edward*, and to secure themselves in *Calis* (whereof *Ffytch* was captain) till fortune had changed the hand of her play. These crossing the Seas call Anchor before the Towne of *Calis*, and gave notice they were ready to land, but the Lord *Fauvel* a *Gascon*, whom *Ffytch* had substituted his depuie, discharged diuers peeces of Ordinance against them, and sent word that they should not come there: meane while the *Duchesse of Clarence* fell in trammel, and was there on Shippe-board deliuered of a faire soune, which Child the Earle depuie would scarcely suffer to be baptized in the Towne, nor without great entreaty permit two flagons of wine to be conveyed aboard to the Ladies lying in the haven. For which his good friend King *Edward* by his letters Patentes made *Fauvel* chiefe Captaine of *Calis*, and discharged the Earle as a Traitor or Rebelle against him.

Warwick and *Clarence* escape into *France*.

Phil, *Clarence* and *his* son.

The *Duchesse* of *Clarence* deliuered of a son vpon Shipboard.

The Duke of *Burgundie* beheaded against Earle *Warwick*.

standing his marriage, thought now a fit time to require the discountreie; and therefore sent many thanks vnto *Fauvel*, with promise of a thousand Crowns pension by yeere, if he stood firme for his wives brother King *Edward*, himselfe laying the Coast to impeach his arraige. But how Monsieur *Fauvel* stood affected, whatsoever then he made, Countess the French Kings Historian doth tell, who sent *Warwick* word the danger he stood in, of the said Duke, and of *Durand* the Kings Admirall, so as to land, would be his final confusion: His Counsell therefore was that he should make iourne to *France*, vnto whose King he should be most welcome; and as for the town of *Calis*, he willed him to take no thought, but promised to make him a good reckoning thereof, when time should best serue. Whereupon the Earle waied anchor for *Normandy*, and in his way tooke many rich Ships of the Duke of *Burgundie* subjects, which nettled him not a little, but yet found no dole to rub out the smart.

The double dealings of *Fauvel*.

Earle *Warwick* taketh vnto *Normandy*.

King *Lewis* releaseth *Warwick*.

Burgundie offended with *Lewis* for releasing his enemy.

Rebelle of *Gascon* beheaded and taken.

A marriage concluded between Prince *Edward* and Anne daughter of Earle *Fauvel*.

(43) King *Lewis* hearing of the marriage of *Warwick*, and knowing his troubles to arise for his Ambassage to *Rome*, and faith vnto *France*, first certifie Princes to conduct him to the Cabbell of *Amboise*, where a supply was made against all necessities, and himselfe and traine most honourably entertained, whereas the Duke of *Burgundie* long repined, and sent *Lewis* word that he disliked his doings with threats of vengeance, if he aided him against his wives brother. This, notwithstanding the French King gave all comforts to these fugitives, and prepared his assistance for their restoration, and the raising againe of godly King *Henrie*.

(44) *Regent Margeret* having fled *England* and iourourning in *France* with her Father *Beauchamp* in King in name, but scarcely able to beare the State of an Earle) saw owne the Iron hat, and ready to be stricke, therefore with her sonne Prince *Edward*, John Earle of *Oxford*, and *Taffer Earle* of *Pembroke* (who lastlie had escaped out of prison in *England*) came vnto *Amboise*, where by means of the French King a combination of Alliance was confirmed betwixt the Prince of *Wales*, young *Edward*, and Anne the second daughter to the Earle of *Warwick*, then present with her mother and sister in *France*. That King *Henrie* should be againe restored, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earle tooke a solemne Oath neuer to defile whiles they had power, and in the nongage of the Prince they jointly were to be deputed his Protection, and the Lands like Gouernours.

King *Edward* driven into a dunpe.

(45) *Edward* in *England* hearing what *Queen Margeret*, his brother *Clarence*, and *Beauchamp* in the French Court had done, was stricke into a sodaine dumpe, being as doubtfull of friends, as fearefull of foes, and therefore such as were allied to the *Lancastrians*, or fauourits of the down-fall *K. Henrie*, he began somewhat roughly to deale with; many therefore that were guilty daily tooke Sanctuarie, or yielded themselves to his mercie, among whom *John Marques Montacute* brother to *Warwick* was one, who with fairest words of promises, was received into fauor, and vpon whose example many others came in, which notwithstanding meant to stand out if occasion should serue. But no busier was *Edward* to keepe the Crowne on his head, then these Lords in *France* were resolute to strike it off: in midde of whose consultations behold how it happened.

Margaret Montacute is taken vnto King *Edward* in *France*.

(46) There came from *England* to *Calis* a damsell belonging (as she said) to the Duchesse of *Clarence*, who signified vnto Monsieur *Fauvel* that shee came from King *Edward* with a declaration of peace, which hee fearing to impart the conditions to other, had made her the instrument, the better to passe without any suspight, and hee glad to heare for the Earles sake (whom hee enieously affected) gave her his safe conduct vnto the Duke of *Clarence* then at *Amboise*; where having priuate access vnto him, shee told, that it was neither natural nor honourable for him to take part against the house of *York*; that

A world Anabell desired vnto the Duke of *Clarence*.

The content of the damsell with the Duke of *Clarence*.

The Duke of Clarence locketh in his brother.

Warwick and Clarence return into England.

September. 17. A. reg. 10.

King Edward's lottery.

Earle Warwick in the West cloistereth King Henry.

King Edward's opinion touching Warwick's approach.

Baron's advice. Marquis's remembrance.

Marquis's remembrance.

that the house of Lancaster was not only by the whole Court of Parliament debarred to be the indubitate Heire of the Kingdome, but that K. Henry himselfe had discharged his Issue from claime, as it standeth (saide he) upon Record to be seene, contrary to which, as he might well perceive this marriage of Prince Edward with the Earles daughter, did openly aime and intend to the utter extinct of the house of York, whereof himselfe was one, and in neere possibillity of the Crowne, Edwards Issue young, and not many, and the King very wanton, a fine commonly punished with want of posterity, which if it so happened, then hee, or his were the next. These reasones wayed, so oter-wayed the Dukes further deligence, that hee promised thereafter a more brotherlike affection, as (saide hee) Edward should find, with which good newes hee returned into England, Warwick utterly ignorant what was said or done.

(47) All now in a readinesse for the returne, ships, money and men supplied by the French King, the Admirall of France was sent to secure them from the Duke of Burgundies Fleet, which with an extraordinary number and power lay in the mouth of *Seyne* to fight with *Warwicke* when he should loose out of Harboure: but fee how the heavens favoured, and frowned upon the parties, for the night before they should hoist saile, such a stormy tempest rooke the Dukes Fleete, lying more remote from the Lee, that they were scattered asunder, some into *Zeeland*, some into *Denmarke*, and many of them drowned. But the Seas calmed, and the wind serving faire, the English set saile and landed at *Dartmouth*, whence they had shipped into France almost six months before.

(48) King Edward relying upon *Burgundy* abroad, and thinking all friends who favoured at home, gave himselfe daily to follow the hound and the hawk, and nightly to his court pleasures in dancings and dalliances with damisels, little minding their approach that meant to marre his mirth; for *Warwicke* now landed, proclaimed King Henry, commanding all from sixteen to sixty, upon a great penalty to take Armes against Edward Duke of York, the most viribull usurper of *Henries* eightfull Crowne, and vcredible it was, to see the confluence of them which came armed to him, who ere-while applauded & approved none but King Edward. Thus making towards *London*, his company daily encreased, which the youthfull King seemed little to regard, but verily supposing hee had now *Warwicke* in his trapp, wrote to *Burgundy* to secure the sea, lest he should escape againe into France, and to his Lords of *England*, to attend him in his wars; but very many neglected his command, and few or none made their repaire. Which when Edward perceived hee was stricke into a great feare, and with his brother of *Glocester*, the L. *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord *Scaler* the Queenes brother, hee halsted towards *Nottingham* thre to determine what was to be done.

(49) In the meane while the boldard *Faulconbridge* in the west, and the Earle of *Pembroke* in Wales, every where proclaimed King Henry, and to forward the matter, D. *Goldard* preaching at *Pauls* Crosse declared by reading of Billes, and divers other proofes, that King Henry was the vndoubted and true heire unto the English Crowne. Neither is the L. *Monmouth* now the man that he was, who having mustered six thousand in the name of King Edward, and brought them forward almost to *Nottingham*, on the sodaine drew backe his forces, alleading that Edward was vngracefull, & regardless of his friends as himselfe said, himselfe was the example, who having served him in many bloody battels, was rewarded with a verbal word *Marqueße*, without any maintenance at all, no not so much as Pyes poor need: & therefore hee had iust cause never to draw his sword in his quarrell any more, and them that did, hee af-

fired them should receive the like tward in the end.

(50) These with the like dissallures, disuolged among the rude multitude, it was a world to see the face of this new World, for in every threecore Bonfires were made, in every Church bells rung, Diries were sung at every meeting, and every man cried K. Henry, King Henry, whole *Engle* likewise redoubled, & *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, and indeed all so applauded the passing now on foot, as King Edward hearing the rumor, thought it not safe any longer to stay, & therefore with thoe truly Lords and some others, hee fled from his host besides *Nottingham*, passing the *Waltes* towards *Lyons* with greater difficulties then was befitting a Prince to adventure; and thus without any order taken for his Realme, in two Halkes of *Holland*, and one English flappe deliberate of all necessary provisions, set layle toward *Burgundy* and in the way was encountered by the Easterlings, *Englands* great Enemies, having much adoe to cleare himselfe from their forcible.

(51) In these times of misery the Queene (whose marriage was the only cause of all these furies) upon the first of October had stolne out of the Tower, and taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where like a woman forsaken shee solitarily remained, and on the fourth of November following was delivered of a sonne, which without all pompe more like a private mans child then a Prince, was there also baptized by the name of Edward, who after his fathers death, a while was King of *England*, as shall be said; other Sanctuaries were full of King Edwards friends, that praised devoutly for his prosperous health, and well hoped the world would againe turne, as thoe they did. One King thus fled, and the other in prison, the Kentish, whose conditions are motable at the change of Princes, came to seekre prey in *London*, where they knew it was to be had: *Ratcliffe*, S. *Katherine*, and *Southwark* they robbed, and within the City did some hurt besides, yea and surely more had done, had not Earle *Warwicke* in good time come to the rescue which encreased his name, that was great enough before.

(52) Earle *Warwicke* accompanied with his brothe the Archbishops of *York*, the Prior of *Saint Johns*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, *Bailard* *Faulconbridge*, Lord *Stanley*, and other Gentlemen, some for love, some for feare, & some to gaze at this wauering world, upon the first of *October* entered the Tower of *London*, where in King Henry had beene retained prisoner almost the space of nine yeeres, and there againe elected him for their lawfull King, and forthwith conuined him robed in a long blew velvet gown through *London* vnto the Bishops pallace, where a pompous Court was kept untill the thirteenth of the same month, upon which day hee went in procession crowned to the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul*, the Earle of *Warwicke* bearing his traine, and the Earle of *Oxford* the sword, the people on every side crying, God save K. Henry.

(53) Thus farre proceeded, and Henry reestablished, a Parliament was begonne at *Westminster* the six & twentieth of November following, wherein King Edward was declared a Traitor to his country, an usurper of the Crowne, and all his goods confiscated; the like indgement passed against all his partakers wherein also it was enacted, that all such persons as had taken Armes in his quarrell, should bee severely punished, among whom, *John Tiptoft* Earle of *Warwicke*, and King Edwards Lieutenant in *Ireland* was attained, who being found hid in the toppe of a tree, in the Forrest of *Wylsbryde*, not farre from *Huntington* was brought to *London*, and upon Tower-hill beheaded. Moreover, all Statutes made by King Edward were clearly revoked, abrogated, and made frustrate: the Crowns of *England* and *France* entayled to King Henry, and the Heyres-male lawfully begot of his body, and for the

How reverent it is to day on the multitude

K. Edward is said to be in England. October.

Edward in danger of taking on him.

Queene Elizabeth took Sanctuary in Westminster.

Prince Edward born in the Sanctuary.

The Kentish Comencloure that watch about London.

John Fastolfe.

The Spere rule K. Henry out of the Tower.

Katharine's religious and good crowned in July.

K. Edward's death from the tower by the Parliament. The Parliament. K. Edward's death from the tower by the Parliament.

The Crowns of England and France entayled to K. Henry.

want

George Duke of Clarence exiled to the Tower.

Exile restored.

Earle Warwick made governor of the Realm.

Queen Margaret banished by request to Compton England.

The Duke of Burgundy perplexed.

Philomela's song.

Earl of Warwick chosen in Calais.

King Edward counsels aide of his brother the Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of Somerset in dispraise Burgundy and K. Edward.

Burgundy empowered with his issues.

went of such heires unto *George Duke of Clarence*, and his heire males lawfully produced, and the said Duke to be the next heire to his father *Richard Duke of York*, disabling his elder brother *Edward*, by the virtue of his Ateindot, & *Isabel Earle of Pembroke*, *John Earle of Oxford* with other attainted by the usurper *Edward*, to be restored in blood, dignities, and ancient possessions; and finally, *Earle Warwick* the good common-wealths man, made Governor of the Realm in these turbulent times, unto whom was allocated *George Duke of Clarence* his great Earle's sonne in Law, and *Warwick* brother *Montacute* upon his submission obtained his pardon, which was the callier gotten for his service at *Nottingham*.

(14) *Queen Margaret* appointed to follow into *England*, if fortune did favour these great Lords success, now hearing of the faire Sun-shine, wherein her husband *King Henry* was set, amidst the stormie winter blasts which the season afforded, with *Prince Edward* her sonne, he sailed from *France*, towards that wished and temperate climat, where the spring of new Regality beganne to bud forth, but was met with such tempests and storming seas, as they were forced to retaine and deferre their journey untill another time, to her great griefe and fore discoment. In like perplexity was the *Burgundian Duke*, who neither durst give *Edward* his outward assistance (the *French* and *Warwick* being so mighty opposites) nor leave him in distress, lest the sparkes of discontent should flie from the eyes of his faire wife, and therefore to know whether *Flavelle* the Governor of *Calais* stood resolute for him according to Covenants, he secretly wrote *Philip Comens* the hony-mouth Historian, to drop some of his sweet eloquence into his gold-shirring eare.

(15) *Comens* comming to *Calais*, and observing the sequence for which he was sent, saw every man wear the Earle of *Warwick*'s badge, for no heart could bee gallant that was not adorned with his rugged steele, nor no dore frequented that was not painted with his white Croise. In somuch that *Flavelle* himselfe had a Jewell in his haire, wherein was a white rugged steele, embroidered with gold, and others his followers like wrought in filke, gold, and siluer; and to stamp the print deeper, a liking report was brought to the towne, that *Warwick* had prepared foure thousand valiant men to warre upon the frontiers of *Burgundy*. But *Comens* in conference so wrought with the Councell, and they againe with *Earle Warwick* as he was contented to leave off the enterprise, *Duke Charles* promising to side with *K. Henry*.

(16) *King Edward* hearing what his brother of *Burgundy* had done, and being dayly solicited from his friends in *England*, thought it no policy long to delay, lest *Henry* should take growth to a bigger steame; and therefore repairing to his brother in the towne of *Saint Paul*, required his aide, as the onely man on whom he relied, as well for the bond of alliance in the marriage of his sister, as also in regard of the orders which they both were, the King that of his which was the golden Fleece; and the Duke the Garter and Robe of *Saint George*. In the Court of *Burgundy* at that time lay *Edward Duke of Somerset*, colen-germaine cennosed unto *Duke Charles*, a great enemy against the house of *York*, and now set himselfe to thwart *King Edward*'s suite, allcading, that it was more honourable for the Duke of *Burgundy* to side with the Lancastrians, from whom he was descended by his Grandmother the daughter of *John of Gaunt*: as also in the vpreightnes of *King Henry*'s title, held good in her brother, and his Grandfather, and in her Nephew his father without all exceptions.

(17) The Duke perplexed betweene these great supplicants did then, as many doe now, speake much and meane nothing lesse, or else say little, & meane to doe much. To *Somerset* for *Henry* hee

outwardly promised all helpe and assistance, but never gave the least, and to *Edward* no comfortable words of supply, and yet underneath he hired him *Shippes*, furnished him with munition, and lent him fifty thousand *Florentines* in money. And now the season serving for warre, *K. Edward* with two thousand strong besides his Mariners made over for *England*, attempting to take land in *Norfolke*, but those coasts guarded, hee waisted more Northward, and entering *Humber*, landed at *Rauncivill* in *Yorkshire*, when laying aside all claim to the Crowne, and pretending nothing but his Dutchie of *York*, he shewed the rude multitude the letters, and seale of the Earle of *Northumberland*, which as he affirmed, & made them beleve was sent for his safe conduct to enjoy the same, and in every place where he came proclaimed *King Henry* himselfe, wearing an *Ethric* feather, which was *Prince Edward*'s Lincry, and passing to *York* in no other then a Subiect, his oath first taken to be true to *King Henry*, entered the City, which presently hee surprized and assumed to himselfe.

(18) *Earle Warwick* now hearing that *Edward* was landed before hee had marched very faine in the main, sent first charge to his brother the Marquisse *Montacute* then residing at *Pensfret*, with a sufficient Army to secure those parts; that hee should not suffer his access unto *York*, lest he grew more potent, then was to be wished; himselfe making ready with all possible speed, to repaire into those parts; but whether the Marquisse purposely winked, or else (and that rather) would not see at all, hee made no great hast to forsey his way to *York*, neither sought to emperch the passage: when *Edward* from thence marched in a more hostile manner towards *Nottingham*, taking his way not farre from *Pensfret*, and as it were through the midst of his enemies; which encouraged many to favour his designs, holding that *Montacute* was either a friend, or afraid to deale against so powerful an enemy.

(19) The White Rose thus bloomed, and the red falling his leafe, all took the time of this pleasant spring, and flocked to *Edward* as to their *April* Sun, who now more able, and therefore more bold made forward towards *Leicester*, where the Earles of *Warwick* and *Oxford* with a great power were, but because *Clarence* was absent, they let *Edward* hold on without any encounter, whose traine as hee passed was like to a river that in the running is ever increased with new springs, which *Warwick* perceiving, thought it more then time to give battell, well knowing that his brothers forbearance had given him that head. And to that end sent unto *Clarence* then about *London* in leuying of men, but hee somewhat too backward, and *Warwick* too forward, took into the City *Country*, meaning from thence to let on the enemy. But *Edward* whose heart had now past the darke threatening cloud, pitched his tent nere unto that City in a plaine field, and valiantly bad the Earle come to battell. But he then mistrusting (as in truth hee had cause) that the boldnes of *Edward* was backed by a *Clarence*, kept close within the walls, with a purpose to see how the world would goe.

(20) *Edward* loth to looke time about one Cities siege, raised his Campe, and haisted forward toward *Warwick*, unto which Towne likewise his brother *Clarence*, with some thousand strong was on march; these meeting upon a plaine, three miles from the Towne, set their Battels in Array, as if they meant to have fought, but the King, his brother *Glovesier*, Lord *Biers*, *Malsins*, and others, without any gard made towards *Clarence*, which when he beheld, himselfe accompanied with some of estate encountered his brother with a louing countenance and friendly cheare, so as no sparke of hatred was perceived betwix them, but with all brotherly affections entered into amitie and peace, which afterwards proved the confusion of the Duke. *Clarence* thus got fought

K. Edward pulled down K. Edward, pretending more than hee was Duke of York.

A. D. 1471. March 14.

K. Edward Rans his wife to waite on City of York.

Earle Warwick went to his brother the Marquisse to request King Edward's passage.

K. Edward Army encircled.

John Stow.

Warwick retards into the City Country. March 14.

K. Edward challenges Earle Warwick to fight.

K. Edward draws towards London.

K. Edward and his brother Clarence meet and are reconciled.

to draw *Warwick* into the same traine, to which end he sent certaine messengers vnto him; first to excuse his owne fact, as too vnnatural for him to vn-
Clarence secretly drew Warwick vnto K. Edward.
 the words of Warwick in answer to Clarence.
K. Edward secretly drew Warwick.
 London received King Edward.
K. Warwick againe taken and sent to the Tower of London.
Ed. Duke.
Earle Warwick commeth to R. Albion.
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 The orderings of the battell.

(61) This stout resolution made *Edward* more warie, and therefore to obtaine *London*, the only key that opened the dore to the Crowne, he halted thitherward, whose Citizens hearing of the increase of his host, and saying that *Warwick* was but a milke-sop to him, thought it most safely to faile with the surest winde, and therefore set open their Gates, and with publike applaud cried, *King Edward*. Which when the Duke of *Somerset* with others left to attend the innocent *King Henry*, heard, they fled for their liues; and left him in the Bishopps Palace at *London*, where his Competitor *King Edward* tooke him, and sent him againe prisoner to the Tower. With so many winds are the failies of their ships filled, which seeke the Port of their safety by the affections of the people; for euen the same day had *Henry* bene carried through the Citie (as it were) in triumph, and had heard the thunders of the Commons in euerie streete crying; *God save King Henry*.

(62) But Earle *Warwick* hearing how things went in *London*, and now fully conceiuing that the hazard of Battell must determine either with, or against him, being come to *Saint Albons*, fell into a deepe consideration what was to be done: His assistants were *John Duke of Excester*, the Earles of *Oxford* and *Somerset*, and *Marquess Montacute* his brother, whom notwithstanding he did not greatly trust, being alwaies too fauourable to the contrarie faction. Theſe in Counsell held it best pollicie to follow the Enemye, and before the bodies grew too great, to lop off the branches, least they should shadow their Sun-shine too farre. In which resolution, they halted forward and came vpon *Barnet*, with a full purpose to recover *London*: but *Edward* well knowing the flare of the City vnarm'd for siege, and ready to take flame of any impresse, ment not to be pent within thole weake wals; and therefore talking with him vnfortunate *Henry*, least any confederacy should be made in his absence, he marched with all possible hast, to encounter his opposites, before they came too farre, and vpon *Gloucester* nere vnto *Barnet* set downe his Tents close to the enemye, the cue of *Christis* resurrection, so caries in *Mars* of diuine celebrations, that the holiest feast is prophane, when his sword is drawne.

(63) The next day being the Paschall whereon *Christ* rose from death, which with due reuerence is celebrated in all the Christian world, these English contenders for a terrestrial Crowne, with itell all hearts and hands as brake, made ready to digge each others graves: for at break of day *Warwick* began to Marshall his Army, which he diuided into three battalions: The right wing was led by the *Marquess* his brother, with the Earle of *Oxford*, consulting chardy of horsemen, himselfe with the Duke of *Excester* led the left; and the maine battell was commanded by *Edward Earle of Somerset*, which was supplied for the most part with Archers. *K. Edward* likewise ordered his men. The forward was led by *Richard Duke of Gloucester* his brother, a good souldier and sufficient for aduise, the middle by himselfe, and his brother *Clarence*, having *King Henry* in their

company: And the reuerend was commanded by the Lord *Hastings*, euer most firme for the hostle of *Turke*, reseruing a fresh supplie, when occasion should serue.

(64) The Battells ioined, were manfully maintained by the prowess of *Oxford*, vpon that part of the Kings, against which he fought, which with great violence he forced backe, so that many of them fled to *London*, bringing newes that with *Warwick* went the day: and surely in great forwardes it was, had not fortune thwarted it by an unexpected chance: for the day being foggy, and overcast with mists, hindred their eies of any farre sight, so as the flares embroiled vpon the Earle of *Oxford* mens Coates, were mistaken for the Sunne, which *King Edwards* men wore, in which error *Warwick*es Battell let flie at their owne fellows, who were in great forwardes to haue vponed the day, and they not knowing the cause of the error cried, *treason, treason* as all betraide. Whereupon the Earle of *Oxford* with eight hundred fled the field, leaving the chance to be cast for the Crowne; which when *Warwick* perceived with words like a souldier, he encouraged his men, and seeing the fresh supply of his enemye draw now vnto fight, he furiously rushed into the midst of their Battell, wherein he aduentured so farre as he could not be refused, but valiantly fighting was stracke downe, and among them slaine, hauing repaid his danger with many a wound. The *Marquess Montacute* made forward to second his brother, (who till then had bene the *Mars* and *Malice* King of England) but was so overlaid by his Opposites, that they sent his fellowe from his bodie whereby was ended that bloody daies task.

(65) In this Battell vpon *King Edwards* part, died the Lord *Cromwell*, the Lord *Barnes*, Ioune and heire to the Lord *Sey*, and *Sir John Lisle* Knight: In the quarrell of *Henry* died *Richard Neill* Earle of *Warwick*, and *John Neill* *Marquess Montacute* his brother, and vpon both sides of common souldiers saith *Hall* ten thousand, *Stow* fiftie four thousand, as *Fabian* saith lesse: all which were buried vpon the same Plaine; where afterwards a Chappell was built: the Duke of *Excester* being left for dead in the field, recovered, and tooke Sanctuary at *Wymmsley*. *Edmund Duke of Somerset*, and *John Earle of Oxford* escaped the field, and fled into *Wales*, where with *Laffer* Earle of *Pembroke* they still plotted to set vp *King Henry*, whom *God* and deliuiance would haue to be call downe.

(66) The same *King Edward* vpon the same day as an absolute Conquerour, led the vnfortunate *Henry* his Captiue to *London*, and entering the City in triumph wile, offered his roiall Standard in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul*, whither the flaine bodies of *Warwick* and *Montacute* in two Coffins were brought, and lay there bare faced, and vnburied the space of three daies, least a false Brute should be made that they were not dead. After which they were conuayed to *Bissham Abbey*, and interred in that Priory among their Ancestors.

(67) *Edwards* Affaires thus farre prospered at *London*, the windes that had crooked *Queene Margaret* before, came fauourably about to fill her Sailes for *England*, & indeed to accomplish the decree, which heauen had appointed: mee with her Ioune Prince *Edward* and their French followers, landed vpon *Eastre* tye at *Weymouth*, and the Countesse of *Warwick* at *Perisemouth*, who hearing the sorrowfull newes of her husbands death, tooke Sanctuary within the Abbey of *Beaulieu*. And *Queene Margaret* understanding of the losse of *Barnet* field, withdrew aside to the Abbey of *Conuay*, vnto whom presently reſorted *Edmund Duke of Somerset*, with *Lord John* his brother, *John Courtenay* Earle of *Deuonshire*, *Laffer* Earle of *Pembroke*, *John Lord West*, and *John Lang* brother Prior of *Saint John*.

(68) These with many words of hope, comforted the sorrowfull *Queene*, and proſtred her their assistance

Is true, consisting of the footmen which was the best of the field.

Great Warwick slain in battle.

Marquess Montacute slain in battle.

Nobles undertaken from at Barnet field.

John Neill, Earl of Warwick, slain 1500.

The Duke of Somerset and the Earle of Oxford fled into Wales.

Rah. Graft.

Edward re-appears and collects his banners in St Paul.

Queene Margaret with Prince Edward landed in Weymouth.

The Larch-countess Queen Margaret.

assilance to erect Prince *Edward* her sonne, though it were done with the losse of their owne lues, requiring her only to vndertake the authority of the war, and themselves would vndergo the charge and burden thereof, by whose valor and power, they doubted not to daunt the pride of the usurping *Edwards*, who now held himselfe sure, and beganne to grow careless. To these their resolutions the warlike Queene most gladly consented, and gaue all encouragements vnto them like could; when falling in counsaile how to proceed, bet care (according to the naturall affection of a mother) was most vpon the safety and life of her sonne: and therefore a self for their owne parts (if fortune should faile in this their first attempt) as for the feare which the *Turkiss* would possesse (who whiles Prince *Edward* his corinall liard could not account the Diadem his Bride) shee thought it best to send him backe againe into *France*, till God had set the Crowne where it should stand: whence he might supply them with new forces, or at leastwise ouerawe *Edward* for tyrannizing too farre. But the Lords conerariwise alledgged, that Prince *Edward* being the morning Sunne of the Lancastrian hopes, and the rayes very splendent to most English eyes, was to be present in field himselfe, whose sight would both heat the courage of his owne Souldiers, and attract the glance of his aduersaries bearts, either to fight faintly, or else, and that rather, to come to his side. Thus their counsaile at that time preuailed, and thus resolved, every man departed to make ready his power, the Queene with her French repairing to *Bath*.

(69) But *Edward* in *London* had not sitetwo daies in rest, before hee heard of Queene *Margaret*'s arriua, and the confluence of people out of *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*, and of the Westerne parts, which honourly flew to giue her assilance; wherefore committing to the Tower King *Henry*, and George Archbhoppe of *Torke* with a selected company, he marched to meet them, intending to cut off many springs before they should ioine to the body of a river, whose streame without danger could not be passed: therefore from *Winchester*, *Abington*, *Chester*, and *Malmesbury* hee proceeded; seeking and vying his enemies to battell: but the Queene and her forces fearing to abide in *Bath*, remoned to *Bristol*, *Berkley*, and *Gloster*, and lastly at *Trinkeley*, Duke *Summerset* her General pitched down his Tents not staying the coming of the Earle of *Pembroke*: his battell he marshalled into three fighes, whereof himselfe and his brother *John Lord Summerset* lead the foreward; the middle Battailion was commanded by *Edward* the young Prince, vnder the conduct of the Lords *Saint Iohn* and *Wenlocke*, and the Rereward gouerned by *John Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, a mortall enemy against the house of *Yorke*.

(70) King *Edward* who was come now within sight of his enemies, diuided likewise his Army into 3. Battalions, committing the Foreward vnto the guidance of his brother *Richard D. of Gloster* a good Souldier, and of a deepe reach and policy: the Main hee vnderooke to gouerne himselfe; and the Rereward was commanded by the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine. The field thus marshalled, and the signe of battell being giuen, a most bloody fight beganne, the King had planted his Ordinance at most advantage, which *Gloster* frankly belowned among the Dukes men, and they lodged betwixt ditches, bushes and hedges, with their showers of artowes galled *Gloster*'s followers, so as by his command his battell gaue backe, as though they would shrinke, which *Summerset* no sooner perceived, but that he came on, and ouercome with courage, came out of his strength, when by a certaine passage before hand provided, he came vnto the place where King *Edward* was embattelled, thinking verily that *Wenlocke* had followed at his backe, who as it seemed meant nothing lesse.

(71) The advantage espied, Duke *Richard* made

good his retreat, and with fresh supplies of two hundred speares so charged *Summerset*, as his battell was disorderd, and put to fearefull flight, himselfe recouering the Middleward, found there the *L. Wenlock* idle, whilst others were thus working for their lues, whom he most opprobriously reailed in the termes of a Traitor, & with his Battellaxe stroke his brains out of his head; when presently *Gloster*, and after him the King entered the Trench, wherein all of the Queenes part went to wracke; for there were slaine in this battell on her side *John L. Summerset*, *John Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, the Lord *Wenlocke* in manners wee haue laid, Sir *John Delour*, Sir *Edward Hapden*, Sir *Robert Whittingham*, and Sir *John Lewkenor*, with three thousand others besides.

(72) Among them that fled, Prince *Edward* was one, whose Sir *Richard Crofts* apprehended before hee got to *Trinkeley*, but *Edmund* Duke of *Summerset*, *John Langfrater*, Prior of *Saint Iohn*, many Knights and Eliquiers tooke Sanctuary in the Abbey, and other places of the Towne, notwithstanding they were taken forth and arraigned before *Richard* Duke of *Gloster*, who that day fate Constable of *England*, where they were condemned and had iudgement of death, which they immediatlie suffered vpon a Scaffold set vp in the Town. With these two Lords died twelue worthy Knights, besides others of inferior degrees.

(73) Then was Proclamation made for the apprehension of Prince *Edward*, promising to his taker an annuie of an hundred pounds during his life, & if the Prince were liuing, his life to be spared, vpon which promises Sir *Richard Crofts* presented young *Edward* vnto the King, whom with a sterne countenance hee a while beheld, and as sternly demanded, how he durst so presumptuously with Banner displayed enter into his Realme; whereunto the Prince made this reply; to recouer (said he) my fathers Kingdomes and his most rightfull inheritaunce possessed by his Father and Grandfather, and from him immediatly belonging vnto me; how darst thou then which art his Subiect display thy colour against him thy Liege-Lord? which answer mooued King *Edward* to muches with his Gentle her dathed the Prince on his mouth, whom *Richard* Duke of *Gloster* with others of the Kings seruants most shamefully murdered, euen in his presence, and at his feete: whose body was buried without all solemnity among other poore and meane persons in the church of the Monastery of the Blacke-Fryers in *Trinkeley*.

(74) Queene *Margaret* in this fadall day of battell fled towards *Worcester*, and by the way tooke into a poore religious house in that her present distresse: but three dayes after shee was apprehended and brought vnto *Worcester* to King *Edward*, who committed her to iure and strait keeping, in which City she a while remained. But sodain news brought him, that the Northern men were in Armes, and meant to aduence for her liberty, the Conquerour marched to *Cowmtrie*, and there made preparation further to proceed: which when these hote spirits perfectly vnderstood, their courages grew colder, & their weapons cast away, they came thronging to *Edward* to offer him subiection; yet the Lancastrians were not so minded, but rather intended oner more to trie whether fortune would afford them her smile.

(75) A fitt instrument they had to forward the enterprise, namely *Thomas Mordaunt* bestard *Fauconbridge* sonne of Lord *Fauconbridge* Earle of *Kent*, a great supporter of King *Edward*'s Crowne: howbeit this *Ballard* being a man of a turbulent spirit, and forward for adion, Earle *Warwick* had made him his Admirall to keepe the narrow seas, that none should haue way to strengthen King *Edward*, which his office he executed beyond his Commission, and became a taker of all Merchants goods, being aided with 300. Malecontents from *Calles*.

(76) His

This battell was fought vpon Saturday the 4. of May, the 11. of K. Edwards reign, and yeere of Calles 1471.

L. Wenlocke slain for wounding *Summerset*.

Lords slain in *Trinkeley*.

Prince *Edward* apprehended.

The Duke of *Summerset* and others executed.

Prince *Edward* apprehended and his answer.

Prince *Edward* most shamefully slaine.

Queene *Margaret* taken out of her Sanctuary.

The Northern men sent: met K. Edward.

Bestard *Fauconbridge* Captain of the *Lancastrians*.

Queene *Margaret* sent for Prince *Edward* her sonne.

The opinions of the Lords.

King & Duke prepare to fight. Queene *Margaret*.

King *Henry* committed to the Tower of *London*.

The ordering of Queene *Margaret*'s battell.

The ordering of K. Edwards battell.

The battell at *Trinkeley*.

K. Edward.

(76) His enterprise desperate, and his name growne fearful at sea, hee meant to make it so lesse on the land; for putting in at Dover, many misgoverned and loose persons daily drew to him, so as his power grew to bee threescore thousand strong: with these through Kent hee made his way towards London, meaning to doe much, the land so molested with intestine warres; and lodging his host on the Southside of London, commanded the Citizens to give him access, that with King Henry (whom hee meant to release from the Tower) he might passe through their streets, to meet and encounter the usurping Edward. But the Londoners knowing the rudeness of these Rakehels kept their gates shut and gained the time with sufficient strengthes: whence some Lords of the towvall blood therein residing, sent vnto Edward of their present danger, who presently sent them fiftene hundred of his best Souldiers, aliter whom in person hee warily marched, leading with him his prisoner Queene Margaret, whose boundes hee well knew, gaue him the full scope of liberty.

(77) Faenbridge in the meane while thirsting after spoile with his shippers secured the Thames at boue S. Katherine, purposing with his land Forces to passe the Riuer at Kingston: but hearing that Edward was on his March, and fearing to bee cut off from the benefite of his ships, hee altered his mind, when to open his way into London, hee caused the Bridge to bee fiered, and three thousand of his men being set ouer T. hamis by his ships, diuided themselves into two Companies, the one assaying to enter at Algate, and the other at Bishopgate, both which they likewise set on fire, so that the Citie was in three places fiered and assaulted at once, but with such euill successe to the assailants, that seven hundred were slaine, and the bold Ballard driuen to his ships.

(78) Vpon the twentieth of May the Conquerour Edward with his Capriue Queene Margaret entered London, and so into the Tower, the one in pomp commanding the place at his pleasure, the other in teares to remaine a most positiue prisoner, where her husband, the downcall King Henry was kept in hard durance. The place being thus charged with the presence of two Kings and their Queens, the Crokebacke of Gloucester intended to cleare by taking him away, that stood in his brothers way, whose succesor as it thought hee then meant to bee; and making his inward mind more deformed then were his outward lincamenes, without regard of blood-defiled hands, stabbed the most innocent Henry to the heart with his dagger, in which act at once beganne the ones happy rest, and the others foule guilt, which accompanied his conscience to the day of his death.

(79) The body of this murdered King was vpon the Ascension Eue laid in an open Coffin, and from the Tower guarded with many bills and glaues, was so caried through the streets vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, where it rested vncouered one day, and beganne to bleed againe afresh, a sorrowfull spectacle to most of the beholders, and thence was it carried to the Blacke-Fryers Church, where it likewise lay bare faced, and bled as before, all men being amazed at the sorrowfull sight, and lastly, it was put in a boat without Priest, Clerke, Torch or Taper, singing or laying, and was ferried vnto the Abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, & there without pompe entred. But afterwards King Henry the seueenth translated his body vnto his Castle of Windsor, where in a new Tombe at the entrance into the Chancell of the Chappell, and south dore of the Quier, it was princely bestowd, but since the Tombe is remoued, and where the Corps is now laid is not vulgarly knowne.

(80) This liued and thus dyed this innocent and iust King, who had beene proclaimed in his Cradle, crowned in his Infancy, and againe at more age had the Emperiall Diadem of France set on his head, li-

uing vprightly, louing his Subjects, and reigning thirty eight yeeres, was in that time tossed with variable successe, for twice hee was imprisoned, and deprived of his Crowne, betrayed, smitten, and wounded, and in all things became a worthy example of fortunes vnconstancy: hee was of stature very slender, of body slender, of face beautifull, and by a natural inclination abhorred all vice, farre from pride, giuen to prayer, well read in the Scriptures, vling works of Charity, and so chaste, as no suspicion of incontinency could be conceiued in him: nay, so farre to the contrary, that when certaine Ladies presented themselves before him in a maske, with their haire loose, and their breasts vncovered (hee then a Bachelor, and able of marriage) hee immediately rose vp and departed the presence, saying, fie, fie, forsooth yee are to blame. Oath hee vnd none, but in weighty matters, his affirmation was forsooth, and forsooth, very mercifull to the poore, and so pitifull to Malefactors, as he commanded the quarters of Traitors to be taken downe from the Gales, and buried, and so farre from reuenge, that hee willingly pardoned the greatch offences against him; for a Russian intending his death, wounded him in the side with his sword, what time he lay prisoner in the Tower, and being restored to his kingly estate, he freely forgave the fact; and another like Russian striking him on the face, hee punished with this onely reprehension, *forsooth you are to blame to strike mee your anointed King*: for these and his other paiter vertues, King Henry the 7. assayed to haue him canonized a Saint, but Pope Sixtus the 2. demanding too great a summe, the King went no further in the suite: notwithstanding in the repute of the vulgar hee was taken for no lesse, so as his red hat which had beene heald the head-ach, when it was put on, as the simple beleueed.

(81) The monument of his zeale to true piety, and care for posterities, are his famous Colleged of Eaton and Cambridge, the Chappell of which last, shewes the magnificence that the whole should haue bene of, had their Founder reigned to haue finished them himselfe: for the performance whereof hee enclosed certaine Bishops with other noble personages by his letters Patentes with lands and possessions, to the yeerely value of thirty foure hundred pounds very neere: but as his life ended, before that nature had thereto let her owne seale, so these remain vnperfected of the excellent beauties intended, which their zealous Founder meant to haue adorned them withall.

(82) And his sorrowfull Queene Margaret, who twentie sixe yeeres before this his death, with all pompe and royalty had bene crowned Queene of England, and had ruled all in all, now a poore Prisoner in distress and wants, wears out her time in teares and laments, and witheth for nothing more then the day of her death; which Duke Reiser her Father well vnderstanding, made suite to King Edward to haue her released by ranfome; and lastly, bought her liberty at so deare a rate, as hee first pawned, and afterward sold to Lewis the French King, the Kingdome of Naples, and of both the Sicilies to pay and repay the price of her redemption, vnto which poore father, this sorrowfull daughter returned, and ended her aged dayes, where shee had begun the dayes of her life.

(83) Victorious Edward thus leading Mars chained to his Chariot, and now himselfe led by Fortune to the high chaire of Estate, sits an absolute Monarch sure, and without opposit, vnto whose rayes all eyes turne a submissiue aspect: ouely bastard Faenbridge departed, from London (as we haue said) and withdrew vnto Sandwich with his disquiet crew, made shew to doe much, and did somewhat more then bragging, by rape, and tobbing, where cholerade Mariners came, which Edward hearing of, halted to Canterbury in person himselfe, fully resolved to weede vp by the rootes those new spon-

Faenbridge
slain London.

The Citizens
molested his
march.

Faenbridge
forced backe to his
ships.

E. Edward was
in his Capriue
Queene Marg-
aret enter London.

King Henry mur-
dered in the
Tower by Ro-
bert Duke of
Gloucester.

K. Henry caried
bare-faced
through the
streets of Lon-
don.

Stones Annot.

K. Henry buried
at Chertsey, and
remoued to
Windsor.

The Incontin-
cy of K. Henry
forsooke.

The vertues of
K. Henry.

Russian.

Comb. British
despoil of Henry

Kings Colleged
in Cambridge
and Eaton in
Suffolke, found-
ed by K. Henry.

Queen Marg-
aret continued out
of prison.

Ballard's France-
bonds with his
marry ere
yield to King
Edward.

Ballard's France-
bonds with his
marry ere
yield to King
Edward.

Edw. Ballard.

Edw. Ballard's
bonds with his
marry ere
yield to King
Edward.

A.D. 1472.

Edw. Ballard's
bonds with his
marry ere
yield to King
Edward.

The Duke of
John Earl of
Oxford.

Waters, be-
hind the East.

John Earl
of Oxford.

The Duke of
Oxford's
bonds with his
marry ere
yield to King
Edward.

The Duke of
Oxford's
bonds with his
marry ere
yield to King
Edward.

The Duke of
Oxford's
bonds with his
marry ere
yield to King
Edward.

Phil. Comins,
1472-1474.

red blades of rebellion, and made great preparation to accomplish the same, which the Ballard hearing (though strong in his Sea-men) durst not bandy against, but sent his submission with protest of service and loyal obedience, and indeed so temporized with the king, as besides his pardon obtained, the sword of knighthood was laid upon his shoulder, & he was presently made the King's Vice-Admiral for the Seas. In which his office he bore himself (either by his own delinquency, or the King's Concoit) as he not long enjoyed the same, but was at Southampton beheaded, and other of King Henry's old favourites likewise fought after and daily endangered.

(54) In which times of fear, after Earle of Pembroke, with his Nephew young Henry Earle of Richmond, fled into Brittain, where, of that Duke they were most courteously entertained, with assurance made, that no wrong should be offered them, during their stay in his dominions. And so these two Earles the viceroy and nephew, there attended the day of their wished success.

(55) But John Earle of Oxford, who had withdrawn himself from Barnet field first into Wales, and thence into France, was far more unpardonable of those rough times, for having gotten store of provision by strong hand at Sea, with leasentive seven men only surprized Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwall, and made that peace good against the King, which he kept and maintained, but whether by force or favour King Edward much suspected, and therefore the more willingly came to a composition with his Subject, who upon the pardon of his life delivered the Mount to the King: and as some say the rather, for that his mind was then troubled with many ominous signs. For certain Borneas about this time built out of the Earth, as *Pyre-ore at Market* in the County of Bedford, whose name carried the quality of his nature. In Kent at Canterbury, Leitham, and Langley Parke, at Croyden in Surrey, and at Hangerhill near Dudley Castle one running verie fowle: all of them pediculous, as that credulous age beleaved, of great troubles to come: and therefore not trusting a new reconciled enemy, King Edward sent the said Earle Prisoner unto the Castle of Harfleur in Normandy, where he remained the space of twelve yeeres, unto the last of King Richard the 3. most securely guarded, and so straitly kept, as Lady Margaret his Countesse could not be suffered to have access unto him, in all that time. Neither was there allowed any coming out of his renews, or from the king, to maintain her estate, but was forced to live upon the Charity of others, & by the works that she made with her Needle: both of them very short to supply her great wants. This viceroy and almost viceroy was, was the more extremely followed, for that Oxford himself, his father and brother, had ever sided with the Lancastrians. And herself being sister unto Richard Duke of Warwick, the Capital obstacle against King Edward's proceedings, was held either dangerous, if her wealth balanced her birth and estate, or else unworthy of his favour, whose good fortunes as was suggested, she ever maligned.

(56) But much more miserable was the estate of Lord Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, and Earle of Huntington, who flourished so long, as King Henry's pillar stood crowned on his base, and the Lancastrians (of whose house himself was) outward the times: he being the sonne of Lady Elizabeth the second daughter of John of Gaunt, and having married the sister of Edward the then reigning King, was notwithstanding driven to such want, as he may serve an example to all, how viceroy Adams sons are of any continuing greatness. For (saith Philip Comins) *Lance saw the Duke of Exeter runne on fowle harts legged, after the Duke of Burgundies traitor, being his bread for Gods sake but he offered not his name, he being the necessity of the house of Lancaster, and brother in law unto King Edward, and being knowne what he was,*

Burgundy gave him a small pension to maintain his estate.

(57) But when King Henry was againe restored, & the Title of the Crowne laid upon the success of Barnet field, this man Lord Henry bore himself most bravely against King Edward, and in fight was stricken downe, and left for dead, where, in his bleeding woundes he lay most part of the day, but yet recovering, and got to Westminster, he there took Sanctuary to save his life, for which, he became Suitor unto the king, but his wife Lady Anne sister unto King Edward, sued as earnestly for a divorce, which with great instancy she lastly obtained against him. How he released himself from the wrath of the king, is viceroy, and how he came by his death no man can tell, for his body was found cast upon the shore of Kent, as though he had perished by shipwracke upon the Sea.

(58) Now Edward to finish all factions, thought best to lop off both bough and branch, that gave any shadow to the Lancastrian delignes, to which end he farther picked, then found occasion of treason, to George Nevill Archbishop of York, whose goods, lands, and Lordships, he seized upon, got possession of his rich plate and Jewels, whereof one in his Mitre was of such value, as the King could it to be set in his Imperial Crowne, and the Archbishop to be sent over Sea to the Castle of Harfleur, where he remained a Prisoner a long time after, with no such courteous intreatments, as himself had viced to Edward when he was Prisoner.

(59) But the escape of Pembroke and Earle Richmond troubled the King not a little, the onely men now left to bandy against them, and therefore were most followed with a suspicious eye. In such case Edward promised the Duke of Brittain their recovery, with promises of heaps of gold to have them sent backe and delivered unto his hands: but the Duke that had given them his estate before, answered the English Ambassadors, that it stood not with honour, so to betray these distressed Princes, fled to him for relief, yet he faithfully undertook, that they should be so followed, as King Edward should sleepe quiet from their molestations, though he no better, Edward notwithstanding made the best of it.

(60) All now in quiet, and Edward draining without any Competitor, or malignant disturber, caused a high Court of Parliament to be assembled at Westminster, wherein he established those Acts, which Henry had abrogated, and abrogated those that were made against his favourites: at which session the Duke of Burgundie sent his Ambassadors unto Edward, craving his aide against the French King, which was the more willingly heard and granted, as well for his fathers recovery of the Duke, in time of his necessity, as for pleasure against Lewis, who had aided Warwick to dispossesse him of his Crowne. And indeed this was a spark, that was likely to set the hearts of the English on fire, to recover France lost by Henry the last King.

(61) All things in a readinesse King Edward repaired to Dover, and there embarked himself for Calis, with the greatest Army that ever from England set saile into France: for he had in his Company fifteen hundred Noble-men, and men at Armes, all of them mounred, and most of them barbed, who with the Archers on horsebacke also made up the number of fifteen thousand, besides a great number of footemen and others to pitch Tents to attend the Artillerie, and inclose their Campes. Before the Kings departure from England, he had sent Garter King at Armes unto King Lewis with a letter of defiance: who content demanded no less, then the whole Realme of France, which if he refused, bee threatened to invade his dominions with fire and sword.

(62) The letter received, and read in secret by Lewis himself, he privately sent for, and conferred with

Ed. Hall.

The missing
piece of an
eagle
eagle
tail
tail
tail

The Lord Henry
is supposed to have
been drowned.

The Archbishop
of York's goods,
seized upon.

K. Edward sends
him Brittain to
recover Rich-
mond and his
counties

K. Edward sends
him Brittain to
recover Rich-
mond

Burgundie sends
him Brittain to
recover Rich-
mond

A.D. 1474.
K. Edward's cap-
tivity into
France.

Phil. Comins,
1472-1474.

The great pre-
paration
of King
Edward.

King Edward
drowned.

Lewis his
conference with
the
King's
Council.

E. was his confederate with the English Herald.

with the Herald, telling him that it was not *Edward*, but *Burgundy* that raked abroad these dying finders, who as a man discomfited & unfurnished for warre, would draw in the *English*, by his like dealings, to their inestimable Charges, to supply his defects; that *Burgundy* being of the house of *Lanceaster* hated most deadly the family of *York*, and more for feare then love married *Edward's* sister. As to touching the Countesse he told him, though *Edward* had married his Niece, yet hee would deceive him, as he had done his owne Master of *France*, who had heaped manie and extraordinary benefites vpon him. And lastly with the gift of three hundred Crownes, and the promise of a thousand more, he infligated the Herald to worke a peace. *Garter* very thankfull tooke the French gold, and counselled *Lewis* to send a Herald vnto his Master King *Edward* to demand a safe-conduct for conference: and so openly rewarded with thirtie Elles of Crimmon-velvet he departed.

K. Lewis mouth Garter to be a peace; but peace.

Philip Comte de Cap. 7.

A counterfeit Herald sent to K. Edward.

The Herald's persuasion.

An English Herald sent to King Lewis.

The Duke of Burgundy cometh to the King.

Edw. III. ch. 13.

Argentine hat (speech vnto K. Edward).

(93) King *Lewis* nothing so pompos as other Princes are, nor attended with Herald's consciously in his Court, was therefore enforced vnto this present shift: he caused a seruant of the Lord *Hales* to be arrayed like an herald in a trumpets banner, and sent him in hast into King *Edward's* Camp; where having audience, he shewed the great desire the King his Master had of peace, whole amity with *England* he had ever held, excusing his recent of *Warwicke* with the necessity of time, whom he aided not against *Edward*, but against *Burgundy*, who as he instantly alleged, had now drawne the *English* to this excessive charges, that he might thereby conclude a better composition for himselfe, and to amend the broken state of his owne affaires; lastly he desired that the King of *England* would grant a safe-conduct vnto the Ambassadors of the French King his Master, who should more fully informe his Maiestie, and giue his safe-conduct for a further conference in these affaires: and so wisely this counterfeit worded his message, that the King and Nobles liked well the overture, and thereupon granting a safe-conduct sent with him an English Herald, to receive the like and other assignements from the French King.

(94) But when the Duke of *Burgundy* vnderstood that a peace was trauesed betwixt *Edward* & *Lewis*, he stormed not a little, and with so small haile from *Luttreburgh* accompanied with sixteene horse only, came to his brother King *Edward*, and in a great rage reproofed him of breach of promise, and vncourteous requital of his former kindnes, that thus would enter amity with his great foe, and in outward semblance more ready to hie then to batle, burst into these reproofes.

"Have you f quoth hee) brother, passed the Seas, entered *France*, and without killing of a poore flie, or burning of a silly Sheepecocke taken a shamefull cruce? O *h*s, *George* I did *Edward* your noble Ancestor euer make Armie into *France*, and returned without battell or Conquest? That victorious Prince King *Henry* the fifth (as neere of kinne vnto you as me) whose blood you haue either rightfullie or wrongfullie (God knoweth) extinguished and destroyed, with a small puilliance conquered *Normandy*, kept it, and neuer would come to composition, till he had the whole kingdom of *France* offered him, and was made heire apparent vnto that Crowne. Contrariwise you without any thing done, proffer of battell, or giue of honor haue now condicqued vnto a peace as profitable for *England* as is a poore peafod: haue I (I thinke you) for my particular vfe drawne the *English* forces into *France* (which am able of my selfe to defend mine owne cause?) I tell you plainly no, but rather to aid you, to recover your ancient Territories wrongfullie withheld: and that you shall well knowe I need not your aide, I will heare of no truce with the French, till three moneths after your arrival in *England* at the least: And thereupon

continuously arising, he threw downe the Chair, where he had late and offered to depart.
(95) Nay say brother *Charles* (quoth *K. Edward*) I with patience haue heard you speake what you would, you shall now perforce heare from me what you would not: First therefore for my thus entrance into *France*, no man knoweth the occasion better then you selfe for, mauger your owne great power you speake of: you doe remember I know, how the French King tooke from you the faire Towne *Amiens*, and the strong Pile *Saint Quintin*, with diners other places which you neither durst, nor were able either to refuse or defend, since which time he hath gotten from you, your best some friends and secret Counsellors, so as your selfe stood in doubt (determining to besiege *Noyse*) whether the losse would be greater in your absence (the French King waiting as a fox for his pray) or gaine more in *Germany* by your power and presence: and to keepe this wolfe from your fold, was the principall cause why you so earnestly praised me, and continually solicited me to passe over the Sea, promising mountains, but performing none a Mole-hill, bragging a supply both of horse and foote, but neuer lent me a boote, not a lackie. Thinke you (brother) if wee had entered this enterprise into our owne quarrell, we would haue expected your aide? I assure you nothing lesse, for if we had intended any such Conquest, we would with Souldiers fire and sword, haue so infected the aire with the flames and staine of *France*, as should haue annoyed your Countreys of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, and given you lesiure to sit still and tell of our euer achieved great victories, nothing doubting but to haue gotten and kept with like manhood, and in as great glorie, as any of our Ancestors before vs had done. But the occasion of warre being yours, and you wilfully (I will not say cowardly) neglecting the same, I meane not to prosecute, for the French King neuer offended me nor my Subiects, except in fauouring *Warwicke* against me, nay I may say against you, and now offerech such honorable overtures of peace, which I by Gods grace meane not to forsake, but will obferue and keepe. God fend you ioy thereof, quoth the Duke, and so abruptly departed from the King.

K. Edward reply to his brother of Burgundy.

Burgundy disappointed, and sent from King Edward.

The conference for peace came downe.

Commissioners for peace.

Conditions of the peace.

Lewis his liberty tooke by the peace.

Ph. Com. lib. 4. p.

The Kings of England and France doe not see each others.

Preparing the meeting place of the King.

(96) The peace thus resolved vpon, betwixt the two kings of *England* and *France*, the place appointed for conference was neere vnto *Amiens*, and the parties assigned for the French, were the Ballard of *Bourbon* Admirall of *France*, the Lord *S. Pierre*, and the Bishop of *Emure*. For the *English*, were the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Thomas St. Leger*, and Doctor *Morton* Lord Chancelier of *England*. Their meeting, presently fell to a conclusion of peace: the conditions whereof were: That the French King should forthwith pay to the King of *England* twenty two thousand Crownes. That the Dauphin should marrye Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Edward's* eldest daughter, and that shee should haue for her maintenance the Duchy of *Guienne*, or else fifty thousand Crownes yearly to be paid in the Tower of *London*, for nine yeeres space. This peace was so acceptable to King *Lewis*, as he sent sixteene thousand Crownes to be distributed amongst the *English* Souldiers, with plate and great presents to men of any fort: & indeede gaue them such entertainment in *Amiens* as was most bounteous, whereof if any desire further to know, let him read *Comines* vpon the same text.
(97) To grafit which peace with a louing beginning, the two Kings were desirous to see each others, for which end Commissioners were sent to assigne the place: and lastly agreed, that the Towne *Piquigny* about three leagues from *Amiens*, seated in a bottom, through which the Riner *Sonne* ranne, was the fittest: ouer which a strong bridge was built, and in the midst thereof, a grate made ouer-thwart with barres, no wider asunder then a mans might well thrust

thrust in his Arme, covered with boards over head to avoid the raine, & the bridge so broad that twelve might stand in a rancke on both sides.

(98) The day approached, and the two Kings come to the place, hee of *France* came first to the Gate, accompanied with twelve personages, as was the appointment; wherof *John Duke of Bourbon* and the Cardinal his brother were the chiefe: King *Edward* entering the bridge on the other end, with his brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord *Chameller*, himselfe apparelled all in cloth of gold, with a rich Jewell of precious stones, in forme of a Flower de Luce: advanced forward, and within five foote of the Gate, put off his cap, and bowed his knee within halfe a foote to the ground. King *Lewis* as readily doing his likely reverence unto *Edward*. Where, after embraces through the Gate, the Chancellour of *England* who was Prelate and Bishop of *Ely*, made an eloquent and learned Oration, which done, he read the Articles of peace and demanded the Kings whether they were done with their full contents. Which granted by both: either of them laying their one hand upon the Midfall, and the other upon the *Holy-Crosse*,ooke their solemne Oathes to observe the same. And then falling into a more familiar and Courtey Complementall conference, King *Lewis* told *K. Edward* that he would one day invite him to *Paris*, there to Court his faire *French Ladies*, with whom if hee committed any sinne, he merrily told him that *Cardinal Bourbon*, should be his Confessor, whose penance would be the easier, for that *Bourbon* vied to buffet faire Ladies himselfe; which no sooner was spoken, or howsoever meant, but *Edward* was as forward of thanks and acceptance, and indeed so ready, that King *Lewis* rounding *Communes* his boisme servant in his care, told him flatly he liked not *Edward* forwardnes to *Paris*, too many English Princes having beene there before: and thus the conference ended, and King *Edward* busines in *France*, hee returned into *England*, and into the City of *London* was received little lesse then in triumph-wile.

(99) But though *Edward* fortunes thus outwardly flourished, yet inward feares nipped his still troubled mind, one branch having lapped, whose growth hee much feared would shadow his Crowne, which was *Henry Earle of Richmond* alive and at liberty in the Duke of *Brittaine* Court. To having therefore his purpose to passe, hee sent *D. Stillington* and others, Ambassadors unto *Francis Duke of Brittain*, with store of gold and good words, as that hee meant to match his eldest daughter Lady *Elizabeth* unto the young Earle of *Richmond*, whereby all cause of dissensions might at once be cut off: the Duke thinking no danger where the water went smooth, easily consented to ship him theroon; but ere they were embarked, hee had knowledge that the voyage should cost young *Henry* his life; wherefore in all hast hee sent his Treasurer *Peter Landais* to prevent it, who secretly told *Richmond* what married *Edward* intended; wherat the distressed Earle amazed, was put to his shifts, and for want of better, tooke Sanctuary at *S. Mathew*, where the English his conductors lay for a wind.

(100) The Earle thus elapsed, the Ambassadors complained to the Duke, imputing the fault as far as they durst unto him, who had not deale like a good Marchant to take their money, and to retain the wares; his answer was, the delivery was good, but themselves negligent Factors, that made not the commodity to their best advantage. And yet for the love hee bare to their King, hee undertooke that *Richmond* should be sure kept either in Sanctuary, or else in prison, whence as hee promised hee should not escape: And so with a flea in their care, they returned, having cleared *Edward* of his money, and care for sure keeping of *Henry*, who though hee

were sore displeased with *Stillingtons* simplicity: yet the promise that the Duke of *Brittain* had made, much mitigated and calmed his mind.

(101) And now the Realme quiet, no warre in hand, nor none towards (but such as no man looked should happen;) hee framed himselfe so to the peoples affections, and held their hearts not in a contrainted feare, but with as loving and ready obedience as any King attaining the Crowne by his sword ever had. Nor was ever any Prince more familiar with his Subjects then this King *Edward* was, who now having his tribute truly paid from *France*, and all things prospering as was desired, hee set heart upon pleasure, which hitherto had bene afflicted with continuall tumulte: yea and often laid from him the state of a Prince, and would accompany and converse with his meane subjects: a loose-lone that doth naturally attraet the *English* hearts; among many others we of *London* remember this to our grace. Unto *Windsore* hee sent for the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen and others, upon no other occasion, then to hunt in his company and himselfe to be merry with them: As also at another time hee did the like in *Waltham*, where hee gave them most familiar intertainment, and sent to the Lady Mairreffe and her sisters two harts, sixe Buckes, and a Tonne of wine, which wanne more love then manifold their worthes.

(102) Somewhat hee was given to Court and converse with faire Ladies, which fault was well noted and prevented by King *Lewis*, for his *French* dames: but in *England* hee had liberty with very large scope, for besides the Lady *Lacy* and others, y whose hee had issue, three concubines hee kept, and those of three diuers, and severall dispositions, as himselfe would often confesse, one the merriest, another the wildest, and the third the holiest harlot in his realme, as one whom no man could get out of the Church valesse it were to his Bed, the merriest was *Shores* wife, of whom hereafter we shall speake, the other two were greater Personages, but in their humility are content to bee namelesse, and to forebare the praise of those persones.

(103) This fault of the King did not greatly offend the people: for one mans pleasure could not extend to the displeasures of manie, it being done without violence, and in his latter daies lessened and w^{as} left. But a farre more greater sinne and reproach hee fell into, among his other Princely dispositions: For being on progresse in *Warwickshire*, and hunting in *Arrow Parke*, belonging to *Thomas Penderel* Esquire, with the death of much Game hee slew a *White Bucke* greatly esteemed of the said *Burdet*, who understanding thereof, with his horses in his Belly, that moored the King to kill the same Bucke, wherof hee was accused and condemned of treason, his wordes being drawne, to with the horses in the Kings bellie: for which beheaded hee was at *Ti-borne*, and buried in the *Grey-Friers* Church at *London*.

(104) But a more lamentable tragedie happened unto the land, by the death of *George Duke of Clarence* the Kings second brother, who being accused of high Treason, was committed to the Tower, where hee loone after ended his life. His attainer was, that the said Duke had caused dierce of his servants to enslave the people, that *Thomas Burdet* his servant likewise, was wrongfully put to death: and further laboured (through their reports) to make the world believe, that *K. Edward* wrought by *Nigromancie*, and vied to poison such subjects as he hated: And also that the said Duke upon purpose to exalt himselfe and his heires to the Regall dignitie, most falsly and vntroily published that the King was a Bastard, and therefore not capable of raigne. Moreover that hee induced dierce of the Kings naturall subjects to be sworn upon the blessed Sacrament, unto him and his heires, without any other restrictions of their allegiance: for which intent (as there was alleged)

A.D. 1475.
Aug. 19.

The Ishewrites
of the two kings.

The Kings feast
the largest.

K. Lewis
thinks Edward
should visit Pa-
ris.

A.D. 1475.
Sept. 18.

Henry Earle of
Richmond brought
over by K. Ed-
ward.

An ancient pro-
verbe, which af-
firms cause to
pass.

Edw. R. Esq.
pag. 701.

Henry Earle of
Richmond taken
at Sandwich.

The English
Ambassadors
comp^{er} it backe to
the Duke of Bri-
taine.

His Ambassadors.

See The. 2000.

King Edward
believed of his
subjects and in-
tents his subjects.

Jo. Stow,
K. Edward sent
for the Mayor
and Aldermen
of London to his
banqueting.

K. Edward in-
vites to court
his guests.

K. Edward
conceives
Conceives.

Thomas Burdet
accused of trea-
son.

Engew. 2

Register of
Grey-Friers Lon-
don.

The Story of
George Duke of
Clarence.

The remainder
of the Duke of
Clarence.
John Stow.

leaged) hee had gotten an exemplification vnder the great Seale of King Henry the first, that if the said king and his sonne Prince Edward died without issue male, the said Duke and his heires should inioy the Crowne: For these in Parliament begun at 1788. minister the fifteenth of January he was attained of high treason: but whether guiltie or guiltles, to men (saith Grafton) that have made large inquisition, yea and of such as were of so small authority in those daies, the certaintie thereof was had, and could not truly be disclosed, but by conjectures, which as often decease the imaginations of fantasiefull folke, so declare trauels to them in their conclusions.

(105) I am not ignorant that some haue alleged the cause of this Noble mans death to arise from a foolish prophesie; whereof (saith Comines) the Englishmen are neuer conuincid, & this is the Cobdyle, who vied to make an art of their letters, gaue forth forsooth that a Q. should raigne after an E. which must needs be George Duke of Clarence, though Gloucester more trauisly lay in winde for the game. This indeede troubled the King not a litle, but the Queene and her blood much more, and therefore of both King and Queene Duke George was mistrusted, and greatly malignid in all that he did. Who now a widower (for Warwickes daughter was dead) sent vnto his sister Margaret the Duchesse of Burgundie, to worke a marriage for him with her husbands daughter the Lady Marie. Against which the Queene most earnestly interposed her selfe, and foliowed the Ladie in the behaile of Lord Anthonie Earle Rivers her brother, whereby great discontent was ministred to the Duke, and new scabioses daily beed in the Kings breast.

(106) John Serres the French Histogrian interlacing the life of King Lewis with the Acts of K. Edward and his brethren, saith confidently, that the English King so much affected the league and alliance with France, as that he caused his brother Clarence to be put in prison, because he intended to haue past the Seas to succore the Dowager of Burgundie Ladie Margaret his sister, vpon whole Territories King Lewis encroached, after the death of Duke Charles her husband slaine at the battell of Marne.

(107) But howeouer Clarence had offended, certaine it is, that he was found guilty by the foresaid Parliament, and the cleuening of March following, after he had offered his Maffe-penny in the Tower of London, was drowned in a But of Almsbury, whose bodie was buried at Tewkesburie in Gloucestershire, by the bodie of his Duchesse Ladie Isabel Countesse of Warwick, who being with Child, died of poison a litle before. And although the King had consented to his death, yet so sooner was it done, but that he wished it againe vndone, and was so grieved at the remembrance, as when anie made suie for the life of a condemned, he would openly say: Oh unfortunate brother for whose life no man would make suie. This good Duke (for so he was he called) left aife behind him, Edward Earle of Warwick and Margaret afterwards Countesse of Salisbury, both of them infants, and followers of their fathers fortunes: he a continual Prisoner, at foure and twentie yeeres of age vnder Henry the French, was beheaded vpon the Tower-hill; and there at fixtie two, lost hers within the Tower, and time of King Henrie, the eight.

(108) But how dainty soener King Edward was of the breach of amitie, betwix him and the French King, in regard whereof he suffered Mary the young Duchesse of Burgundie the daughter of his owne sisters husband to be molested by intrusion of the French, and all in fauour of the contract commenced betweene the Dauphin & Lady Elizabeth his daughter, yet did Lewis for his part but dailie and drie out time: For Ambassadors imploied for the full accomplishing thereof, they of France came either without commission, or thole recalled, the new were sent without instructions, while indeed Lewis was

working for his sonne another way: I will to match him with Mary Dauchesse of Burgundy, but that refused, with Margaret of Flanders daughter to Duke Maximilian sonne to Fredericke the Emperour: and to hold the world from suspition, in the meane while Ladie Elizabeth the Infanta of England was in the French Court vinnally called Madame the Dauphin, and all things in France so soundly carried, as Edward suspected no leake in the Caske: for now growne fat and vnable for paines, he both gloried in his nine famous victories at home archieued, and seemed fustillie satisfied, that his yeerly tribute from France was so truly paid.

(109) At the same time James the third of that name King of Scotland, sent his Ambassadors vnto Edward to obtaine the Lady Cecile the Kings second daughter to be ioined in marriage with his sonne James the young Prince, which was well liked vnto, by Edward and his Council, and least the motion should goe backe, a great summe of money lent to the Scottish King with this condition, that at a certaine time appointed, it should be at K. Edwards choise, whether his daughter should match with that Prince, or else to haue the said summe againe repaid. Against which alliance and league (as Lely reporteth) Lewis of France much repined, and to annihilate the same sent Dr. Ireland, a certaine knight, and another religious man, to moue King James to make warre against England.

(110) Off hele no Peace-makers for Christ, but fire-brands of belial, blew the mothered sparkes of dissension into a flame of bloody warre, which fell the more heauy vpon Scotland, for that K. James much wedded vnto his owne will, and altogethet ruled by men of meane worth, who him selfe had aduanced from nothing, had not only neglected by their inligations the loue of this Nobles, but also banished the Realme of Scotland, Alexander Duke of Albany his second brother; and had caused the veins of John Earle of Marre his other brother, to be opened, whereby he hied to death: these and other discontentes alienated his Subjects hearts from him, which had the land more open vnto the English Insaunders; and yet to draw them more deadly against him, relying vpon his owne valour, and the assistance of France, he sent word vnto Edward, that he should not aid his owne sister of Burgundy against K. Lewis, being the Scots Allies also with threats of warre commanded him to deliuer to his Ambassadors, the Duke of Albanie (then residing in the English Court) and laillie to make good and repay dammages done vpon the Scottish Borders.

(111) King Edward not a litle incensed at these double dealings, even in the winter season mustered his men, prepared his artillery, and rigged his ships, that nothing should be vncare at the next Spring; which no sooner was come, but that he ordained for his Lieutenant his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, who with Henrie Earle of Northumberland, Thomas Lord Stanley, the Lord Lovell, Greylock and others, (the Duke of Albany marching vnto Gloucesters banner) with twenty thousand strong repaired into the North: and first besieged the strong Towne Berwick, then entering the chiefe City Edinburgh, vrged K. James to performe his covenants, concerning the marriage betwixt Prince James his sonne, with Lady Cecily before agreed vpon, threatening delation if the match went not forward. The Scottish Nobility considering the eminent danger, put to death the wicked Counsellors of their King, ordained the Duke of Albany the Viscount of Scotland, and promised to repay the money recited according to Covenants; after which with the deliuey of the strong Towne Berwick, which had bene out of the English possession the space of one and twentie yeers, a generall peace was concluded betwix the two Realmes. Whereupon not long after, Garter King at armes was sent into Scotland, with an Instrument in writing vnto the Provoost and Burgeses of Edinburgh,

Lady Elizabeth called Madame the Dauphin.

A.D. 1450. In Lefte, Lady Cecily mentioned in marriage vnto James Prince of Scotland.

Irish King of France interposed the contract between Prince James and Lady Margaret.

James King of Scotland much wedded to his owne will.

Alexander Duke of Albany banished Scotland, John Earle of Marre hied to death.

K. James threatened warre against England.

Richard Duke of Gloucester made the Kings Lieutenant against Scotland.

The Duke of Gloucester sent into Scotland.

Warwick deliuered to the English.

A.D. 1478. daubdrift.

A.D. 1478. daubdrift.

Phil. Comin. hist. cap. 10.

The Duke of Clarence is killed by his brother King Edward.

in Serres.

Commines reporteth that King Edward.

George Duke of Clarence is drowned by Parisians. And drowned in a But of Almsbury.

K. Edwards repines for his brothers death.

The Duke of Clarence his issue.

Edward and Margaret his children are beheaded.

King Edward is accused a King Lewis.

in Serres.

Wainf. p. 207.

burgh (who had undertaken to disburse the money) to lignifie King Edwards minde touching the marriage intended, and to demand the said somme by a day assigned, which accordingly was repaide.

(111.) The marriage with Scotland thus broken off, for the Lady Cleve, by K. Edward himselfe; that with France for the Princess Edwards, both he and his Queene greatly desired, and daily fought after. But Lewis the French King, finding the daughter of Austria more fit for his sonne, dallied out Edward with shewes of firme faith, till he had effected the thing he went about: what musick founded so harshly in the English Kings eare, as in no wise hee would suffer that string to be touched, but ever belewed that the French meant him faire play, and although the yeeres of the parties themselves might beget some insipition, these being much elder then the Dauphin, and the truth thereof confirmed by the Duke of Austrias Legat-Ambassadors residing in England, yet Edward would not so much as suppose a suspect against the French King, and therefore suffered Lewis to inroach vpon those parts of Picardie that ioyned to Calis, and to gaine time till it was past recall: for then the Lord Howard returning from France, confidently told him that hee was present, and saw the Lady Margaret of Austria, daughter to Duke Maximilian, sonne to the Emperour Fredericke, received vnto France with great pompe & royaltie: and at Ambois contracted and espoused to the Dauphin.

(112.) Edward mightily chafed to be thus abused by Lewis, made great preparation for France, but whether with anger, griefe, or melancholy, hee fell into a dangerous and deadly sickness; some say, of a superfluous surfeit, whereunto he was much given: Communes faith, of a Calerrie, which weak estate turned his minde another way: for calling his Lords into his sickle presence, and raising his faint body vpon his Bed-Pillows, these words vnto them hee lastly spake:

"(114.) My Lords, my deare Kinsmen, & Allies; in what plight I lie, you see, and I feele; by which the lesse while I looke to lue with you, the more deeply am I moued to cate in what case I leaue you; for such as I leaue you, such bee my children like to finde you. Which if they should (that God forbid) finde you at variance, might hap to fall themselves at warre, ere their discretion would graue to set you at peace. Yee see their youth, of which I reckon the only surety to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you loue them, if each of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness hath would suffice: but childhood must be maintained by mens authoritie, and slippery youth vnderpropped with elder counsell, which neither they can haue, vellese you giue it, nor you giue it, if you agree not. For where each laboureth to breake that which the other maketh, and through hatred of each others persoo impugneth each others counsell, there must it needs be long, or any good conclusion goe forward: And while cyther party striueth to bee chiefe, flatterie shall haue more play then plainesse, and faithfull aduise, of which much needs is the euill bringing vp of the Prince, whose minde in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to riot and mischief, and draw downe with him his noble Realme vnto ruine: but if grace turne him to wisdom: which if God send, then they that by euill meanes before pleased him best, shall after fall furthest out of fauour, so that euill at length euill dris draw to nought, and good plain wayes prosper. Great variance hath there long time bene betweene you, not alwayes for great causes. Sometime a thing right well intended, our misconstruptions turneth vnto worke, or a small displeasure done vs, either our owo affections or euill tongues agreeth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as you haue of loue. That we

"be all men, that wee be Christian men, this shall I leaue for Preachers to tell you (and yet I wot nere whether any Preachers words ought more to moue you, then his, that is by and by, going to the place that they all preach of.) But this I shall desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my blood, the other of my Allies; and each of you with other, either of kindred or affinity, which spiritual kindred of affinity, if the Sacraments of Christs Church beare that weight with vs, that would to God they did, should no lesse moue vs to charitie, then the respect of fleshly consanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the worse for the selfe cause, that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where finde we so deadly debate, as among them, which by nature and law ought most to agree together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition, and desire of vaine glory and foueraintie, which among states where it once crotcheth, creepeth forth so fast, till with dissension and variance hee turneth all to mischief, first longing to be next the best, afterward equall with the best, and at last chiefe and above the best. Of which immoderate appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what losse, what sorrow, what trouble, hath within these few yeeres growne in this Realme, I pray God as well forget as we remember. Which things, if I could aduise haue foreseen, as I haue with my more paine then pleasure proceed, By Gods blessed Lady (that was euer his oath) I would neuer haue won the curse of men, knees, with the losse of so many heads. But sith things passed cannot be graue-called, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion wee haue taken to great hurt afore, that wee sit bones fall not into the like againe. Now be those griefes passed, and all is (God bee thanked) quiet, and likely right well to prosper in wealthful peace vnder your Cousins, my children, if God send them life, and you loue. Of which two things the lesse losse were they, by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the Realme alway finde Kings, and peradventure as good Kings. But if you among your selues in a childes raigne fall at debate, many a good man shall perishe, and happily he too, and yet together this Land finde peace againe. Wherefore in these last words that euer I looke to speake with you, I exhort, and require you al, for the loue that you haue euer borne vnto me; for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you, for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all, from this time forward all griefes forgotten, each of you loue others, which I verily trust you will, if you any thing regard, either God, or your King, affinitie or kindred, this Realme, or your owne cuntry, or your owne surety.

(115.) And therewithall the King no longer indoring to sit vp, layd him downe on his right side, his face towards them, who with weeping eyes & words as fiered time, recomfired the sick dying King, ioyning their hands, and outwardly forging that, which inwardly they meant not to forget. The King ouer-joyed to see their willing reconcilments spake not many wordes after, but commending his soule vnto God, in their presence departed this life at his Palace of Westminster, vpon the 9. day of April, and yeere of Christs appearance 1451. at the age of forty one, when he had wore the royal Diademe, two and twenty yeeres, one moneth and five dayes; and was buried at Windsor, in the newe Chappell, whose foundation himselfe hee layd.

(116.) Of personage hee was the goodliest Gentleman (saith Communes) that euer mine eyes beheld; faire of complexion, and of most princely presence; courageous of heart, politick in counsell, in aduersitie nothing abashed, in prosperitie rather ioyous then proud: in peace iust and mercifull; in warre sharpe and fierce, and in field bold and venturous: yet no further then wisdom would, and is no lesse com mended

King Edwards good counsell.

What the manner of ambition is.

King Edwards vnto each.

King Edwards last request.

The raigne and death of King Edward.

Phil. Commin. cap. 10.

King Edwards death.

Phil. Commin. lib. 6. chap. 3. and 4.

King Lewis dallied with King Edward.

King Edward would not be leaue when was considerably made him.

Aware present did against France.

King Edwards sickness.

Thom. More, King Edwards breaches at his death.

The perils of discord.

Tender youth is loose a mischief.

Great variance for small causes.

commended where he avoided, then in his manhood when he vanquished eight or nine barons he won, wherein to his greater renowne he fought on foote, and was ever victor over his enemies: much given hee was to the lusts of youth, and in his latter time, growne somewhat corpulent, which rather adorned his graver yeeres, then any waies disliked the eyes of his beholders.

His Wife.

(117) *Elizabeth* the daughter of *Richard Woodvill* Earle Rivers by his wife *Isabel* Dutcheffe of *Bedford*, who was the daughter of *Peter* Earle of *S. Paul*, and he the sonne of *Peter* de *Lucembourg*, was first married unto *Sir John Grey* Blaine at *S. Albans*, where he was knighted the day before his death by King *Henry* the sixth, unto whom they bare two sonnes and a daughter, after whose death shee was privately remarried unto *K. Edward* the fourth, the first day of *May*, at his manner of *Grafston* in *Northamptonshire* Anno 1464, and in the next yeere following upon the sixte and twentieth of *May*, was crowned Queen at *Westminster* with all due solemnities. Shee was his wife eightene yeeres, eleven moneths, and nine daies, no more fortunate in attaining to the height of all worldly dignitie, then vnsfortunate in the murder of her sonnes, and losse of her owne liberty: For in the beginning of *K. Edwards* raigne, shee was forced to take Sanctuary at *Westminster*, wherein her first sonne Prince *Edward* was borne, and at his death did shee like in feare of the Protector, and lastly having all her lands and possessions seized upon by *K. Henry* the seventh, lived in meane estate in the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwarke*, where not long after shee left the troubles of her life, and enjoyed a quiet portion or burying place by her last husband King *Edward* at *Windsore*.

(118) *Blanche* Butler, as we find is recorded upon the Parliament Rolle, was contracted unto King *Edward*: but how true considering the occasion, and time of the Act, we leave for others to judge, onely this is most certain that this Lady *Blanche* was the daughter of *John Talbot* Earle of *Sherburne*, and the wife of *Sir Thomas Butler* Knight, sonne and heire to *Ralph Butler* Barone of *Sedley*, which *Blanche* died the thirtieth of June the yeere of *Christ* Iesus 1466, and the eight of King *Edward* the fourth his raigne.

His Issue.

(118) *Edward* the eldest sonne of *K. Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was borne in the Sanctuary at *Westminster* the fourth of November, and yeere of grace 1471, being the tenth of his fathers raigne, at that time expelled the Realme by the powerfull Earle *Warwicke*: but fortune changed, and the father restored; the sonne, the first of Iuly and yeere of *Christ* was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earle of *Chesler*; and had not the ambitious hand of his vncle bene defiled in his innocent blood, he might have borne the Diademe manie yeeres, whereas he bare the Title of King not many daies.

(119) *Richard* the second sonne of *K. Edward* the fourth by *Elizabeth* his Queen, was borne at *Sherburne*, and in his infancy was created Duke of *York*, he was affianced unto *Anne* daughter and heire to *John* Marquis Duke of *Norfolke*, by which he was intitled Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle of *Marshall*, *Warren*, and *Notts*; but, being neither Title, wife, or his owne life long, was with his brother murdered in the Tower of *London*, and in the prison of that Tower, which upon that most sinfull deed is ever since called the bloody Tower, their bodies as yet unknowne where to have buriall.

(120) *George* the third sonne of *K. Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was also borne in *Sherburne*, and being a young Child was created Duke of *Bedford*, but lived not long after, and lieth buried at *Windsore*.

(121) *Elizabeth* the fifth daughter of *K. Edward* the fourth, by *Elizabeth* his Queen, was borne at *Westminster* the eleventh of *February*, and fifth of her fathers raigne, being the yeere of Salvation 1466. Shee was promised in marriage to *Charles* Dauphin of *France*, wooed and Courted by her vncle *Cromwell*, when he had murdered her brothers, and usurped the Crowne, but better desire attending her, shee was referred to joine the union and marriage with the onely heire of *Lancaster*, which was *Henry* of *Richmond*, afterward King of *England*, from whom is branched the roiall stemme that spreadeth his beauty in this North-West world, even James our dread Sovereigne, and great Brittaines Monarch.

(122) *Cecily*, the second daughter of *K. Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was fought unto, by James the third of that name, to be joined in marriage with James his sonne Prince of *Scotland*, and Duke of *Rothsay*, which match was promised upon conditions and choise of *K. Edward*, who lastly brake off from further proceeding, and the Lady married unto *John* Viscount *Wels*, whom shee outlived, and was againe remarried, but by neither husband had any issue, and therefore lesse noted; her body lieth buried at *S. Maries* in the Isle of *Wight*.

(123) *Anne* the third daughter of *K. Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was married unto Lord *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle of *Marshall*, and high Treasurer of *England*; unto whom shee bare two sonnes both dying without issue, and her selfe without more fruit of wombe, left her life, and lieth buried at *Stratfordham* in *Norfolke*.

(124) *Bridget* the fourth daughter of *K. Edward* the fourth by his wife Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne at *Utham* in *Kent*, the tenth of November, and yeere of Grace 1480, being the twentieth of her fathers Raigne. Shee took the habite of Religion, and became a Nun in the Nunnery of *Dorford*, in the same County, founded by *K. Edward* the third, where shee spent her life in contemplations unto the day of her death.

(125) *Margaret* the fifth daughter of *K. Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was promised in marriage unto the King of *Denmarke*, but died (before it could be solemnized) in the Tower of *Greenwich*, the Sunday before *Pentecost* the twentieth two of her fathers raigne, and yeere of Grace 1482, and was buried at *Windsore*.

(126) *Margaret* the sixth daughter of *K. Edward* the fourth, by his wife Queene *Elizabeth*, died an Infante without other mention in our Authors.

(127) *Katherine* the seventh daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, and the last of them both, was married unto *William* Countrey Earle of *Devonshire*, and Lord of *Orchampton*, unto whom shee bare Lord *Henry*; after the death of his father Earle of *Devonshire*, who by King *Henry* the eighth was created Marquess of *Exeter* in Anno 1525.

His Concubines.

(128) *Elizabeth* Lucie, is certainly known to have been King *Edwards* Concubine, though nothing so certainly mentioned, whose Ladie, or of what Parage shee was; that shee was conceived by him with child is before declared, but who that child was, is as obscurely laid downe, therefore in these things we must be silent, and leave the doubts to be resolved by others. Three other concubines this king had, whereof *Shores* wife was not the least beloved, whose life

falleth further to be spoken of in the Raigne of the
 usurper *Richard*, where her storie shall be shewed
 more at large.

His naturall Issue.

(150) *Arthur*, surnamed *Plantagenet*, the naturall
 sonne of *K. Edward* the fourth, (whose mother as is
 supposed, was the Lady *Elizabeth* *Lucie*) was created
Viscount *Lisle* by King *Henry* the eight at *Bridewell*
 in *London*, the twentieth sixth of *April*, and yeere of
 Salvation 1533. which title was conferred vpon
 him in right of his wife Lady *Elizabeth*, sister and
 heire vnto *John* *Gray* Viscount *Lisle*, and the late wife
 and then widdow of *Edmond* *Dudley*; who bare vn-
 to this Viscount three daughters, which were *Brid-
 get*, *Frances*, and *Elizabeth*, all of them afterward mar-

ried. This *Arthur* Lord *Lisle* was made Lieutenant
 of *Calis* by the said *K. Henry*, which Towne some of
 his seruants intended to haue betraied to the *French*,
 for which their fast him selfe was sent to the Tower
 of *London*; but his truch appearing after much search,
 the King sent him a rich ring from his owne finger,
 with such comfortable wordes, as at the hearing
 thereof a sudden ioy ouercharged his heart, & was so
 immoderately reueiled, that the same night it made
 an end of his life, whose body was honorably buried
 in the same Tower.

(151) *Elizabeth* the naturall daughter of *K. Ed-
 ward* the fourth, was married to Sir *Thomas* *Lumley*
 Knight, the sonne of *George*, Lord *Lumley*, who died
 before his father: shee bare vnto the said Sir *Thomas*,
Richard, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late
 Lord *Lumley* did descend.

EDWARD



Edward 5.

Monarch 55

EDWARD THE FIFTH. KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE FIFTH MO- NARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

For the most part written by Sir Thomas Moore.



CHAPTER XVII II.



He father thus dying in the strength of his yeeres, and the sonne left to rule before he was ripe, the Synners of dissensions which the sicke King had lately raked vp, presently brake forth into a more raging flame; for the king and Queenes blood that

should haue supported young Edwards estate, the one side being suspicious, and the other prouoked by the execrable desire of soveraignty, left the tender king (a Prince of such towardnes as his age could conteine) destitute and vnarmed, which if either kind or kindred had holden place, must needes haue bene the surest pillars of his defence. The raigne

of this King (if we may so call the short time of his Soueraignty) began the same day that his father died, though he was neuer Crowned, nor yet commended the affaires of the Kingdome as an absolute Monarch, his young brothers fortunes being ballanced with his.

(2) For Richard Duke of Gloucester, by nature their vncle, by office their Protector, to their Father beholden, to themselves by Oath and Allegiance bounden, all bands broken that holdeth man and man together, without any respect of God or the World, vnaturally contrined to bereave them, not onlie of their dignaty, but also their liues. But forso-much as the Dukes demeanour minitred in effect all the whole matter whereof the raigne of this young and soft Edward must intreat, it is therefore consentient, somewhat to shew you etc we goe further, what

April 19.
A. D. 1483.
Richard Duke of
Gloucester

Richard Duke of
Gloucester an vn-
natural vncle
killeth the young
King and his bro-
ther.

King Edwards
raigne vnquiete
and short.

man

man this was, and from whom he defended that could find in his heart so much mischief to conceive.

(3) Know first then that *Richard Duke of York*, a noble man and a mighty, beganne not by warre, but by law to challenge the Crowne; putting his claime into the Parliament; where his cause was (either for right or favour) so farre forth advanced that King *Henrie* bloud (albeit he had a goodly Prince) was verily relected, the Crowne by the authoritie of that high Court intailed to the Duke of *York*, and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King *Henrie*. But the Duke not induring so long to carrie, intending vnder pretext of disfection and debate arising in the Realme, to prevent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in King *Henrie*'s life, was with many other Nobles laine at *Wakefield*, leauing three sonnes, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*; all of them as they were great issues of birth, so were they great and flatly of stomacke, greedy and ambitious of authority and impatient of partners.

(4) For *Edward* reuenging his fathers death deigned King *Henrie*, and attained the Crowne; The second, *George Duke of Clarence*, was a goodly Noble Prince, and in all things fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enie of his enemies, his brother against him. For were it by the Queen and Lords of her blood which highly maligned the Kings kindred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature hate them whom their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himselfe, intending to be King: at least wife hainous treason was laid to his charge, and finally were he faulty, were he faultlesse, attained he was by Parliament, and iudged to death, as we haue said.

(5) *Richard* the third founte, of whom we now entreat was in wit and courage equal with either of them, in body and prowesse farre vnder them both, little of stature, ill limmed, and crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, very hard fauoured of visage, and such as in States is called warly, in other men otherwise: he was malicious, wrathfull, and enuious, yes and from a fore his birth cuer forward. For it is for truth reported, that the Dutchesse his mother had so much adoe in her traualle, that shee could not be deliuered of him vnscut, and that he came into the world with his feet forward, as men be borne onward, and (as the faine runner) also not vntoothed; Whether men of hardred report about the truth, or else that nature changed her Courte in his beginning, which in the course of his life many things vnusually committed.

(6) No euill Captaine was in the warre, as to which his disposition was more inclined then for peace; sundry victories he had, and sometimes overthrowes, but neuer in default as for his owne person, either of hardines, or politike order; free was he of his dispende, and somewhat about his power liberal: with large gifts he gave him vniuersall friendship, for which he was forced to pill and pole in other places, which gave him steadfast hatred. He was close and leet, a deepe dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar, where even now he hated, and not letting to kisse whom he thought to kill; despitefull and cruel, he was not for euill-will alwaies, but oftner for ambition, and either for the surety, or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was much what indifferent; where his advantage grew, he spared no mans death, whose life withstood his purpose. He slew with his own hands, King *Henrie* the sixth, being Prisoner in the Tower, as men constantly said, and that without commandment or knowledge of the King, who vndoubtedly if he had intended his death, would haue appointed that butcherly office to some other then his owne brother.

(7) Some wife men also iudge, that his drift covertly conueiled, lacked not in helping forth his bro-

ther *Clarence* to his death; which he refused openly, howbeit somewhat (as mendremed) more faintly, then he that was hartly minded to his wealth: And they that thus iudge, thinke that long time in King *Edward*'s life, he forsaile to be king, in case that his brother (whose life he looked that euill dier should shorthe) should happen to deceale (as indeed he did) while his children were young. And they deeme that for this intent he was glad of the Duke of *Clarence*'s death, whose life must needs haue hindered him, in intending (being his elder brother) whether the same Duke had kept him true to his Nepheue the young king, or enscripized to be king himselfe. But of all this point, there is no certainty, and who fo disinceth vpon coniectures, may as well shooe too farre, as too short. Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the same night, in which King *Edward* died, one *Mistifolke* long ere morning, came in great haile to the boole of one *Pattur* dwelling in *Red Crosse* street without Creepie-gate in *London*; and when he with halty rapping, quickly was let in, he shewed vnto *Pattur* that *K. Edward* was departed. By my troth man quoth *Pattur*, then will my Master the Duke of *Gloucester* be king, what cause he had fo to thinke, hard it to say, whether being toward him knew any such thing intended, or otherwise had any iukling thereof, for it was not likely that he spake it of no ground.

(8) But now to return to the course of this History; were it that the Duke of *Gloucester* had of old foreminded this conclusion, & was now thereunto moued, & put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the young Princes his Nepheues (as opportunity & likelihood of speed, putter a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certain it is, that he contrived their destruction, with the vsurpation of the regall dignite vpon himselfe, and forasmuch as he well willed, and hoip to maintaine a long continued grade and harbaring betweene the *Queenes* kindred, and the Kings blood, either part enuying others authority; he now thought their disitions should be (as it was indeed) a forward beginning to the pursuise of his intent, and a sure ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first, vnder the pretext of reuenging old displeasure, abuse the anger and ignorance of the one party, to the destruction of the other, and then winne to his purpose as many as he could, and those that could not be wonne, might be lost before they were aware; for of one thing was he certaine, that if his intent were perceived he should (some haue made peace between both the parties with his owne blood.

(9) King *Edward* in his life, albeit that this disfection betweene his friends somewhat grieved him, yer in his good health he somewhat lesse regarded it, because he thought whatsoever busines should fall betweene them, himselfe should alwaies be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sickness, when he perceived his naturall strength fo sore infeebled, that he dispaired all recoarie; then considering the youth of his Children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted them that that happened, yet well fore-seeing how many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselves, and good Counsell of their friends, of which either party should counsell for their owne commoditie, and the rather by pleasant aduile to winne themselves fauour, then by profitable aduertisements to doe his children good, hee called some of them before him that were at variance, and in speciall the Lord *Marquesse Dufferin*, the *Queenes* sonne by her first husband, and *William Lord Hastings* a noble man, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, against whom the *Queene* especially grudged, for the great fauour the King bare him; and also for that shee thought him secretly familiar with the King in waston company. Her kindred also bare him sore, as well for that the King had made him Capaine of *Calis*, which office the Lord *Rivers*, brother to the

Queene

Richard Duke of
York marshall
then of the Duke
of Gloucester.

Women reu-
sion malice
their husbands
hated.

The destruction
of Richard Duke
of Gloucester.

Richard Crooked-
backe a good
soldier.

He was the cause
of Clarence's
death.

Richard of Gloucester
intended to be King, even
whiles K. Edward
lived.

The speech of
Pattur at King
Edward's death.

The treach-
erous death of
the Duke of
Gloucester.

Richard's doupt
policy.

King Edward
knew to let peace
between the
Queenes kind-
red and his.

The Queene
looked against
the Lord Cham-
berlaine.

Queene claimed of the Kings former promise, as for diuers other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for. These were the grudges which the king on his death bed fought to remoue, and they in themselves seemed to cancel, as we haue said, though the sparks of these displeasures burst afterward into a dangerous flame, which consumed most of them, as afterward shall appeare.

(10) For assoone as the King was departed this life, his sonne Prince Edward drew towards London from Ludlow in Wales, which Countrey being farre off from the law, and recourse to iustice, was become to be farre out of Order, and growne wilde for Robbers, Routers walking at liberty vncorrected: for which cause this Prince in the life time of his father was sent thither, to the end that the authority of his presence should reframe euill disposed persons, from the boldness of their former outrages. To the gouernance and ordering of this young Prince as his tending thither, was there appointed Sir *Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers*, and brother vnto the Queene, a right honorable man, as valiant of hand as pollicke in Counsell, admiued there vnto him others of the same partie, and in effect euerie one as he was needfull of kin vnto the Queene, so was he placed next about the Prince.

(11) That drift of the Queene not vnwisely denied, whereby her blood might of youth be rooted in the Princes fauour, the Duke of Gloucester turned vnto their destruction, and vpon that ground set the foundation of all his vnhappy building. For whomsoever he perceived either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them, some by mouth, some by writing and secree messengers, that it was neither reason, nor in any wise to be suffered, that the young King their Mother and kinsman, should be in the hands and Custody of his mothers kindred, sequestred in manner from their Company and attendance, of which euerie one ought him as faithfull seruice as they, and many of them farre more honorable part of kin then his mothers side: whose blood (quoth he) hauing the Kings pleasure was farre vnmeet to bee matched with his, which now to be as who say removed from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth hee) neither honorable to his Maiestie nor vnto vs, and also to his Grace no fauour, to haue the mightiest of his friends from him, and vnto vs no little iopardy, to suffer our well proued coull-willers to grow in ouer great authority with the Prince in youth, who is light of belief and soone perswaded. Ye remember I row K. Edward himselfe, albeit he was a man of age and discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bend, more then stood either with his honor, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except only the immoderate aduancement of themselves. Which whether they forer thirsted after their owne weale, or out woe, it were hard I weene to gesse, and if some folkes friendship had not held better place with the King, then any respect of kindred, they might perhaps easily haue intreated and brought some of vs to confusion ere this; why not as easily as they haue done some other alreadie, as neere of his roiall blood as we! But our Lord hath wrought his will and thanks be to his grace, that perill is past: howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this young King in our enemies hand; which without his knowledge might abuse the name of his commendement, to any of our vndoing, which thing God and good prouision forbid.

(12) Of which good prouision none of vs hath any thing the lesse neede, for the late made attornment, in which the Kings pleasure had more place then the parties wils: nor none of vs, I beleue, is so vnwise our soone to trust a new friend made of an old foe, or to thinke that an howlerly kindness, suddenly contracted in one houre continued yee scarce a fortnight, should be deeper fetled in their stomackes, then a plough accustomed malice many yeeres rooted.

With these wordes and writings and such other, the Duke of Gloucester soone set afire them that were of themselves prouid enough to kinde, especially two, *Edward Duke of Buckingham*, and *William Lord Hastings Chamberlaine*, both men of honor and of great power. The one by long succession from his Ancestry: the other by his office, and the Kings fauour. These two not bearing each to other so much love, as both of them hatred vnto the Queenes part, in this point accorded together, with the Duke of Gloucester, that they would vicerly remoue from the Kings Company all his mothers friends vnder the name of their enemies.

(13) Vpon this conclusion the Duke of Gloucester vnderstanding, that the Lords which at that time were about the King, intended to bring him to London to his Coronation, accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering a great assembly of people, and in manner of open warre, whereof the end hee wille well was doubtfull, and in which the King being on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a Rebellion; he secretly therefore by diuers meanes, caused the Queene to be perswaded and brought in minde, that it neither were neede, and also should be iopardous, the King to come vp strong.

(14) For wherens now euerie Lord loued other, and no other thing studied vpon, but about the Corosation and honor of the King: if the Lords of her kindred should assemble in the Kings name much people, they should gine the Lords of the contrary faction cause to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people not for the Kings safeguard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, then their new attornment: for which cause they should assemble on the other party much people againe for their defence, whose power shew well with stretched farre: and thus should all the Realme fall on any proare: and of all the hurt that thereof should insue, which was likely not to be a hink, & the most harme like to fall where these least would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the blame, and say that they had vnwisely and vntuallie also broken the amay and peace, which the King her husband so prudently made betwix his kin and hers on his death bed, and which the other party faithfully observed.

(15) The Queene in this wise perswaded, sent such word vnto her sonne, and vnto her brother being about the King: besides the Duke of Gloucester, himselfe and other Lords the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the King so reuerently, and to the Queenes friends there so lovingly, that they nothing earthly mistrusting, brought vp the King in great haile, but not in good speed, with a fober company. Now was the King in his way to London gone from Northampton, when the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham came thither, where remained behind the Lord Rivers the Kings vnkle, intending on the morrow to follow the King, and bee with him at *Stony-Stratford*, twelue miles thence, earely ere he departed. So was there made that night much fridullie chere betwix these two Dukes and the Lord Rivers a great while: but incontinene after that, they were openly with great curtesie departed, and the Lord Rivers lodged, the Dukes secretly with a few of their most priuy friends, set them down in Counsell, wherein they spent a great part of the night: & at their rising in the dawning of the day, they sent out priuily to their seruants in their Innes and lodgings about, giuing command to make themselves shortly ready, for their Lords were to horseward: vpon which messagers, many of their folke were attendant, when many of the L. Rivers seruants were vntready.

(16) Now had these Dukes taken into their custodies the keyes of the Inne, that none should passe forth without their licence: and besides this, in the

The effect this his policy took.

The conclusion of her designs.

Another crafty policy of Duke Richard.

The Queene caused to the Duke perswasion.

The Lords meet at Northampton.

The Serpes of the time kept by Edward Duke of Gloucester.

high-way towards *Stony-Stratford*, where the King lay, they had belovewd certaine of their men, that should send backe againe, and compell to returne any man that were gotten out of *Northampton* towards *Stony-Stratford*, till they had further order: forasmuch as the Dukes themselves intended for the shew of their diligence, to bee the first that should that day attend upon the Kings Highnesse out of that Towne. Thus bare they folke in hand: but when the Lord *Rivers* vnderstood the gates closed, the wayes beset, neither his seruants, or himselfe suffered to goe out, considering well so great a thing without his knowledge, could not bee done for nought and comparing this present manner, with his last nightes chere, in so few howres to haue so great a change, marvellously misliked it. Howbeit fith hee could not get away, nor keepe himselfe close hee would not, left hee should seeme to hide himselfe for some secret feare of his own fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himselfe: hee determined vpon the surety of his owne conscience, to goe boldly vnto them, and to enquire what this matter might meane; whom as soone as they saw, they beganne to quarrell with, saying, that hee intended to seruillance betwene the King and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power. And when he beganne (as hee was a very well spoken man) in fteemly wife to excuse himselfe, they carried not the end of his answer, but shortly took him, & put him in ward and that done, forthwith went to horsebacke, and tooke the way to *Stony-Stratford*, where they found the King with his Company, ready to leape on horsebacke, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, because it was too strait for both companies.

(17) And as soone as they came in his presence, they alighted downe with all their company about them; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* said, Go afore Gentlemen, and Yeomen keepe your rooms. In which goodly array they came to the King, and on their knees in very humble maner saluted his Grace, who receiued them in very ioyous and amiable manner, nothing knowing, nor mistrusting as yet what was done. But euen by and by in his presence, they picked a quarrell to the Lord *Gray*, the Kings other brother by his mother, saying, that he with the Lord Marquess his brother, and the Lord *Rivers* his vnckle, had compassed to rule the King and the realm, and to set variance among the States, and to libbide and destroy the noble blood of the Realm towards the accomplishing whereof, they said that the Lord Marquess had entred into the Tower of *London*, & thence taken out the Kings treasure, and had sent men to the sea. All which things the Dukes well knew were done for necessary and good purposes, by the whole Councell at *London*, saying that forthwith they must lay.

(18) Vnto which words the King answered, what my brother Marquess had done I cannot say: but in good sooth I dare well answer for mine vnckle *Rivers*, & my brother here, that they are innocent of any such matter: yea my liege, quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, they haue kept their dealings in these matters farre from the knowledge of your good Grace. And forthwith they accused the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hunt* Knights in the Kings presence, and brought the king and all his company backe vnto *Northampton*, where they tooke againe further counsell. And there they sent away from the King whome it pleased them, and set new seruants about him, such as better liked them: then him. At which dealing the king wept, and was nothing content; but it booted not: and at dinner, the Duke of *Gloster* sent a dish from his owne Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good chere for all should bee well. But the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to beare it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such aduersity was

strange, but himselfe had bene all his dayes inured therewith, and therefore could beare it the better: but for all this comfortable counsell of the Duke of *Gloster*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* into the North Country into diuers places to prison, and afterward all to *Powfret*, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

(19) In this wife the Duke of *Gloster* tooke vpon himselfe the Order and Governance of the young King, whom with much honour and humble reuerence he conuaid towards *London*. But anone the tidings of this matter came hally to the Queene, a litle before the midnight following, and that in the forest wile, that the King her sunne was taken, her brother, her sonne, and other friends arrested, & sent no man with whiteth, to bee dooe with God wot what. With which tidings, the Queen in great fright & heavinesse, bewailed her childes raigne, her friends mischance, and her owne misfortune, damming the time that euer shee disswaid the gathering of power about the King, got her selfe in all hast possible with her young sunne, and her daughters, out of the Palace of *Wyndesore*, in which shee then lay, into the Sanctuary, lodging her selfe, and company there in the Abbots place.

(20) Now came there one like wile, not long after night from the Lord Chamberlaine, vnto the Archbisshoppe of *York* then Chancellor of *England*, to his place not farre from *Wyndesore*; and for that hee shewed his seruants, that he had tidings of great importance, that his M. gaue him in charge, not to foreheare his reist, they letted not to awake him; nor hee to admit the Messenger vnto his bed side. Of whom hee heard that these Dukes were gone backe with the Kings Grace from *Stony-Stratford* vnto *Northampton*: notwithstanding Sir (quoth he) my Lord sendeth your Lordshippe word, that there is no feare: for hee assureth you that all shall bee well. I assure him (quoth the Archbisshoppe) bee it as well as it will, it will neuer bee so well as we haue seene it. And thereupon by and by after the messengers departure, hee caused in all hast all his seruants to be called vp, and so with his owne household about him, enery man weaponed, hee tooke the Great Seale with him, and came yet before day vnto the Queene. About whom he found much heuinesse, rumble, hast and businesse, carriage and conuoyance of her stuffe into Sanctuary, chests, coffers, packes and fardels, trussed all on mens backs, no man voccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the wals to bring in the next way, and some drew to them to helpe to carry a wrong way. The Queene her selfe sat alone alone on other rushes, all desolace and dismayed, whom the Archbisshop comforted in the best manner hee could, shewing her that hee trusted the matter was nothing so fure as shee tooke it for, and that hee was put in good hope and one of feare, by a message sent him from the L. Chamberlaine: Ah woe worth him (quoth the Queene) hee is one of them that laboureth to destroy mee and my blood.

(21) Madam (quoth hee) bee of good cheare; for I assure you, if they crowne any other King then your sonne, whom they haue now with them, we shal on the morrow crown his brother, whom you haue here with you: and here is the great Seale, which in like sort as that noble Prince your husband deliuered it vnto me, so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of your sonne, and therewith hee betooke her the Great Seale, and departed home againe, euen in the dawning of the day: by which time hee might in his Chamber window see all the Thames full of boats of the Duke of *Glosters* seruants, watching that no man should goe to Sanctuary, nor none should passe vnsearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as especially in the City, the people discerly

The L. Rivers much troubled at the sentence given,

The L. Rivers imprisoned in Northampton.

The Dukes come to the King.

A quarrell picked in the Kings presence.

Accusations against the Queens kindred.

The King enters into his castle.

The King is brought backe to Northampton.

The Duke of Gloster sends a dish of meat to the Lord Rivers.

The L. Rivers is taken beheaded

Queene King and her children Sanctuary.

The L. Chamberlaine sends the news to the L. Chamberlaine.

The great heuinesse and commotion of the Queens and her servants.

The Archbisshoppe comforted to the Queene.

The L. Chamberlaine gives the great Seale to the Queene.

Great irony can be read of the weakness our society made.

The L. Chancellor forbids for the great scale to the Queen.

Perforations of the L. Hastings that nothing was seriously to come.

Lifting somewhat disordered.

Felle impostures call upon the Lords of the Queens blood.

How fumes the Countess are brought into Fines (wastful).

King Edward met by the Citizens, and accompanied by them into London.

serily diuining vpon this dealing. And some Lords, Knights or Gentlemen, eyther for fauour of the Queene, or for feare of themselves, assembled in sundry Companies, and went flocke-meale in harness: and many also, for that they accounted this demeanour attempted, not so specially against the other Lords as against the King himselfe in the disturbance of his Coronation.

(22) Burthen, by and by the Lords assembled together, towards which meeting, the Arch-bishoppe of *York* fearing that it would bee criticised (as it was indeed) to his ouermuch lightnesse, that hee so sodainly had yielded vp the great Scale to the Queene (to whom the custody thereof nothing appertained) without speciall commandement of the King, secretly lent for the Scale again, & brought it with him after the accustomed manner. And at this meeting, the Lord *Hastings*, whose trust toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perswaded the Lords to beleue, that the Duke of *Gloster*, was sure and faithfully faithfull to his Prince, and that the Lord *Aumer* and Lord *Richard*, with the other knight, were for matters attempted by them against the Dukes of *Gloster* and *Buckingham* put vnder arrest for their fury, not for the Kings iopardy; and that they were also in safeguard, and that they no longer should remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes only, but also by all the other Lords of the Kings Councell indifferently examined, and by other discretions ordered, either iudged or appealed. But one thing he aduiled them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth ere they knew the truth, nor turning their private grudges into the common hurt, ieking and prouoking men vnto anger, and disturbing the kings Coronation; towards which the Dukes were coming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter to farr out of ioynt, that it should neuer bee brought in frame againe. Which firste if it should happen (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all things equall, yet should the authority be on that side where the King is himselfe.

(23) With these perswasions of the Lord *Hastings*, whereof part himselfe beleued, of part he with the contrary these commotions were somewhat appeased, but especially by that, that the Dukes of *Gloster* and *Buckingham* were to meet, and came so shortly on with the King, in none other manner, with a one other voice, or any other semblance then to his Coronation; causing the same to be blowne abroad, that these Lords and Knights which were taken, had contriued the destruction of the Dukes of *Gloster* and *Buckingham*, and of other the Noble blood of the Realme, to the end that themselves would alone denaine and gouerne the King at their pleasure. And for the Colourable prooffe thereof, such of the Dukes servants as rode with the Carre of their fluste that were taken (amongst which fluste vnto marvell though some were harness, which at the breaking vp of the household, must needs either he brought away, or cast away) or they went vnto the people all the way as they went, saying, loe here be the barrels of harness, that these Traitors haue priuily contriued in their Carriages to destroy the Noble Lords withall. This deale, albeit it made the matter to women more vnlily, well perceiving that the intenders of such a purpose, would rather haue had their harness on their backs, then to be bound vp in barrels: yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well satisfied, and said it were almes to hang them.

(24) When the King approached neere to the City *Edmond* that Goldsmith then Maior, with *William White* and *Iohn Matthew* Sheriffe, and all the other Aldermen in scarlet, with five hundred horse of the Citizens in violet, receiued him reverently at *Harnesey*, and ryding from thence, accompanied him into the City, which he entered the fourth day of

May the first and last yeere of his Raigne. The King was lodged in the Bishops Pallace, where was kept a great Councell, and there was twome to the king, the Duke of *Gloster*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all the Lords. But the Duke of *Gloster*, bare him in open light so reuerent to the Prince, with all semblance of lowlines, that from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, he was suddenly false in so great truth, that at the Councell next assembled, he was made the only man, chiefe & thought most meet to be Protector of the King and his realm, so that (were it desiring, or were it folly) the lambe was beate to the wolfe to keepe. At which Councell also, the Arch-bishop of *York* Chancellour of *England*, which had deliuered vp the great Scale to the Queene, was thereof greatly reprovde, and the Scale taken from him, and deliuered to Doctor *Rafell Bishop of Lincolne*, a wife man, and of much experience, and vndoubtedly one of the best learned men that *England* had in his time: diuers Lords & Knights were appointed vnto diuers Roomes, the Lord Chamberlaine, and some others, keeping still their offices they had before.

(25) Now although that the Protector, so fore thirsted for the fulfilling of those desires which he had begun, and thought every day a yeere till they were achieved, yet durst he no further attempt, so long as he had but halfe his pray in his hand: well waring, that if he depozed the one brother, all the Realme would fall to the other, if either remained in Sanctuary, or should be conueied to his further liberty: wherefore, incontinent at the next meeting of the Lords in Councell, he propozed vnto them, that it was a heinous deed of the Queene, and proceeded of great malice towards the Kings Counsellors, that they should keepe in Sanctuary the Kings brother from him, whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him: and that by her done, was to none other intent, but to bring all the Lords in obloquie, and murmur of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the Kings brother, who by assent of the Nobles of the land, were appointed as the Kings neerest friends, to the tuition of his owne trayall person. The prosperitie whereof standeth (quoth hee) not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly also in recreation, and moderate pleasure, which hee in his tender youth cannot take in the company of ancient persons, but in the familiar conuersion of those that be neither farre vnder, nor farre above his age, and neuertheless of estate conuenient to accompany his noble Maestie; wherefore with whom rather, then with his owne brother? And if any man thinke this consideration (which I thinke no man thinketh that Ioeath the King) let him consider that sometimes without small things, greater cannot stand. And verily, it redoundeth greatly to the dishonour both of the Kings Highnesse, and of vs all that are about his Grace, to haue it runne in e-very mans mouth, not in this Realme only, but also in other lands (as euill words walke farre) that the Kings brother shall bee faine to keepe Sanctuary; for every man I deeme, will suppose, that there is occasion giuen, why it should so be: and such euill opinions once fastened in mens hearts, hardly can bee screwed out againe, and may grow to more grieue then any man here can diuine. Wherefore I thinke it were not the worst to send vnto the Queene for the redresse of this matter, some honourable trusty man, such as both tendreth the kings weale, and the honour of this Councell, and is also in fauour and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth to mee more meete, then is our reuerend Father here present, my Lord Cardinal, who may in this matter doe most good of any man, if it please him to take the paines, which I doubt not of his goodnesse hee will not refuse, for the Kings sake and ours, and weale of the young Duke himselfe, the Kings most honourable brother,

Richard Duke of Gloucester made Protector of the King and Realm.

The great scale is taken from the Archbishop of York.

The Protectors profession to take out of Sanctuary the young Duke of York.

A fine speech to fetch out the Duke.

The Protector would haue the Queene sent vnto.

ther, and after my Soueraigne himselfe, my moit deere Nephew. Considering that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumor and obloquie now going, and the hurts avoided that thereof might insue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the Realme. And if he be percase to oblitinate, and so precisely for upon her owne will, that neither his wife and faithfull aduertisement cannot move her; nor any mans reason conuince her: then shall we by mine advice, and by the Kings authority, fetch him out of that Prison; & bring him to his noble prefence, in whose continuall company he shall be so well cherished, and so honorably intreated, that all the world shall to our honor, and her reproach perceive, that it was only malice, frowardnes, or folly, that caused her to keepe him there: this is my minde in this matter for this time, except any of your Lordships any thing perceive to the contrary, for neuer shall I by Gods Grace, so wed my selfe to my owne will, but that I shall be ready to change it vpon your better aduises.

(16) When the Protector had said, all the Councell affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the King and the Duke his brother honorable, and the thing that should cease great murmur in the Realme, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliuer him. Which thing the Archbishop of *Turke*, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most conuenient, tooke vpon him to move her, and therein to doe his vttermoost endeavour: howbeit if she could by no means be entreated with her good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other of the Clergy then present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted, to take him out against her will. For it would be a thing that should turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuiledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so manie yeeres bene kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more then fise hundred yeeres agoe, by *S. Peter* in his owne person, in spirit accompanied with great multitude of Angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God, (for the prooffe whereof, they have yet in the Abbey, *S. Peters Cope* to shew) that from that time hitherward, was there neuer so vndeuous a King, that durst violate that sacred place, or so holily a Bishop, that durst presume to consecrate it: and therefore (quoth the Archbishop of *Turke*) God forbid that any man should for any thing carnall, enterprize to breake the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary, that hath bene the safeguard of many a good mans life: and I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace we shall not need it. But for what need soeuer, I would not we should doe it: I trust that shee shall be with reason contented, and all things in good manner obtained, but if it happen, that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it with my best, and you shall all well perceive, that there shall be of my indeuour no lacke, if the mothers dread, and womanish feare be not the let.

(17) Womanish feare, nay womanish frowardnes (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it vpon my soule, that we knoweth there is no need of any feare, either for her soule or for her welfare. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with a woman. Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soone in rest: Howbeit, there is none of her kin the lesse loued, for that they be of her kin, but for their owne euill deserting. And nay the lesse, if we loued neither her, nor her kin, yet were there no cause to thinke, that we should hate the Kings noble brother, to whose Grace we owe felices be of kin: whose honor, if there as much desired, as our disonour, and as much regard tooke to his wealth, as to her owne will, there would be as loth to suffer him from the King, as any of vs bee. For if there haue we, (as would God there had as good will as there hath shewed we) these reck-

neeth her selfe no wiser, then shee thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull minde shee nothing doubteth, but verily beleueeth and knoweth, that they would be as sorry of his harme, as her selfe, and yet would haue him from her, if shee bide there: and we all (I thinke) content, that both be with her, if shee come thence, and hide in such place, where they may be with their honour. Now then, if they reuile in the delinquence of him, to follow the Councill of them, whose wilddome shee knoweth, whose truth shee well trusteth: it is ealie to perceive, that frowardnes leaue her, and not feare. But goe to, suppose that shee feare, (as who may let her to feare her owne shadow) the more shee feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we to feare to leaue him in her hands. For, if shee cast such fond doubts, that shee feare his hurt: then will shee feare, that hee shall bee fetcht thence. For shee will soone thinke, that if men were let (which God forbid) vpon so great a mischief, the Sanctuary would little let them: which good men might (as I thinke) without sin, somewhat lesse regard then they doe. Then, if shee doubt, lest hee might bee fetched from her, it is not likely that shee shall send him somewhere out of the Realme: Verily, I looke for none other. And I doubt not, but shee now as fore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if he might happen to bring that to passe (as it were no great matter, we letting her alone) all the world would say, that wee were a wise sort of Councillors about a King, that suffer his brother to be cast away vnder our noses. And therefore I assure you faithfully for my mind, I will rather manage her hand, fetch him away, then leaue him there, till her frowardnes and fond feare conuince him away. And yet will I breake no Sanctuary therefore: for verily, with the priuiledges of that place, and other like haue bene of long continued, I am not he that wil goe about to breake them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say nay, but that it is a deed of piety, that such men, as the sea, or their euill debters haue brought in poverty, should haue some place of liberty, to keepe their bodies out of the danger of their cruell Creditors. And also, if the Crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as Traitors, I like well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for theues, of which these places bee full, and which neuer fall from the craft after they once fall therunto: it is pity the Sanctuary should serue them, & much more manquellers, whom God bad to take from the Altar and kill them, if their murder were wilfull. And where it is otherwise, there need wee not the Sanctuaries, that God appointed in the old Law: for if either necessity, his own defence, or misfortune draweth him to that deed, a pardon serueth, which either the law granteth of course, or the King of pity may. Then looke we now how few Sanctuary men there be, whom any fauourable necessity compelled to goe thither: and then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein of them, whom wilfull wickednesse hath brought to naught: what rabble of theues, murderers, and malicious hainous Traitors, and that in two places especially? the one at the elbow of the City, the other in the very bowels. I dare well avow it, weigh the good that they doe, with the hurt that commeth of them, and yee shall finde it much better to lacke both, then to haue both. And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be, and so long haue been, that I feare mee ever they will bee, while men bee afraid to set the hands to amend that, as though God & *S. Peters* were the patrons of vngraciously liuing Now vnthrifis riot, and ruine in debt, vpon the boldnes of these places; yea, and rich men runne therewith poore mens goods, there they build, there they spend, and bid their Creditors goe whistle. Mens wiues runne thither with their husbands place, and

If the Queen
refuse to deliuer
the Duke whom it
is to be done,

All the Councill
allow of the Pro-
tectants speech.

A great offence
to breake the
Sanctuary.

S. Peters own
Cope was in his
tomb in *Windsor*
for.

The Duke of
Buckingham
speaks.

Not farre but
further down kept
the young Duke in
Sanctuary.

A great sin we
commit if we
let any
goe out hence.

Buckingham
speaks of the
Sanctuary.

Much sinners
will come in
Sanctuary.

Windsor,
S. Peters in.

Queen & *King*
both held to him
in that way.

say, they dare not abide with their husbands for beeing. Thieues bring thither their flon goods, and lue theron riotously: there they deuile new robberies, nightly they steale out, they toh and riuie, kill and come in againe, as though those places gaue them not onely a safeguord for the harme they haue done, but a licence also to do more; howbeit much of this mischief, if Wifemen would let their hands to it, might bee amended, with great thanks of God, and no breach of the Priuiledge. The residue, such lo long agoe, I wot neere what Pope, and what Prince more pious then pollicricke hath granted it, and other men since, of a certain religious feare, haue not broken it; let vs therefore take paine therewith, and let it a Gods name stand in force, as farre forth as reason will, which is not fully so farre forth, as may serue to let vs of the fetching forth of this Nobleman, to his honour and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can bee a Sanctuary man. A Sanctuary serueth alwayes to defend the body of that man that standeth in danger abroad, nor of great hurt onely, but also of lawfull hurt; for against vnlawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor King intended to priuiledge any one place, for that priuiledge hath euery place: knoweth any man any place, wherein it is lawfull for one man to do another wrong? that no man vnlawfully take hurt, that liberty, the King, the Law, and very nature forbiddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regard, for euery man, euery place a Sanctuary: but where a man is by lawfull means in perill, there needeth hee the tuition of some special priuiledge, which is the onely ground and cause of all Sanctuaries: from which necessity this noble Prince is farre, whose loue to the King, nature and kindred piousness, whose innocency to all the world, his tender youth piousness, and so Sanctuary, as for him, neither none hee needeth, nor none can hee haue. Men come not to Sanctuary, as they come to Baptisme, to require it by their Godfathers; hee must aske it himselfe, that must haue it, and reason, with no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him faine need to require it: what will then hath yonder babe? which and if he had discretion to require it, if neede were, I dare say would now bee right angry with them that keep him there: and I would thinke without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of Priuiledge, to bee somewhat more homely with them, that be there Sanctuary men indeed: for if one goe to Sanctuary with another mans goods, why should not the King, leauing his body at liberty, faine the party of his goods, euen within the Sanctuary? for neither King nor Pope can giue any place such a priuiledge, that it shall discharge a man of his debtes, being able to pay. And with that diuers of the Clergy that were present, whetber they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreed plainly, that by the law of God, and off the Church, the goods of a Sanctuary man, should bee deliuered in payment of his debtes, and flon goods to the owner, and onely liberty referred him, to get his liuing with the labour of his hands. Verily (quoth the Duke) I thinke you say very truth; and what if a mans wife would take Sanctuary, because the liue to runne from her husband? I would wene if he could allledge none other cause, hee may lawfully without any displeasure to Saint Peter, take her out of Saint Peters Church by the arme. And if no body may be taken out of Sanctuary, that faith he will bide there, then if a child will take Sanctuary, because hee feareth to goe to schoole, his Master must let him alone. And as simple as the sample is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in thers, for therein, though it bea childhild feare; yet is there at the least wife some feare, and herein is there none at all. And verily, I haue often heard of Sanctuary men, but I neuer heard euer of Sanctuary Children. And

therefore, as for the Conclusion of my mind, who so may haue deferred to need it, if they thinke it for their suretie, let them keep it; but he can be no Sanctuary man that had neither wilidome to desire it, nor malice to deferre it, whole life or libertie, can by no lawfull processe stand in icopardie: and hee that taketh one out of the Sanctuary to do him good, I say plainly that he breaketh no Sanctuary.

(13) When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholly, & most part of the spirituall also, thinking no hurt earthly meant towards the young babe, considered in effect, that if hee were not deliuered, hee should bee seized; howbeit they all thought it best, in the auoiding of all manner of rumor, that the Lord Cardinall should first assey to get him with her good will. And therupon, all the Councill came vnto the Starre-Chamber at Westminster, and the Lord Cardinall leauing the Protector with the Councill in the Starre-Chamber, departed into the Sanctuary to the Queene with diuers other Lords with him, were it for the respect of his honour, or that hee should by presence of so many, perceiue that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the Protector intended not in this manner, to trust any one man alone, or else, that if hee finally were determined to keepe him, some of that Company had happily secret instructions incontinent, maugre her mind to take him, and to leaue her on respiteto conuey him, which hee was likely to mind, after this matter broken to her, if the time would in anywise serue her.

(19) When the Queene and thuse Lords were come together in presence, the Lord Cardinall shewed her, that it was thought vnto the Protector, and vnto the whole Councill, that her keeping of the Kings brother in that place, was the thing which highly sounded, not onely to the great rumor of the people, and their obloquie, but also to the importable griefe and displeasure of the kings royall Ministry, to whose Grace it were a singular comfort, to haue his naturall brother in Company, as it was both his dishonour, all theirs, and hers also, to suffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one brother stood in danger and perill of the other. And hee shewed her, that the Councill therefore had sent him to require her the deliuey of the young Duke, that hee might bee brought vnto the Kings presence at his liberty, out of that place, which they reckoned as a prison, and there hee should bee demeaned, according to his estate: and hee in this doing should doe great good to the Realme, pleasure to the Councill, and profite to her selfe, succour to her friends that were in distresses, and besides that (which hee wist well hee specially tendered) not onely great comfort and honour to the King, but also to the young Duke himselfe, whose great wealth it were to be together, aswell for many greater causes, as also for both their disports and recreations; which thing the Lords deemed not flight, though it seemed light, well pondering, that their youth without recreation and play, cannot endure, nor any stranger, for the consuetude of both their ragings and estates, so merite in that point for any of them, as eyther of them for other.

(10) My Lord (quoth the Queene) I say not nay, but that it were very convenient, that this Gentleman whom you require, were in company of the King his Brother; and in good faith, I thinke it were as great commodity to them both, for yet a while to bee in the custody of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but specialie the younger, which besides his infancy, that also needeth good looking to, hath a while been so fore diseased, weared with sicknesse, and is so newly rather a little amended, then well recovered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping but my selfe onely, considering that there is (as Phy-

The Kings conclusion.

The general content of them all.

The Cardinall doth he errand to the Queene.

The Queene answereth the Cardinall.

The true use of the Sanctuary.

The Duke of Yorke vncapable of Sanctuary.

Neither Pope nor King can allow Sanctuary men to condone other mens transgressions.

A man may take his wife out of Sanctuary without any offence to Saint Peter.

faints say) and as wee also find, double the perill in the reciduation, that was in the first sicknesse, with which discale, nature being fore laboured, fore-wearied and weakened, waceth the lesse able to beare out and sustaine a new surfeit. And albeit there might be found other that would happily do their best vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, then I that so long haue kept him, or is more like tenderly to cherish him then his owne mother that bare him.

(31) No man denieth good Madam (quoth the Cardinal) but that your Grace were of all others most necessary about your children, and so would all the Councell not onely bee content, but glad that you were, if it might stand with your pleasure, to bee in such place as might stand with their honour: but if you doe appoint your selfe to carry here, then they thinke it were more conuenient that the Duke of Zerke were with the King, honourably at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, rather then here as a Sanctuary man, to both their dishonour and obloquie, sith there is not alwayes so great a necessity to haue the child with his mother, but that occasion may sometimes bee such, that it should bee more expedient to keepe him elsewhere, which well appeareth in this, that at such time as your dearest sonne then Prince, and now King, should for his honour, and good order of the Country, keepe his residence in *Waler*, farre out of your Company, your Grace was well contented therewith your selfe.

(32) Not very well contented (quoth the Queen) and yet the case is not like, for the one was then in health, and the other is now sicke: in which case I maruaile greatly, that my Lord Protector is so desirous to haue him in his keeping, where if the Child in his sicknesse miscarrie by nature, yet might hee runne into slander and insipision of fraud. And where they call it a thing so fore against my Childes honour, and theirs also, that hee abide in this place: it is all their honours there to suffer him abide, where no man doubteth hee shall be best kept, and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth, and inopard my selfe after other of my friends, which would God were rather here in surety with mee, then I there in leopardy with them.

(33) Why Madam (quoth another Lord) know you any thing why they should bee in leopardy? Nay verily (quoth she) not why they should bee in prison, as now they bee. But it is I trow no great maruaile though I feare, lest those that haue not lested to put them in drance without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause: The Cardinal made a conuenience to the other Lord, that hee should harpe no more vpon that string, and then said heere to the Queen, that he nothing doubted, but that those Lords of her honourable kinne, which as yet remained vnder arreſt, should vpon the matter examined doe well inough, and as towards her noble person, neither was, neither could be any leopardy.

(34) Whereby should I trust that (quoth the Queene?) in that I am guiltlesse? as though they were guilty: in that I am with their enemies better loned then they? when they haue them for my fake, in that I am so neere a kin to the King? and how farr they be off if that would helpe, as God grant it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet, to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my sonne, I minde that hee shall be where I am, till I see further: for I assure you, for that I see some men so greedy, without any substantiall cause to haue him, makes me much more fearefull to deliuer him. Truly Madam (quoth he) the more vnwilling that you be to deliuer him, the more vnwilling other men be to suffer you to keepe him, lest your selfe lesse feare might cause you farther to conuey him: and many there be that thinke he can

haue no priuiledge in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deliuer it, and therefore they reckon no priuiledge broken, though they fetch him out, which if you finally refuse to deliuer him, I verily thinke they will so much dread his my Lord his vnle, for the tender loue he beareth him, lest your grace should hope to find him away.

(35) Ah sir (quoth the Queene) hath the Protector so tender zeale that he feareth nothing, but lest he should escape him? thinke he that I would find him hence, which is not in plight to send one, and in what place could I account him sure, if he be not sure in the Sanctuary: which there was neuer Tyrant yet so diuelish, that durst presume to breake. And I trust God is as strong now to withstand his aduersaries, as ever he was. But my sonne can deliuer no Sanctuary, and therefore he cannot haue it. Forsooth he hath found out a goodly glosse, by which that place that may defend a thiefe, may not saue an innocent: but he is in no leopardy, nor hath no need thereof: would God he had not. I thinke the Protector, (I pray God hee may proue a Protector) thinke hee that I perceiue not whereunto his painted Proceſse draweth? It is not honorable that the Duke abide here: It were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, because the King lacketh a play fellow forsooth. I pray God send them both better play fellows then him, that maketh so high a matter, vpon so trifling pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the King, but his brother, (that hath no list to play for sicknes) come out of Sanctuary, out of his liſegard to play with him. As though Princes, as young as they be, could not play but with their Peeres, or Children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the most part they agree much worse then with strangers. But the Child cannot require the priuiledge: who tolde him so? he shall heare him aske it, if he will. Howbeit, this is a gay matter, suppose hee could not aske it, suppose hee would not aske it, suppose hee would aske to goe out, if I say hee shall not: if I aske the priuiledge but for my selfe, I say hee that taketh him out against my will, breaketh the Sanctuary. Serueth this liberty for my person onely, or for my goods also? you may not take hence my horse from me: and may you take my child from me? He also is my ward: for as my leauned Councell sheweth me, sith he hath nothing by difcent holden by Knights seruice, the law maketh his mother his Gardian. I then may no man I suppose, take my ward from me out of Sanctuary, without the breach of Sanctuary. And if my priuiledge could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the law cometh to me the custodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a Gardian only for his goods and lands, discharging him of the cure and safe-keeping of his body, for which only both lands and goods serue. And if examples be sufficient, to obtaine priuiledge for my child, I need not further seeke them, for in this place in which now we be (and which is now in question, whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other sonne now King, was borne, kept in his Cradle, and preferred to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the first time that I haue taken Sanctuary. For when my Lord my husband was banished, and thrust out of his Kingdome, I fled hither, being great with Child: and here I bare the Prince: and when my Lord my husband returned safe againe, and had the victory, then went I hence, to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the Prince vnto his father, when hee first rooke him in his armes. And I pray God that my sonnes Pallace may be as great a safeguard vnto him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the Kings enemy. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, since mans law serueth the Gardian to keepe the infant. The law of nature will the mother to keepe

her child, Gods law privileged the Sanctuary, and the Sanctuary my sonne, first I feare to put him in the protectors hands, who hath his brother already, and were (if both failed) inheritor to the Crowne; and the cause of my feare, hath no man to doe to examine. But yet I feare no further then the law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth euery man, the custody of them by whose death hee may inherite lesse land then a Kingdome. I can no more: but whosoever he be that breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I pray God shortly send him need of a Sanctuary when hee may not come to it, for taken out of Sanctuary I would not that my mortall enemy were.

(36) The Lord Cardinal perceiuing that the Queene waxed euer the longer the farther off, & also that shee beganne to kindle and chafe, and speake more biting words against the Protector, and such as he neuer beleued, and was also loath to heare, hee said to her for a final conclusion, that he no longer would dispute the matter, but if shee were content to deliuer the Duke to him, and to the other Lords present, hee durst lay his body and soule both in pledge, not onely for his safety, but also for his estate; And if shee would giue a resolute answer to the contrary, hee would forthwith depart therewithall, and stift who so would with this his office afterward, for he neuer intended more to moue her in that matter, in which shee thought that hee and all others also shoulde her selfe, lacked either witt or truth; if they were so dull that they could perceiue nothing what the Protector intended: truth, if they should procure her sonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they should perceiue towards the Child any euill intention.

(37) The Queene with these wordes stood a good while in a deepe study. And for as much as hee seemed the Cardinal ready to depart, and the Protector himselfe ready at hand, so as shee verry thought hee could not keepe him there, but that he should incontinent be taken thence, and to conuiey him elsewhere, neither had shee time to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things verry ready, this message came on her so suddainly, nothing lesse looked for, then to haue him fetcht out of Sanctuary, which shee thought to be now beset in such places about, that hee could not be conuieyed out without, and partly (as shee thought) it might fortune her feare to be false, so well shee wist it was either needlesse or bootlesse: Wherefore, if shee must needs goe from him, shee deemed it best to deliuer him, & besides the Cardinals faith, shee nothing doubted, neither some other Lords, whom shee saw there present, which as shee feared lest they might be deceived, so was shee well assured they would not be corrupted: and thought it would make the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumspectly to see to his safety, if with her owne hands shee betooke him to them of trust. And lastly taking the young Duke by the hand said vnto the Lords.

(38) My Lord, and all my Lords; I neither am so vnwitt to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of which thing I purpose to make you such a prooue, as if either of both lacked in you, might both turne mee to great sorrow, the Realme to much harme, & you all to great reproch. For loe, here is (quoth hee) this Gentleman, whom I doubt not, but I could heere keepe safe if I would, whatsoever any man say: and I doubt not also, but there be some abroad so deadly enemies vnto my blood, that if they wist where any of it lay in their owne bodies, they would let it out. We haue also experience, that the desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred: the brother hath bene the brothers bane: and may the Nephewes be sure of their Vncle? Each of these children is the others defence, whilst they are asunder, and each of their lines lieth in the others body: keepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing for them both more perillous then to be in one place. For what wife Merchant aduentu-

reth all his goods in one ship? All this notwithstanding, I deliuer him, and his brother in now, to keepe into your hands, of whom I shall aske both, before God and the world. Faith full ye be, that wot I will; and I know well you be wise, power and strength to keepe him, if yee list, neither lack yee of your selfe, nor lack helpe in this case. And if you cannot otherwise, then may you leaue him heere: but onely one thing, I beseech you, for the trust that his father euer put in you, and for the trust I now put you in, that as farre as you thinke I feare too much, bee you well wary that you feare not too little: and therewithall saue sayd vnto the child, Farewell mine owne sweet son, God send you good keeping: let me kisse you yet once, ere you goe for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe. And therewithall hee kist him, and heliess him, turned her back and wept, and went her way, leauing the child weeping as faire. When the Lord Cardinal, and those other Lords with him, had receiued the young Duke, they brought him into the Scar-chamber, where the protector tooke him in his armes, and kist him with these words: *New welcome my Lord, euen with all my heart*: In which saying, it is like hee spake as he thought. Thereupon forthwith they brought him vnto the King his brother, into the Bishops Pallace at *Palmer*; and from thence both of them through the Citie of *London* honourably attended into the Tower, out of which after that day they neuer came againe.

(39) The protector hauing both the children now in his hands, opened himselfe more boldly, both to certaine other men, & also chiefly to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Although I know that many thought that this Duke was priuie to all the protectors counsell, euen from the beginning, and some of the protectors friends sayd, that the Duke was the first mouer of the protector to this matter, sending a priuie messenger vnto him straight after King *Edward* death. But others againe, which knew better the subtiltie of the protector, deny that hee euer opened his enterprize to the Duke, vntill hee had brought to passe the things before rehearsed. But when hee had imprisoned the Queenes kindred, and gotten both her sonnes into his owne hands; then hee opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whom hee thought meet for the matter, and especially to the Duke, who being wonne to his desires, hee held his strength more then halfe increased. The matter was broken vnto the Duke by libell persons, and such as were their craft-makers in the handling of such wicked deuises: who declared vnto him that the young King was offended with him, for his kinsfolkes sakes, and if he were euer able hee would reuenge them: who would prick him forward thereunto if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment) or els if they were put to death, without doubt the young King would be careful for their deaths, whose imprisonments was grievous vnto him. And that with repenting the Duke should nothing anail, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefits, but he should sooner destroy himselfe then saue the King, who with his brother, and his kinsfolkes hee saw in such places imprisoned, as the protector might with a becke destroy them all: and without all doubt would doe it indeed, if there were any new enterprize attempted. And that it was likely as the Protector had provided priuie guard for himselfe, so had hee spials for the Duke and traines to haue caught him, if hee should be against him; & that peraduenture from them, whom hee least suspected. For the state of things, & the dispositions of men were then such that a man could not well tell whom hee might trust, or whom hee might feare. These things and such like, being beaten into the Dukes minde, brought him to that point, that where hee had repented the way that hee had entred, yet would hee goe forward in the same, and since hee had once beganne, hee would stoutly goe through. And therefore to this wicked enterprize which hee

Richard Duke of
York deliuered
to the Cardinals

A Duke kist.

Buckingham pri-
uie to the Protec-
tors plans.

Suspicion with-
out cause.

Queene & Pro-
tec- tor to deliuer the young
Duke.

The ambitious
desire for a
Crown.

believed could not be avoyded, hee beat himselfe, determining, with the common mischief could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie.

(40) Then was it agreed, that the Protector should have the Dukes aide to make him King, and that the Protector should lawfull force should marry the Dukes daughter, and that the Protector should grante him the quiet possession of the Earldome of *Hereford*, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could never obtaine it in King *Edwards* time. Besides these requests of the Duke, the Protector of his owne accord, promised him a great quantitie of the Kings treasure, and of his household stuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwixt themselves, they went about to prepare for the Coronation of the young king as they would have it seeme. And that they might turne both the eyes & minds of men into perceiving of their drifts otherwise, the Lords were lent for from all parts of the Realme, and came flocking unto the solemneitie. But the Protector and Duke after they had sent the Lord Cardinals Archbishop of *York*, then L. Chancellor, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley* & *Hastings*, then Lord Chamberlaine, with many other Noblemen, to conferre and deule about the Coronation in one place, as fast they were in another place contriuing the contrary, to make the Protector king: to which counsell, albeit there were adhibited very few, and they very secret; yet began here and there, some muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither knew what they feared, nor wherefore: were it that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret iustit of nature infligie them, as the Sea without winde swellth of him selfe sometime before a tempest; or were it that some one man happily somewhat peccetings, filled many men with suspition, though hee shewed lewse men what hee knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing it telle made men to mule on the matter, though the counsell were clofe. For by little and little, all men withdrew from the Tower, and repaired to *Crawley* in Bishopsgate streete, where the Protector kept his house in great state. So that the Protector had the resort, and the King left in a manner desolate. And whilst some for their businesse made suite to such as were in office for the King, some were secretly by their friends warned, that it might happily doe them no good, to be too much attendant about the King without the Protectors appointment, who then began to remove many of the Princes old servants, and in their stead to place about him new.

(41) Thus many things meeting together, partly by purpose, & partly by chance, caused at length not onely the common people that moue with the winde, but wiser men also, and some Lords likewise, to marke and muse at the matter; in so much, that the Lord *Stanley*, who was after Earle of *Derby*, said to the Lord *Hastings*, that he much misliked these two secret counsells. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wot we, whereof they talke in the other place. My Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings*) of my life neuer doubt you: for while * one man is there, which is neuer thence, one can things be moued that should sound amisse against me, but it shall be in mine eares as it be well out of their mouths: this ment he by *Caterly*, which was of his neere counsell, and whom hee very familiarly viced, and in his most weighty matters put too man in for speciall trust, nor too man so much beholden unto him as *Caterly* was. A man indeed well leamed in the Lawes of this Land, and by speciall fauour of the Lord Chamberlaine, in good authoritie, and bare much rule in *Leicester* shire, where the Lord *Hastings* power chiefly lay. But surely great pitie it was, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his diffimulation onely kept all that mischief vp: In whom if the Lord *Hastings* had not put

for speciall trust, the Lord *Stanley* and hee had departed with diuers other Lords, and had broken all the dance, for many ill signes that he saw, which he now conuises all to the best. So surely thought he, that there could bee no harme towards him intended, in that counsell where *Caterly* was. And of truch, the Protector and Duke of *Buckingham*, made very good semblance unto the Lord *Hastings*, whom undoubtedly the Protector loaged well, and loth was to loose him, but for feare, lest his life should have quailed their purpose; for which cause hee moued *Caterly* to proue with some words, call out a farte off, whether hee could thinke it possible to winne the L. Chamberlaine to their part. But *Caterly* whether hee assayed him, or assayed him not, reported unto them, as hee found him to fast, and heard him speake for terrible words, that hee durst no further breake. True it is, that the Lord Chamberlaine of very trust shewed unto *Caterly*, the difficult that others began to haue in the matter: & therefore *Caterly* hearing as hee affirmed, least their motion might with the Lord *Hastings* diminish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leached hee counsilled and procured the Protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that hee trusted by his death, to obtaine much of the rule that the Lord *Hastings* bare in his Countrey: the onely defect whereof, was the affectiue that induced him to be partner, and oore speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

(42) Soone after this, vpon Friday the thirteenth day of *June*, many Lords assembled in the Tower, and there sate in counsell, deuising the honorable solemneitie of the Kings Coronation; of the which the time appointed was soene, that the Pageants and subtleties were in making day and night at *Westminster*, and much victuall killed, that afterward was cast away. These Lords sining together communing of this matter, the Protector came in amongst them about nine of the clocke, saluting them countenouly and excusing himselfe, that he had bene from them so long, laying merrily, *I haue bin a sleeper this day*. And after a little talke with them, hee said to the Bishop of *Ely*, My Lord, you haue verie good Strawburies at your Garden in *Holborne*, I pray you let vs haue a melle of them: Gladly my Lord, said the Bishop, would God I had some better thing as ready to pleasure you as that: and therewith in all haste hee sent his seruant for a melle of Strawburies. Whereupon the Protector saring the Lords sat in conference, prayed them to spare him for a little while, and departed thence. But soone after, betwixt ten and eleuen, hee returned into the counsell Chamber amongst them, with a wonderfull fowre and angry countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and frowning, and gnawing on his lippes, sat him downe in his place, all the Lords much dismayed, fore maruelling of this his foddaine change, and what thing should him aile: Hee sining thus a while, began thus to speake, *what are they worthy to haue, that compassie and imagine the destruction of mee, being so neere of blood unto the King and Protector of his royal person and his Realme? At which question, all the Lords sate fore astonied, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which euery man knew him selfe cleare.*

(43) Then the Lord Chamberlaine, as hee that for the loue betwixt them, thought he might bee bouldest with him, answered & said, That they were worthy to be punished as hainous traitors whatsoever they were: and the same all the other Lords affirmed. That is (quoth the Protector) yonder forcefelle my brothers wife, meaning the Queene, and others with her: at these words many of the Lords that launoured her, were greatly abashed: but the L. *Hastings* was in his minde better conioice, that it was moued by her, then by any other whom hee loued better: howbeit, his heart some what grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as

The counsell between the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Two counsells to diuers ends.

The misall of the times.

All flocke to the Protector.

Lord *Stanley* speech to the Lord Chamberlaine.

* *Caterly*.

Caterly the cause of much mischief.

Caterly is so fast that the Lord *Hastings*.

Lord *Hastings* speake his counsell to the place.

Caterly falls in his counsell.

The counsell in the Tower for the ordering of the young Kings Coronation.

The Princes dissolution.

The Protector not contented.

Lord *Hastings* speech to the Protector concerning.

hee was of the taking of her kindred, & of their putting to death, which were by his assent before devised to bee beheaded at *Powsey* the selfe same day in which hee was not aware, how it was by other devised, that himselfe should bee beheaded the same day at *London*. Then said the Protector, yee shall all see in what wife that *Sorceresse*, and that other witch of her counsel, *Shores* wife, with their infinity, have by their forerice and witchcraft wasted my body. And therewith hee plucked uppe his doublet sleewe to the elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a weariſh withered arme, and finally, as it was neuer other.

(44) And thereupon every mans mind fore misgaue them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrell. For they well knew, that the Queen was too wife to go about any such foily; & if she would, yet would thee of all others, not make *Shores* wife of counsell, whom of all women shee most hated, as that Concubine whom the King her husband had moſt loathed. And also no man there present, but knew well enough, that his arme was cutt ſince his birth. Nevertheless the Lord Chamberlaine, (which from the death of King *Edward* kept *Shores* wife, on whom hee ſomewhat doted in the Kings life, ſaying as it is ſaid, that hee forbore her for reverence towards the King, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend) answered and ſaid: Certainly my Lord, if they haue ſo heinouſly done, they bee worthy of heinous puniſhment. What (quoth the Protector) thou ſerueſt mee I ween with ifs and withs, I tell thee they haue ſo done, and that I will make good on thy bodie Traitor. And therewith as in a great anger, hee clapped his fiſt vpon the board a great rap: at which token giuen, one without the Chamber cryed, treason, where-with a doore clapped, and in came ruſhing men in haſt, as many as the Chamber might hold, and among the Protector ſaid to the Lord *Hastings*, I arreſt thee Traitor: What mee my Lord quoth hee? yea thee Traitor quoth the Protector; and another let ſlie at the Lord *Stanley*, who ſhrunk at the ſtroke vnder the Table, or elſe his head had bene clef to the teeth: for as wiſely as hee ſhrunk, yet came the blood about his eares. Then were they all quickly beſet in diuers Chambers, excepting onely the Lord Chamberlaine, whom the Protector bad ſpeede and ſhrie him ſpace, for by *S. Paul* ſaid hee, I will not to dinner till I ſee thy head off. It booted him neto aſke why, but heauly rooke a Priſt aduenture, and made a ſhort ſtrife, for a longer would not be ſuffered. The Protector made ſo much haſte to dinner, which hee might not goe to, till this was done for ſaving of his oath. So was hee brought forth into the greene, before the Chappell within the Tower, and his head laid down vpon a long logge of timber, and there ſtruck off, and afterward his body with the head, was entered at *Windſor*, beſide the body of *K. Edward*.

(45) A maruallous caſe it is to heare, either of the warnings that hee ſhould haue voided, or the tokens of that hee could not auoid: for the ſelf night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* ſent a ſtruly ſecret Meſſenger vnto him at Midnight in all the haſt, requiring him to riſe, and ride away with him, for he was vterly diſpoſed no longer to abide, hee had ſo fearefull a dreamer: in which he thought, that a Bore with his tuſkes, io razed them both by the heades, that the blood ranne about both their ſhoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector gaue the Bore for his cognizance, this dreame made ſo fearefull an impreſſion in his heart, that hee was thoroughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his horſe ready, if the Lord *Hastings* would goe with him, to ride yet ſo farre the ſame night, that they would be out of danger before it was day. Ah good Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings* to the Meſſenger) leaueſt thou my Lord thy Maſter ſo much to ſuch triſles, and haſt ſlain in dreames, which either his owne feare fan-

taſieth, or doe riſe in the nights reſt, by reaſon of the dayes thoughtes? Tell him it is plaine Witchcraft, to beleue in ſuch dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh hee not, that wee might be as likely to make them true, by our going, if we were caught and brought back (as friends ſaile flyers) for then had the Bore a cauſe likely to riſe wth his tuſkes, as men that fled for ſome fallhood: wherefore, either there is no perill, not none there is indeed, or if any be, it is rather in going then abiding. And if wee muſt needs fall in perill, one way or other, yet had I rather, that men ſhould ſee, it were by other mens fallhood, then thinke it our fault or fault-heere. And therefore goe to thy Maſter man, and commend me to him; and pray him to bee merry and haue no feare; for I aſſure him, I am aſſure of the man that hee worſhippeth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God ſend Grace Sit (ſaid the Meſſenger) and went his way.

(46) Certaine it is alſo, that in riding towards the Tower the ſame morning in which hee was beheaded, his horſe twice or thrice ſtumbled with him, almoſt to the falling; which thing, albeit each man knoweth daily hapneth, to them to whom no ſuch miſchance is toward, yet hath it bene of an olde rite and cuſtome obſerued, as a token oftentimes, notably foregoing ſome great miſfortune: Now this that followeth was nowarning, but an enuious ſcorne. The ſame morning before hee was vp, came a Knight vnto him, as it were of courteſie, to accompany him to the Counſell; but of truth ſent by the Protector, to haſte him thitherwards, with whom hee was of ſecret confederacy in that purpoſe, a meane man at that time, but now of great authority. This Knight, when it hapned the Lord Chamberlaine by the way to ſtay his horſe, and commune a while with a Priſt whom hee met in Towerſtrete, brake his tale, and ſaid merly to him; what my Lord, I pray you come on, wherto talke you ſo long with a Priſt, you haue no need of a Priſt yet, and therewith laughed vpon him, as though hee would ſay, yee ſhall haue ſoone. But ſo little wiſt the other what hee meant, and ſo little miſtruſted his preſent perill, as hee neuer was merrier, nor neuer ſo full of good hope in his life, which ſelfe thing is often ſeene a ſigne of change; but I ſhall rather let any thing paſſe me, then the vaine ſurety of mans mind to neere his death. Vpon the very Tower-wharfe, ſo neere the place where his head was ſtrooke off ſoone after, there met hee with one *Hastings*, a Perſeuant of his owne name. And of their meeting in that place, hee was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before, to meet in the like manner together in the ſame place. At which other time the Lord Chamberlaine had been accuſed vnto King *Edward* by the Lord *Rivers* the Queenes brother, in ſuch wiſe as hee was for the while, (but it laſted not long) ſarre fallen into the Kings indignation, and ſtood in great feare of himſelfe. And forasmuch as hee now mette this Perſeuant in the ſame place, that leopardy ſo well paſſed, it gaue him great pleaſure to talke with him thereof, with whom hee had before talked thereof in the ſame place, while hee was therein. And therefore hee ſaid, ah *Hastings*, art thou remembered that I met thee once here with a heavy heart? yea my Lord (quoth hee) thou remember I well, and thanked bee God, they got no good, nor you no great harme. Thou wouldſt ſay ſo (quoth he) if thou knew ſo much as I know, which few know elſe as yet, and more ſhall ſhortly. That ment hee by the Lords of the Queenes kindred, which were taken before, and ſhould that ſame day bee beheaded at *Powſey*: which hee well wiſt, but was nothing aware, that the axe hung ouer his owne head. In faith man (quoth he) I was neuer ſo ſorry, nor neuer ſood in ſo great dread of my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And loe, how the world is changed, now ſtand my enemies in the dan-

The L. Hastings
as ſerued in the
L. Stanley
midſtage.

Prodd (beſide the
wards the Lord
Hastings.

The Lord Rivers
ſpoken to a Perſeuant.

The Queenes
counſell at ſorce;

The withered
arme of the Pro-
tectour by nature,
and not by ſor-
cery.

The L. Cham-
berlain arreſted.

The L. Stanley
wounded at
Counſell Table.

The L. Cham-
berlain beheaded.

The L. Hastings
dreames.

ger (as thou maist hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life fo merry, nor neuer in fo great surety. Oh good God, the blindness of our mortall nature, when he most feared he was in good surety, when he reckoned himselfe sure, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good Knight and a gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of using somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enemies, and secret to his friends, easie to be beguiled, as he that of good heart & courage foreboded no perillous losing man, a passing well beloued: very faithful, and trusty enough, trusting indeed too much. Now flew the fame of this Lords death swiftly through the Citie, and from thence further, like a winde in euery mans eare.

(47) But the Protector immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour vpon the matter, sent in all haste for many substantiall men, out of the City into the Tower, at whose coming thither, himselfe with the Duke of *Beckingham*, blood harnessed in olde rusty brigandines, such as no man should weene, that they would vouchsafe to haue put on their backs, except that some suddain necessity, had constrained them thereto. And then the Protector shewed them, that the Lord Chamberlaine, and others of his conspiracy, had contriued to haue suddainly destroyed him and the Duke there the same day in Council. And what they intended further, was not yet well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge, before ten of the clocke, the same forenoone, which suddain feare droue them to put on their defence, such hardnesse came next to hand: and so had God holpen them, that the mischief returned vpon them that would haue done it: and this he required them to report.

(48) Euerie man answered him faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleued; y^er for the further appeasing of the peoples minde, he sent immediately after dinner, in all haste, an Herald of Armes, with a Proclamation to be made through the City in the Kings name, containing that the Lord *Hastings* with diuers others of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired the same day, to haue slaine the Lord Protector, and Duke of *Beckingham*, sitting in the Council, and after to haue taken vpon them, to rule the King and the Realme, at their owne pleasures; thereby to pill and spoile, whom they listed vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that Proclamation, deuised to the slander of the Lord Chamberlaine, as that he was an euill Counsellor to the Kings father, enticing him to many things, highly recondemning to his great dishonour, and to the vniuersall hurt of his Realme, by his euill company, sinister procuring, & vngracious example as well in many other things, as in the vicious liuing, and inordinate abusion of his body, both with many others, and especially with *Shores* wife, who was one also of his most secret Counsell, in this bawous treason, with whom hee lay nightly, and namely, the night last past, before his death, so that it was the lesse maruell, if vngracious liuing brought him to an vnhappy ending, which he was now put vnto, by the most dread commandement of the Kings highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull Council, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his falsely conceived treason, as also least the delaying of his execution, might haue encouraged other mischievous persons partners of his conspiracy, to gather and assemble themselves together in making some great commotion for his deliuerance, whose hope being now by his well-deserued death politically repressed, all the Realme should by Gods grace, rest in good quiet and peace.

(49) Now was this Proclamation made within two houres, after that he was beheaded, and was so curiously indited, and so faire written in parchment,

in so well a set hand, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, as euery child might perceiue, that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death, and the proclaiming, could scarce haue sufficed vnto the bare writing alone; had it bene but in paper, and scribbled forth in haste at aduerture. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was Schoole-master of *Pauls*, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnes of the time, with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him: *Here is a gay gossie, whose soule cast away for hast*: and a Merchant answered him, that it was written by Prophecie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for courtousnesse, the Protector sent the Sherif of *London*, into the house of *Shores* wife (for her husband dwelled not with her) and spoiled her of all that shee had, about the value of three thousand marks, carrying her through *London* vnto the Tower, and there left her Prisoner, where (for fashion sake) he laid to her charge, that shee went about to bewitch him, and that shee was of Council with the Lord Chamberlaine to destroy him: in conclusion, when no colour could fasten vpon these matters, then laid hee hainously vnto her charge, the thing that hee selfe could not deny, that all the world was true, and that neithers euery man laughed at, to heare it then so suddainly, so highly taken, that shee was nought of her body. And for that cause (as a good conuenient Prince, cleare and faultlesse himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens manners) after shee had laine Prisoner in *Loadgate*, becaused the Bishop of *London* to put her to open penance, going before the Crosse in procession vpon a Sunday, with a taper in her hand. In which shee went in countenance and pace demote so womanly, and albeit shee were out of all array save her kirtle only, yet went shee so faire and lovely, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comly tud in her cheekes (of which before shee had most mist) that her great shame, wan her much praise, among those that were more amorous of her body, then curious of her soule. And many good folk also that hated her liuing, and glad to see liue so corrected, yet pitied the more her penance, then reioiced therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent, then any virtuous affection.

(50) This woman was borne in *London*, wretchedly friended, honestly brought vp, and very well married, suuing somewhat too soonely; her husband an honest Citizen, young, and goodly, and of good substance. But for asmuch as they were coupled ere shee were well ripe, these not very frantically loved, for whom shee neuer longed; which was happily the thing that the more made her incline vnto the Kings appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of his totality, the hope of gay apparel, ease, pleasure and other wanton wealth, was able soone to pierce a soft tender heart. But when the King had abused her, among her husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not preferring so much a Kings concubine) left her vp to him altogether. When the King died, the Lord Chamberlaine tooke her, which in the Kings daies, albeit he was sore enamoured vpon her, yet he forbore her, either for reuerence, or for a certaine friendly faithfulness: proper shee was, and faire; nothing in her body that you could haue changed, vnlesse you would haue wished her somewhat higher. Thus they say that knew her in her youth. Albeit some that now see her (for as yett shee liueth) deeme her neuer to haue bene well viaged, whose iudgement seemeth to me somewhat like, as though we could gesse the beauty of one long before departed, by her scalp taken out of the Charnell house: for now shee is olde, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but tucled skinned, and hard bone; and yet being euen face: who so well aduise her visage, might gesse and deuise, which parts how filled, would make it a faire face.

the vaine and
dissolute state of
her.

the description
of the Lord
Shores.

Shores sent
to the
Tower to the
Protector.

The framed frame
of the Lord
Protector.

A Proclamation
made to publish
the Lord
Hastings treason.

The Proclamation
which further
increased by his
proclamation.

The Schoole-
masters opinion.

The Sherif of
London takes
Shores wife to
prison.

Shores wife
seen in
penance.

All command
and praise from
vnto.

The description
of Lane Shores.

Shores died the
eleventh year
of King Henry
the eighth. God
take harding.

face. Yet delighted not men, so much in her beauty as in her pleasant behaviour, for a proper wit these had, and could both read well and write, merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometime taunting without displeasure, and not without disport: in whom King Edward took special pleasure, whose favour to say the truth (for lime it was to belie the Duel) the never abused to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort and relief, when the King took displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his mind; where men were out of favour, she would bring them in his grace, for many that highly offended she obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gave them remission. And finally, in many weighty suites shee found many men in great need, either for none, or very small rewards, and those rather gay then rich, either for that she was content with the deed it selfe well done, or for that shee delighted to see liued vno, and to see what shee was able to do with the King, or for that wanton women and wealthy, bee not alwayes courteous. I doubt not some shall thinke this woman too slight a thing to be written of, and let amongst the remembrances of great matters: which they shall specially thinke, that happily shall esteeme her only by that they now see her. But to my seeming, the chance is so much the more worthy to be remembered, in how much shee is now in the more beggerly condition, vntirend, and worne out of acquaintance, after good subsistence, after so great fauour with a Prince, after so great suite, and seeking to, of all those, that in those dayes had businesse to speeche, as many other men were in their times, which bee now famous only by the infamy of their ill deedes: her doings were not much lesse, albeit they bee much lesse remembered, because they were not so euill: for men vie, if they receive an euill turne, to write it in marble: and who so doth vs a good turne, we write it in the dust, which is not worst proued by her: for at this day shee beggers of many, at this day liuing, that at this day had begged if shee had not bene.

(11) Now it was so desired by the Protector and his Councell, that the selfe same day in which the L. Chamberlaine was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the selfe same howre was then (not without his assent) beheaded at *Fenfrat*, the fore-remembered Lords and Knights, that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stony-Stratford*; which thing was done in the presence, and by the order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, whose seruice the Protector specially vied in that counsell, and in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene long secret with him, hauing experience of the world, and a shrewd witte, short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behaviour, bolke in mischief, as farr from pity, as from all feare of God. This Knight bringing them out of prison to the Scaffold, and shewing to the people present, that they were Traitors, not suffering them to speake, or declare their innocency, left their wordes might haue inclined men to pity them, and so haue the Protector and his party, caused them hastily without Iudgement, proccesse or manner of order to bee beheaded, and without all guilt, but onely that they were good men, too true to the King, and too nigh to the Queene.

(12) Now when the Lord Chamberlaine, and thiole other Lords and Knights were thus beheaded and ridde out of the way: then thought the Protector, that while men mused what the matter meant, while the Lords of the Realme were about him out of their owne strengthes, while no man wist what to thinke, nor whom to trust, before they should haue space to dispute, and digest the matter, and make parties, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the Crown, ere men could haue time to deuise how to resist. But now was all the study, by what meanes the matter

being of it selfe so hainous, might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might bee well taken. To this counsell they tooke diuers, such as they thought meet to bee trusted, likely to bee induced to that part, and able to stand them in stead, eyther by power or policy: Among whom they made of counsell *Edmond Shea* Knight, then Maior of London, who vpon trust of his owne aduancement, whereof he was of a proud heart, highly desirous, should frame the City to their appetite. Of Spiritual men they tooke such as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people, for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they *John Shea* Clerke brother to the Maior, and Fryer *Pinker* Prociouall of the *Augustine* Fryers, both of them Doctors in Divinity, both great Preachers, both of more learning then verue, and of more fame then learning; for they were before greatly esteemed of the common people; but after that neuer. Of these two, the one made a Sermon in praise of the Protector before the Coronation; the other aiter, both full of tedious flattery, as no mans ear could abide them.

(13) *Pinker* in his Sermon so lost his voice, that hee was forced to leane off, and came downe in the middle. Doctor *Shea* by his sermon lost his honesty, and soone after his life, for very shame of the world, into which hee durst neuer after come abroad. But the Fryer forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and many thinke, that *Pinker* was not of counsell in the matter before the Coronation, but after the common manner, fell to flattery aiter: namely, sith his Sermon was not incontinent vpon it, but at *S. Maries* Hospitall in the Easter week following. But certayne it is, that Doctor *Shea* was of counsell in the beginning, so farr forth as they determined that he should first breake the matter in a Sermon at *Pauls* Crosse, in which hee should by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the Protector; ghoosly purpose. But now was all the labour and study, in the deuise of some convenient pretext; for which the people should bee content to depole the Prince, and accept the Protector for King. In which diuers things they deuided: but the chief thing and the weightiest of all, the inuention relied in this, that they should alledge bastardy, either in *K. Edward* himselfe, or in his children, or both. So that hee should seeme disabled to inherit the Crowne, by the Duke of *York*, and the Prince by him. To lay bastardie in *King Edward*, sounded openly to the rebuke of the Protector owne mother, who was mother to them both: for in that point could bee none other colour, but to pretend that his owne mother was an adulteresse, which notwithstanding to further the purpose hee leered not; but yet, hee would that point should bee lesse, and more fauourably handled, not fully plaine and directly, but that the matter should be touched allope, and craftily, as though men spard in that point to speake all the truth for feare of his displeasure. But the other point, concerning the bastardie that they deuised to surmise in *K. Edwards* children, that would hee should bee openly declared, and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext whereof, was a contract pretended to be made by *King Edward* vnto the Lady *Lacy*, whereof we haue spoken in the raigne of the said King: which inuention how simple soeuer, yet it liked them, to whom it sufficed to haue somewhat to say, while they were fure to be compelled to no larger proof then themselves left to make.

(14) Now then it was by the Protector and his Councell concluded, that Doctor *Shea* should signifie in his sermon aforesaid, that neither *King Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begot, nor were the very Children of the Duke of *York*, but begot vnlawfully by other persons, by adulterie of the Dutches their mother. And also that

The Maior of London made of the Protector his counsell.

Shee and *Pinker* were two of the Preachers.

Pinker preached at *S. Maries* Hospitall, and Doctor *Shea* at *Pauls* Crosse.

The plot and deuise how to surmise the bastardie to the Crowne.

The same story is the most probable.

K. Edward and his children made bastards.

Shere wife did much good, but no man hurt.

The Subiect not worthy to be written.

The flane of the world.

The Lords of the Queene's blood beheaded at *Fenfrat*.

The Protector thought to strike while the yeast was new.

that dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was verily the wife of *K. Edward*, and so the Prince and all his other children begot by the Queene, were all of them bastards. And according to this deuile Doctor *Shaw* vpon Sunday the nineteenth of Iune at *Pauls Crosse* in a frequent assembly, took for the theme of his sermō this saying, *Speris vitalemus non agens radices altas: Bastardus flos fluitat necesse est deinde rore.* Wherevpon, when he had shewed the great grace that God giueth, and secretly in funderth in right generation after the lawes of Matrimonie, then declared he, that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents, were for the more part vnhappy, which were begot in bafe, but specially in adultery. Of which though some by the ignorance of the world, and the truth hid from knowledge inherite for the time other mens lands, yet God alwaies so proudeth, that it continueth not in their blood long; but the truth coming to light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the bastards slip pulled vp ere it can take any deepe roote. And when he had said for the prooffe and confirmation of this sentence certaine examples taken out of the old testament, and other ancient histories, then he began to descend into the praise of the *Loid Richard*, late Duke of *York*, calling him the father to the Lord Protector, and declared the title of his heires vnto the Crowne, to whom it was after the death of King *Henry* the first, entailed by authority of Parliament. Then shewed he, that the verie right here of his body lawfully begotten, was only the Lord Protector. For he declared then that King *Edward* was neuer lawfully married vnto the Queene, but was before God, husband vnto Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and so his children bastards. And besides that, neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence*, among those that were secret in the household, were reckoned very certainly for the children of the Noble Duke, as boole that by their features, resembled other knowen men, more then him from whose vertuous conditions, he said also, that King *Edward* was farre off. But the Lord Protector he said, the very Noble Prince, the speciall pattern of Knightly prowesse, as well in all Princely behaviour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his visage, representing the very face of the noble Duke his father: This is he (quoth he) the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the very vndoubted Image, and plain expresse likenesse of that noble Duke.

(55) Now it was before drifft, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should haue come to among the people to the sermon ward, to the end that those words meeting with his presence, might haue bene taken among the hearers, as though the holy Ghost had put them in the Preachers mouth, and should haue moued the people euen then to be, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, that it might haue bene after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle. But this deuile quailed, either by the Protectors ouersight, or by the Preachers ouer much diligence, for while the Protector stand by the way trying, lest he should present those words, and the Doctor fearing lest he should come ere his sermon could come to these words, halted his matter thereto, who was come to them and past them, and had entred into other matter ere the Protector came. Whom when he beheld coming, he suddenly left the matter with which he was in hand, and without aie deduction thereunto, out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeat those words againe: This is the verie Noble Prince, the speciall pattern of Knightly prowesse, which as well in all Princely behaviour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his visage, representeth the very face of the Noble Duke of *York* his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure vndoubted Image, the plain expresse likenesse of the noble Duke, whose remembrance can neuer die while he

lineth. While these words were in speaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, went through the people, into the place where the Doctors commonly stand in an upper story, where he stood to heare the sermon. But the people were so farre from crying King *Richard*, that they stood as if they had bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shameful sermon. After which once ended, the Preacher got him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept himselfe out of sight like an Owle. And when he once asked one, that had bene his old friend, what the people talked of him, albeit that his own conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in euery mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the heart, that within few daies after, he withered and consumed away.

(56) On the Tuesday following this sermon, there came into the Guild hall in *London* the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompanied with his Lords & Knights, more perchance then knew the message which they brought. And there in the East end of the Hall, where the Maior keepeth the hallings, the Maior, and Aldermen being assembled about him, and all the commons of the City gathered before him: after silence commanded in the Protectors name vpon great paine, the Duke stood vp, and (as he was neither vnlearned, and of nature marvellously well spoken) hee said vnto the people with a cleare and loud voice in this manner. Friends, for the zeale and happy fauour that we beare you, we be come to breake vnto you, a matter of great weight, and no lesse weighty, then pleasing to God, and profitable to all the Realme: nor to no part of the Realme more profitable then to you the Citizens of this noble City. For why, the thing that we wot well you haue long time lacked, and so longed for, that you would haue giuen great good for, that you would haue gone farre to fetch, that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labour, paine, cost, aduerture or iopardie. What thing is that? Certes, the liberty of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wises, and your daughters, the safeguard of your goods: of all which things in times past you stood enermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that could account himselfe Lord of his owne goods, among so many sinners and traps as were let therefore, among so much pilling and polling, among so many taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, and often times no need: or if any were, it rather grew of riot, and vnreasonable wast, then any necessary or honorable charge: So that there was daily piling from good men and honest, great substance of goods to be lashed out among vnchrits, so farre forth that fiftieens sufficed not, nor any viall manner of known taxes: but vnder so euery name of beneuolence and good will, the Commissioners so much of euery man tooke, as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence, had signified that euery man should pay not what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, but what the King of his good will list to take. Who neuer asked little, but euery thing was haunred about the measure, amercements turned into fines, fines into ranfomes; small trespasses into misprision; misprision into treason. Whereof I thinke no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name, as though *Burdet* were forgotten, who was for a wote in haste spoken, cruelly beheaded, by the misconstruction of the Lawes of this Realme for the Princes pleasure: with no lesse honour to *Archibald* then chief Justice, that left his office rather then be would assent to that iudgement, then to the dishonesty of those, that cyther for feare or flattery gave that iudgement. What *Coker* your owne worthipfull neighbour, Alderman and Maior of this noble

The text and contents of Dr. Shaw's sermon.

Gods heavy punishments vpon the wise refusing to teach.

The Duke of Buckingham meets in the Guildhall.

Buckingham's address to the citizens of London.

The first steps of the Duke of Buckingham.

Shaw himselfe's allusions.

The Protectors intervention prevented.

King & Lords' reactions could more than they were.

His ceremony to "and his father" "as exemplified by Burdet and others."

"Citie, who is of you either so negligent that hee
"knoweth not, or so forgetful that hee remembreth
"not, or so hard hearted that hee pitieth not that
"worshipfull mans losse? What speake we of losse?
"His vicer spoile and vnderfered destruction, only
"for that it happened those to fauour him whom
"the Prince fauoured not. Wee need not (I sup-
"pose) to rehearse of these any mo by name, fith
"there be (I doubt not) many here present, that e-
"ther in themselves, or in their nigh friends, haue
"knowne aswell their goods, as their persons greatly
"indangered, either by faimed quarrells, or small mat-
"ters agreed with heinous names. And also there
"was no crime so great, of which there could lacke
"a pretext. For fith the King presenting the time
"of his inheritance, attained the Crowne by batrels
"it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to
"haue bene of kindred or aliance, neer familiaritie,
"or longer acquaintance, with any of those that
"were at any time the Kings enemies, which was at
"one time or other more then halfe the Realme.
"Thus were your goods neuer in suretie, and yet
"they brought your bodies in leoparde, beside the
"common aduenture of open warre, which albeit,
"that it is euer the will and occasion of much mi-
"chiefe, yet it is neuer so mischieuous, as where any
"people fall at distance among themselves, nor in
"no earthly nation so deadly & so pestilent, as when
"it happeneth among vs: and among vs neuer so
"long continued dissention, nor from any batrels in
"that lesion, nor so cruel and so deadly fought as
"was in that Kings dayes that dead is, God forgiue
"in his soule. In whose time, and by whose occasion,
"what about the getting of the Garland, keeping it,
"loosing it, and winning againe, it hath cost more
"English blood, then hath twice the winning of
"France: In which inward warre among our felues,
"hath bene so great effusion of the ancient noble
"blood of this Realme, that scarcely the halfe re-
"maineth, to the great infebeling of this noble
"Land, beside many a good Towne ransacked, and
"spoiled by them that haue bene going to the
"field, or coming from thence. And peace long
"after not much faster then warre. So that no time
"there was, in which rich men for their money, and
"great men for their Lands, or for other for lom
"feare or loue displeasure, were not out of perill;
"for whom trusted he that mistrusted his owne bro-
"thers? whom spared he that killed his owne brother?
"or who could perfectly lose him, if his owne bro-
"ther could not? what maier of folke hee most fa-
"uoured, we shall for his honour spare to speake of;
"howbeit, this we you well all, that who so was
"best, bare away least rule; and more suite was in
"those dayes vnto Shores wife, a vile and abhomi-
"nable stumper, then to all the Lords in England;
"except vnto those that made her their Protector:
"which simple woman was well named, and ho-
"nest, till the King for his wanton lust, and
"sinfull affection, bereft her from her hus-
"band, a right honest substantially yong man among
"you. And in that point, which in good laih I am
"sorry to speake of, fauing that it is in vaine to keepe
"in counsell that thing which euery man knoweth,
"the Kings greedy appetite was insatiable, and eu-
"ery where out all the Realme intolerable, for no
"woman there was any where yong or olde, rich or
"poore, whom hee let his eie piew, in whom hee li-
"ked any thing, either person, or fauour, speech,
"pace, or countenance, but without a feare of God
"or any respect of his owne honour, murmur, or
"grudge of the world, he would importunately per-
"secute his appetite, and haue her, to the great destruc-
"tion of many a good woman, and great dolour to
"their husbands and other their friends, which be-
"ing honest people of themselves, so much regard
"the cleannesse of their house, the chastitie of their
"wives, and their daughters, that they had rather
"looke all they had besides, then to haue such a vil-

"lany done against them. And albeit that with this
"and his other impottable dealings, the Realme
"was in emery part annoyed yet specially, you heere
"the Citizens of this noble Citie, aswell for that a-
"mongst you is most plenty of all such things, as
"minister matters to such iniuries, as for that you
"were neerest at hand, seeing that neere heereabout
"was commonly his most abiding. And yet you
"see the people whom he had a singular ciuile well
"and kindly to entreat, as any part of the Realme,
"not onely, for that the Prince by this noble Citie,
"as his speciall Chamber; and the speciall well re-
"nowned Citie of his Realme, much honourable
"fame receiueth amongst all other nations: but also
"for that yet, not without your great cost, and sum-
"dry perils and leopardies in all his warres, bare o-
"uen your speciall fauour to his part, which your
"kind mindes borne vnto the house of York, fith he
"hath nothing worthily acquired, there is one of
"that house, that now by Gods grace, better shall:
"which thing to fiew you is the whole summe and
"effect of this our present errand. It shall not, I
"wot well, need that I rehearse you againe, that yet
"haue already heard of him that can better tell it,
"and of whom I am sure you will better beleue it,
"and reason is it to bee. I am not so proud to
"looke therefore, that you should reckon my words
"as of great authority, as the Preachers of the word
"of God, namely, a man so learned and so wise,
"that no man better woteeth what he should say, and
"thereto so good and venuous, as he would not say
"Lie thing which hee will hee should not say in the
"Pulpit; namely, into the which no honest man
"commeth to lye: which honourable Preacher, you
"well rememb'ret, substantially declared at Pauls
"Crosse, on Sunday last past, the right and title that
"the most excellent Prince, Richard Duke of Glou-
"ster, now Protector of this Realme, hath vnto the
"Crowne and Kingdome of the same. For as the
"Worshipfull Doctor substantially made knowne
"vnto you, the children of King Edward the fourth
"were neuer lawfully begotten, forasmuch as the
"King (leaving his very wife Dame Elizabeth Lucy)
"was neuer lawfully married vnto the Queen their
"mother, whose blood, fiewing that he let his volup-
"tuous pleasure before his honour, was full vnmeet
"to be matched with his; and the mingling of those
"bloods together had bin the effusion of great part
"of the noble blood of this Realme. Whereby it
"may well seeme, the marriage was not well made,
"of which there is so much mischiefe growne. For
"lack of which lawfull coupling, as also other things,
"which the said worshipfull D. rather signified, then
"fully explained; and which things shall not be spo-
"ken for mee, as the thing whereof every man fre-
"quently beareth to say what hee knoweth, in sayding dis-
"pleasure of my noble Lord Protector; bearing, as
"nature requireth, a filiall reuerence to the Dut-
"cheffe his mother: For these causes I say, before
"remembered, that is, for lacke of other liue law-
"fully coming of that late noble Prince Richard
"Duke of Yorke, to whose royall blood, the crowne
"of England and France, is by the high authority of
"Parliament entailed, the right and title of the same,
"is by the iust court feof inheritance, according to
"the common law of this Land, deuolued and come
"vnto the most excellent Prince the Lord Protec-
"tor, as to the very lawfully begotten sonne, of the
"fore-remembered noble Duke of Yorke. Which
"thing well considered, and the great knightly
"prowesse pondered, with manifold vertues,
"which in his noble person singularly abound, the
"nobles and commons also of this Realme, and spe-
"cially of the North part, not with any ballard
"blood to haue the rule of the Land, nor the abusi-
"ons before the same vied, any longer to continue;
"haue considered, and fully determined, to make
"humble petition to the most puissant Prince the
"Lord Protector, that it may lye his Grace as our
"humble

London the things
especially chosen
here.

The end of the
Dukes errand.

The great mode-
sty that the Duke
pretended.

An apostle like
the apostle.

The marriage of
King Edward
impaired a great
mischiefe.

The Protector
here be the only
one that is his
father, and so the
Crowne.

No safety of
goods or life as
he fully alled-
ged.

The rage of civil
warre call England
more blood then
once the win-
ning of France
had done.

Great dangers
adged and
sunderly per-
ils.

King Edwards
wantons lye
out to the full.

"humble request, to take vpon him the guiding and
 "gouernance of this Realme, to the wealth and con-
 "crease of the same, according to his very tight and
 "iust title. Which thing I know well, hee will be
 "loth to take vpon him, as he whole wisedome well
 "perceiueth, the labour and study both of minde
 "and body, that shall come therewith, to whom loe-
 "uer so will occupie the roome, as I dare say he will,
 "it bee take it. Which roome, I waine you well,
 "is no childes office: and that the great wiseman
 "well perceiued, when hee sayd, *Pater noster* *Rege*
 "*per off: Woe is that Realme that hath a child to their*
 "*King.* Wherefore so much the more cause wee
 "haue to thanke God, that this noble Personage,
 "which so tightcouisly is inuited thereunto, is
 "of so sad age, and so great wisedome, ioynted with
 "so great experience: which albeit hee will be loth
 "(as I haue sayd) to take it vpon him, yet shall hee
 "to our opinion in that behalfe, the more graciously
 "incline, if you the Worships Citizens of this the
 "chiefe Citie of this Realme, ioyne with vs the
 "Nobles in this our sayd request. Which for your
 "owne weale we doubt not but you will, and yathe-
 "lesse, I heartily pray you so to doe, whereby yee
 "shall doe great profit to all the Realme beside, in
 "choosing them to good a King, and vnto your
 "felices speciall commoditie, to whom his Maestie
 "shall euer after beare so much the more tender fa-
 "uour, in how much hee shal perceiue you the more
 "prone and beneuolently minded towards his ele-
 "ction. Wherein deere friends, what minde you
 "haue, wee require you plainly to shew vs.

(57) When the Duke had sayd, & looked that the
 people who be hoped the Maior had framed before,
 should after this proposition made, haue cryed, King
Richard, King *Richard*; all was hush and mute, and
 not a word answered thereunto: wherewith the
 Duke was manfully abashed, & taking the Maior
 neerer to him, with other that were about him prai-
 se to that matter, said vnto him softly, What meaneth
 this, that the people bee so silent? Sir (quoth the
 Maior) perchance they perceiue you not well, that
 shall we mend (quoth hee) if that will helpe. And
 by and by some that louder, hee rehearsed them the
 same matter againe, in other order and other words,
 so well and onerately, so suddenly and plainly, with
 voice, gesture, & countenance so comely, that euery
 man much maruailed that heard him, and thought
 they neuer had in their bearing, so euill a tale to well
 told. But were it for wonder or feare, or that each
 man lookt that other speake first, not a word was
 there answered of all the people that stood before,
 but was as still as the midnight, not so much as row-
 ning among themselves, by which they might seeme
 to commune what was best to doe. When the Lord
 Maior saw this, hee with the other partners of that
 counsell drew about the Duke, and sayd, That the
 people had not beene accustomed there to bee spoken
 vnto, but by the Recorders; who is the mouth of
 the Citie, and happily to him they will answere.
 With that the Recorder called *Fitz-William*, a sad
 man and an honest, who was so newly come into that
 office, that hee neuer had spoken to the people be-
 fore, and loth was with that matter to beginne, not-
 withstanding, thereunto commanded by the Maior,
 he made rehearsal to the commons, of that the Duke
 had twice rehearsed to them himselfe. But the Re-
 corder so tempered his tale, that hee shewed euery
 thing as the Dukes words, and no part of his owne.
 But all this noyng, so change made in the people,
 which stood gazing at the bench as men altogether
 amazed. Wherupon the Duke rowned vnto the
 Maior, and said, This is maruailous obdinate silence,
 and therewith hee turned vnto the people againe
 with these wordes: Deare friends, wee come to
 moue you to that thing which peraduenture we not
 so greedily needed, but that the Lords of this Realme
 and the Commons of other parts might haue suf-
 ficed, fusing that wee beare you such loue, and so

much let by your friendship, that wee would not
 willingly do without you the thing which is for our
 honour and your wealth, which as it seemeth, either
 you see not, or wey not: wherefore we require you,
 giue vs answere, whether ye be minded as all the no-
 bles of the Realme bee, to haue this noble Prince
 now Protector, to be your King or not.

(58) At which words the people beganne to
 whisper among themselves feerely, that the voyce
 was neither loud nor distinct, but as it were the
 found of a swarme of Bees, till at the last, in the ne-
 ther end of the hall, a host of the Dukes ser-
 uants, and Nathfields, and of others belonging to
 the Protector, with some premisses and ladders that
 thrust into the hall among the presse, beganne so-
 dainely at mens backs to cry out as loud as their
 throats would giue, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, &
 threw vp their caps in token of ioy. But they that
 stood before, call backe their heades, marrelling
 thereat, yet nothing they said. And when the Duke
 and Maior saw this manner, they wisely turned it
 to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry, and a
 ioyfull, to heare euery man with one voice, no man
 saying nay: wherefore friends (quoth the Duke)
 since that wee well perceiue that it is all your whole
 minds to haue this noble man for your King, where-
 of we shall make to his Grace so effectuall repert,
 that we doubt not, but it shall redound vnto your
 great weale, and commoditie: we require that to
 morrow you goe with vs, and with you vnto his
 Noble Grace, to make our humble request vnto
 him in manner before remembered. And therewith
 the Lords came downe, and the assembly dissolved
 for the most part sad, some with glad semblances,
 and yet not very merry, yea and some that came
 with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow,
 were faine at his backe to carrie their face to the wall,
 while the dolour of their heart harrit out of their
 eyes.

(59) On the next morrow, the Mayor with all
 the Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the City
 in their best array, assembling themselves together,
 repaired vnto *Baynards Caille* in *Thames* street, where
 the Protector lay. To which place repaired also
 according to their appointment, the Duke of
Buckingham, with diuers noble men with him, beside
 many Knights and other Gentlemen. And there-
 upon the Duke first went vnto the Lord Protector,
 of the being there of a great and honourable com-
 pany, to moue a great matter vnto his Grace: whe-
 reupon the Protector made difficultie to come out
 vnto them, but if hee first knew some part of their er-
 rand, as though hee doubted, and partly distrustful
 the coming of such a number vnto him so sodainly,
 without any warning, or knowledge whether
 they came for good or harme; then the Duke when
 hee had shewed this vnto the Maior and other, that
 they might thereby see, how little the Protector
 looked for this matter; they then sent vnto him by
 the Messenger such loosing message againe, and ther-
 with so humbly besought him to vouchsafe, that
 they might resort to his presence, to propole their
 intent, which they would not impart to any other
 person; that at the last hee came out of his cham-
 ber, and yet not downe vnto them, but stood aboue
 in a gallery ouer them, where they might see him &
 speake to him, as though hee would not yet come
 too neere them, till hee vnderstood what they meant.
 And thereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* first made
 humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them
 all, that his Grace would pardon them, and hence-
 ce them to propole vnto his Grace, the intent of their
 coming without his displeasure, without which
 pardon obtained, they durst not be so bold to moue
 him in their suite. In which albeit they meant as
 much honour to his Grace, as wealth to all the
 Realm beside; yet were they not sure how his Grace
 would take it, whom they would in no wise offend.
 Then the Protector (as he was very gentle of him-
 selfe

Scrimers a-
 bouted.

The Duke partly
 perceiued the
 Citizens.

The Lordmai-
 ors intent and
 resolution at
 Baynards
 Crosse.

Buckingham
 spake over his
 shoulder againe.

The round of
 flattery.

The Recorder
 commanded to
 speake to the
 people.

The great silence
 of the people.

The Duke spake
 twice more.

Protestors and
 supporters of
 the Duke
 at Richard.

The effect of
 the election
 seems by the
 face of the
 Assembly.

The Nobles and
 Citizens a-
 bout Baynards
 Caille.

The Protestors
 made it hard
 to speak with
 such a multitude.

Protestors dis-
 sent from
 the Protector
 and Buckingham.

selfe, and also longed fore to know what they meant) gaue him leaue to perouse what him liked, verily wrutling for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them would intend any thing to himward, wherewith hee ought to be grieved.

(60) When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waxed hee bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes mouing them therunto, as you haue heard before: and finally, to beseech his Grace, that it would like him of his accustomed goodness and teale vnto the realm now with his eye of pity, to behold the long continued distresse, and decay of the same, and to fer his grations hands to redresse an amendment thereof, hy taking vpon him the Crowne and government of the land according to his right and title lawfully descended vnto him, and to the law of God, profit of the Realme, and vnto his grace so much the more honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer Prince reigned ouer any people that were so glad to lue vnder his obediēce, as the people of this land vnder his.

(61) When the Protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat, and answered: That albeit it were, he partly knew the things by them alleged to be true, yet such intire loue he bare vnto King Edward and his children, that so much more he regarded his honour in other Realme about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desirous that he could not finde in his heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other Nations where the truth was not well knowne, it would peraduenture be thought, that it was his own ambitions minde and deuile, to depose the Prince, and to take him selfe the Crowne, with which infamie he would not haue his honour stained for anie Crowne, in which he had euer perceived much more labour and paine, then pleasure to him that would to vse it, as he that would not, were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding he not only pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, praying them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the Prince, vnder whom hee was, and would be content to line, and with his labour and counsell, as farre as should like the King to vse him, he would doe his vtermoost endeouore to set the Realme in good state, which was already in this little time of his Protectorship (the praise be giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before, occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now partly hy good pollicy, partly more hy Gods speciall prouidence, then mans prouision repressed.

(62) Vpon this answer giuen, the Duke by the Protector's licence, a little towne, as well with other noble men about him, as with the Maior and Recorder of London. And after that, vpon like pardon desired and obtained, he shewed aloud vnto the Protector for a final conclusion, that the Realme was at a point, King Edwards line should not any longer raigne ouer them, both for that they had so farre gone, as it was now no thirty to retreat, as for that they thought it was for the weale valuerfull to take that way, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore if it would like his grace to take the Crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseech him therunto, if he would giue them a resolute answer to the contrary, which they would be loth to heare, then must they needs secke, and would not faile to finde some other noble man that would.

These words much mored the Protector, which else as eery man may know, would neuer of likelihood haue inclined therunto. But when he saw there was none other way, but that either he must take it, or else he, and his both goe from it, he said vnto the Lords and commons.

(63) Sith wee well perceiue that all the Realme is so set, wherof we he very forry, that they will not suffer in any wise King Edwards line to gouerne them, whom he earthly man can gouerne against their wills, and well we also perceiue, that no man there is to whom the Crowne can hy iust title appertaine, as to our selfe, as vry right here lawfully begotten of the body of our most deare father Richard late Duke of Yorke, to which title is now loined your election, the Nobles and Commons of this Realme, which we of all title possible take for the most effectual: we be content, and agree fauourably to incline to your petition and request, and according to the same, we here take vpon vs the roiall estate, preheminance, and kingdome of the two noble realmes, England and France, the one from this day forward, hy vs and our heires, to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other hy Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and subdue, and establish for euer in due obedience vnto this Realme of England, the aduancement wherof we neuer ake of God longer to line, then we intend to procure. With this there was a great shoute, crying King Richard, King Richard. And then the Lords went vp to the King (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking discretely of the matter, eury man as his fantasie gaue him.

(64) Much was talked, and marvelled at the manner of this dealing, that the matter was made so strange vnto both parties, as though they neuer had commened either with others before, when as themselves with there was no man so dull that heard them, but perceived well enough, that all the matter was so made betwixt them. Howbeit, some excused that againe, and said all must be done in good order: And men must sometimes for manners like, not be acknowen what they know: for at the consecration of a Bishop, eury man woteth well, hy the paying for his bulles, that he purpoeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing else, and yet must he twice be asked, whether he will be a Bishop or no, and hee must twice say nay, and at the third time take it, as compelled therunto by his owne will. And in a Stage-play the people know right well, that he who plaith the Sowdaine, is perforce a sower, yet if one should know so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his owne name, while he standeth in his maiesty, one of his tomentors might hap to heare his head worthily for marring of the plaie.

(65) The chainge of this young King may well be accounted an interregnum without King, as well for his minoritye here vnder the rule of a Protector himselfe, as for the short time wherein he continued the name of a King, which onlie was two monethes and sixteene daies, and in them also hee sine vnto crowned without Scepter or ball, all which Richard aimed at, and perfidiously got, before they could come to his head, or into his hands. His age at the death of his father and entrance into his throne was eleven yeres five monethes and five daies, and within three monethes after, was with his brother smothered to death in the Tower of London, as shall be shewed in his Raigne, of whom we are now by order of succession to write.

The Protector
is usually ac-
counted the
Crown.

Discreet
of the people.

The Raigne
and age of King
Richard.

The Protector
is usually ac-
counted the
Crown.

The Protector
is usually ac-
counted the
Crown.

Richard's re-
gents and coun-
sellors the refusal.

Richard III.

**RICHARD THE THIRD, KING
OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND
LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SIXTH MO-
NARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, ISSVE AND DEATH**

Monarch 56

For the most part written by Sir Thomas Moore.



CHAPTER XIX.



Richard, the third sonne of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, born at *Fotheringhay* Castle in the County of *Northampton*, was first honoured with the title of *Glocester*, being the third Duke of that name, & consequently by usurpation crowned King of *Eng-*

land, the third of that name, a name indeed noted to the Kings so called, to be ever ominous; and the title of *Glocester* to those Dukes ever fatal, all of them both, dying violent and untimely deaths, which ought to have beene the more fearefull unto *Richard*, now having possession and interest in them both. But that not regarded, or desliny enforcing,

his aspiring mind gaue him no rest, till his restless body found it lastly in the grave. For his brother decaied when his life was most desired, no man to shew tooke his death so heauily as himselfe, or tendered the young King with a more honourable respect, when as (God knowes) his mind ronne vpon deepe reaches, how to compasse the weatch for his owne head; which the better to fushion, hee withdrew a while into the North, and at *Yorke* in most sad and solemne manner obserued the Funerals of the dead King: but howeouer the Maske covered this subtle Dokes face from the eie of the multitudes yet *Buckingham* how well knew the ambitious desire of his aspiring heart, and indeed was the *Dedalus* that made him the wings, wherewith he mooned to neere vnto the Son, as that the wax melting (like the high-minded young *Icarus*) he caught his last fall.

(a) What

All the *Richards* and *Dukes* of *Glocester* came to a untimely death.

Richard I. being with an arrowe shot at *Fontenoy*.
The *Windsor* has bene so doo.

1. as first made
2. as first made
3. as first made

Duke *Richard* suddenly came to the Crown.

The Duke of *Buckingham* the only ruler of the *Princel*.

(2) What intendments they had before the Kings death, is vncertaine, though it may be suspected: but sure it is, he now gone, the Duke of *Burgham* first solicited *Gloster* by his messengers in the North, met him at *Northampton* himselfe, accompanied him to *London* forwarded him in *Conseil*, and was the first Actor in this following tragedy. For, first making him Protector, procuring his young Nephew forth of *Sanctuary*, disabing the young King, balladizing them both, perwading the Citizens, working the Nobility: and all this done, so left the Crowne vpon crooke *Richards* head, and so moulded their minds vnto the man, as they all became humble petitioners vnto him for to accept of the same: who in the meane while had well coned his owne part, by profuse liberalitie, by passing great grauity, by singular affability, by mouldring of iustice, and by deepe and close deuises, whereby hee wonne to himselfe the hearts of all, but the Lawyers especially, so serued best his turn, which was so affected, that in the name of all the States of the Realme, a Petition was drawne and presented him to accept the wearing of the Crowne: the true copy whereof as we find it recorded in the Parliament Roll, we haue inserted, & is as followeth.

In Rotulo Parliamenti teniti apud Westm. die Veneris Proximo tertio die Ianuarij, in Regni Regis Richardi 3. primo inter alia continetur et sequitur.

Memorandum quod quondam bulla exhibita fuit coram Domno Rege in Parliamento predicto in hac verba:

Where late heretofore, that is to say, before the consecration, coronation, and inthronization of our foraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third, a roll of parchment containing in writing certaine Articles of the Tenor vnderwritten on the behalfe, and in the name of the three Estates of this Realme of *England*, that is to wite, of the Lords Spirituall & Temporall, and of the Commons by name, and diuers Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other Nobles and notable persons of the Commons in great multitude was presented and actually deliuered vnto our said Soueraigne Lord, the interur and effect exprest at large in the same roll: to the which Roll, and to the considerations, and instant petition comprised in the same, our said Soueraigne Lord for the publike weale and tranquility of this land benignely assented. Now forasmuch as neither the said three Estates, neither the said persons which in their name presented, and deliuered as it is aforesaid, the said Roll vnto our said Soueraigne Lord the King, were assembled in forme of Parliament, by reason whereof diuers doubts, questions, and ambiguities became moued, and engendered in the minds of diuers persons, as it is said: Therefore the perpetual memory of the truth, and declaration of the same, be it ordained, provided, and established in this present Parliament, that the Tenor of the said roll, with all the contents of the same, presented as is aforesaid, and deliuered to our foresaid Soueraigne Lord the King, in the name and in the behalfe of the said three Estates out of Parliament, now by the same three Estates assembled in this present Parliament, and by authority of the same be ratified, enrolled, recorded, approved, and authorized into remouing the occasions of doubts and ambiguities, and to all other lawfull effects that shall now thereof ensue: So that all things said, affirmed, specified, desired and remembered in the said roll, & in the tenor of the same vnderwritten in the name of the said 4 Estates, to the effect exprest in the same roll be of the like effect, vertue & force, as if al the same things had bin so said, affirmed, specified, desired & remembered in a full Parliament, and by authority of the same accepted & approved. The Tenor of the said Roll of parchment, wherof above is made mention, followeth, & is such.

*To the high and Mighty Prince
Richard Duke of Gloucester.*

Please it your noble Grace to vnderstand the consi-

derations, election and petition vnderwritten of vs, the Lords Spirituall & temporall, and Commons of this Realme of *England*, and therunto agreeably to giue your assent to the common and publike weale of this land, to the comfort and gladnesse of all the people of the same. First, we consider how that heretofore in time past, this land many yeers flood in great prosperity, honour, and tranquillitie, which was caused, forso much as the King then reigning, vied and followed the aduise and counsell of certaine Lords spiritiual and temporall, and other persons of approved fidelitie, prudence, policy, & experience, dreading God, and hating tender scale and affection to indifferent ministration of iustice, and to the common and publike weale of the land: Then our Lord God was doted, loued and honoured, then within the land was peace and tranquillity, and among neighbours concord and charity, then the malice of outward enemies was mightily resisted and repressed, and the land honourably defended with many great and glorious victories, then the intercourse of Merchants was largely vied and exercised: by which things about remembered, the land was greatly enriched, so that as well the Merchants and Artificers, as other poore people labouring for their linings in diuers occupations, had competent gaine to the sustentation of them & their households, lining without miserable and inolerable poeerty: but afterward, when that such as had the rule and gouernance of this land, delighting in adulation and flattery, and led by sensuality and concupiscence, followed the counsell of persons insolent, vicious, and of inordinate auarice, despising the counsell of good, vertuous, & prudent persons, such as above bee remembered, The prosperity of this land dayly decreased, so that felicity was turned into misery, and prosperity into aduersity, and the order of policy, and of the law of God and Man confounded, whereby it is likely this Realme to fall into extreme misery and desolation, which God defend, without due prouision of conuenient remedy bee had in this behalfe, in all goodly haile.

(3) Ouer this, among other things more speciall wee consider, how that the time of the reignes of *K. Edward* the fourth last decreased, after the vngariously pretended marriage (as all *England* hath cause so to say) made betwixt the said King *Edward*, and *Elizabeth* sometimes wife to *Sir John Grey* knight, late naming her selfe, and many yeeres heretofore Queene of *England*, the order of all politike rule was peruerced, the lawes of God, and of Gods Church, and also the lawes of nature, and of *England*, and also of the laudable customes and liberties of the same, wherein every English man is inheritor, broken, subuerted and contemned, against all reason and iustice, so that the land was ruled by selfe will and pleasure, feare and dread, all manner of equity and law laide apart and despised, whereof ensued many Inconueniences and mischiefs, as murders, extortions, and oppressions, namely of poore and impotent people, so that no man sure of his life, laud or liuelyhood, nor of his wife, daughter nor seruant, every good maiden and woman standing in dread to be rauished and deflowred: and besides this, what discords, inward battels, effusion of Christian mens blood, and namely, by the destruction of the Nobles bloud of this land, was had and committed within the same, it is euident and necessarie through all this Realme, vnto the great sorrow and heavinesse of all true Englishmen. And here also wee consider, how that the said pretended marriage betwixt the above named King *Edward* and *Elizabeth Grey* was made of great presumption without the knowing & assent of the Lords of this land, and also by force and witchcraft committed by the said *Elizabeth* and her mother *Isabel* Dutchesse of *Bedford*, as the common opinion of the people, and the publike voice and fame is through all this land: and hereafter if the cause shall require, shall be pro-

The forme of the petition exhibited vnto the King.

Five places vpon an issue presented.

Often how dull thou comest and art regarded.

Flattery seemed not how to report.

How our Prince rule to them approach when they are dead.

The Queene & her mother badly conducted.

Q q q q q ued

By Profit, Burgham as latest Successor.

The degrees by which the Protector ascended unto the throne.

The Protector forced to retire on the people of the Crown.

A Petition exhibited to the Protector to accept of the Crowne.

An Act of Parliament passed to establish *Richards* election.

All discontented way of King *Richards* election.

The petition of the large election made heretofore, and authorized by Parliament.

wed sufficiently in time and place convenient. And here also we consider how that the said pretended marriage was made privately and secretly without edition of banns in a private Chamber, a prophane place, and not openly in the face of the Church after the law of Gods Church, but contrary thereto, unto, and the laudable custome of the Church of England. And how also that at the time of contract of the same pretended marriage, and before and long time after the said King Edward was and should married, and troth-plight to one Dame Eleanor sister daughter of the old Earle of Hereford with whom the same Edward had made a precontract of Matrimonie long time before hee made the said pretended marriage with the said Elizabeth Grey, in manner and forme aforesaid: which Premises being true, as in very truth they be true: it appeareth, and followeth evidently, that the said King Edward during his life, and the said Elizabeth lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery against the law of God and of his Church: And therefore no marvell that the Sovereigne Lord and the head of this land being of such vngodly disposition, and prouoking the ire and indignation of our Lord God; such heinous mischiefe and inconueniences as are aboue remembered, were vied and committed in the Realme among the Subjects. Also it appeareth evidently and followeth, that all the Issue and children of the said King Edward, beeing bastard and vnable to inherit, or to claime any thing by inheritance, by the law and custome of England.

(4) Moreover, we consider how that afterwards by the three Estates of this Realme assembled in Parliament, holden at Westminster the 17. yeere of the reigne of the said King Edward the fourth, hee then being in possession of the Crowne and royall estate, by Act made in the same Parliament, George Duke of Clarence brother to the said King Edward now deceased, was conquered and attained of high treason, as in the same Act is contained more at large, by cause and reason whereof, all the Issue of the said George, was and is disabled and barred of all right and claime that in any case they might haue or challenge by inheritance to the Crowne and dignity royall of this Realme: by the ancient law and custome of this same Realme.

Over this we consider that yee be the vndoubted lome and heire of Richard late Duke of York, very inheritor of the sayd Crowne and dignity royall; and as in right King of England by way of Inheritance: and that at this time the premises duly considered there is none other person living, but yee only that by right may claime the said Crowne and dignity royall by way of inheritance, and how that yee be borne within this land; by reason whereof, as we deeme in our minde, yee be more naturally enclined to the proffertie and common weale of the same: and all the three estates of the Land haue and may haue more certaine knowledge of your birth and filiation aforesaid. We consider also the great wit, prudence, iustice, princely courage, and the memorable and laudable acts in diuers battels, which as wee by experience know you heretofore haue done, for the saluation and defence of this same Realme; and also the great noblenesse & excellencie of your birth and blood, as of him that is descended of the three most royall houses in Christendome: that is to say, England, France and Spain. Wherefore these premises by vs diligently considered, we desiring effectually the peace, tranquillitie and weale publicke of this Land, and the reduction of this same to the ancient honourable estate and prosperitie, and hauing in your great prudence, iustice, princely courage, and excellent vertue, singular confidence, haue chosen in all that in vs is, and by this our writing choole you High and Mightie Prince our King and Soueraigne Lord, &c. To whom we know for certaine it appertaineth of inheritance to be chosen. And herewith we humbly desire, pray, and require your

most noble Grace, that according to this election of vs the three estates of this Land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take vpon you the sayd Crowne and royall dignitie, with all things thereto annexed and appertaining, as to you of right belonging aswell by inheritance as by lawfull election: and in case yee lo doe, we promise to serue and assist your Highnesse, as true and faithful subjects, and liegemen; and to liue and die with you in this matter, and in every other iust quarrel. For certaine, we be determined rather to adventure & commit vs to the perill of our liues, and teopardie of death, then to liue in such thraldome and bondage as wee haue liued long time heretofore oppressed and injured by emotions and newe impositions against the Law of God and man, and the liberte, old policie and Lawes of this Realme, wherein every Englishman is inherited. Our Lord God, King of all Kinges, by whose infinite goodnesse and eternal prouidence all things beeing principally gouerned in this world; lighten your soule, and grant you grace to doe aswell in this matter as in all other, that may be according to his will and pleasure, and to the common and publicke weale of this Land: so that after great clouds, trouble, stormes, and tempests, the Sun of Iustice and of Grace may shine vpon vs, to the comfort and gladnesse of all true-hearted Englishmen. Albeit, that the right, title, & estate, which our Soueraigne Lord the King, Richard the third hath to, and in the Crowne, and royall dignitie of this Realme of England; with all things thereto within the same Realme, and without it vniued, annexed & appertaining, bin iust and lawfull as grounded vpon the lawes of God and of nature: and also vpon the ancient lawes and laudable customes of this said Realme; and so taken and reputed by all such persons as beene learned in the aforesaid lawes and customes: Yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as it is considered, that the most part of the people is not sufficiently learned in the aforesaid Lawes and customes, whereby the truth & right in this behalfe of likelihood may be hid and not clearly knowne to all the people, & the question put in doubt and question. And ouer this, how that the Court of Parliament is of such authoritie, and the people of this Land of such a nature and disposition, as experience teacheth that manifestation and declaration of any truth or right made by the three estates of this Realme assembled in Parliament, and by the authority of the same maketh before all other things most feith and certaine, and quietting of mens minds, remoueth the occasion of all doobers, and seditious language. Therefore at the request, and by the assent of the three estates of this Realme; that is to say, the Lords spirituall and temporall, and Commons of this Land assembled in this present Parliament, by authority of the same be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our said Soueraigne Lord the King was, and is the very vndoubted King of this Realme of England, with all things thereto within the same Realme, and without it vniued, annexed, and appertaining aswell by right of Consanguinity, and inheritance, as by lawfull election, consecration, and coronation. And ouer this, that at the request, and by the assent and authority aforesaid, be it ordained, enacted and established, that the said Crowne and royall dignity of this Realme, and the inheritance of the same, and all other things thereto within the Realme or without, is vniued, annexed, and now appertaining, rest and abide in the person of our said Soueraigne Lord the King during his life, and after his decease, in his heires of his body begotten; and in especiall at the request, and by assent and authority aforesaid, be it ordained, enacted, established, pronounced, decreed, and declared, that the high and excellent Prince Edward, son of our said Soueraigne Lord the King, be heires apparent of the same our Soueraigne Lord the King to succeed to him in the aforesaid Crowne and royall dignity,

Edward succeeded to have been conuicted in the Lady Eleanor Butler.

The tongue of flint is a sharp arrow.

They haue taught their tongue to speak lies, Ps. 51.

George Duke of Clarence and his heires made vnable to the crowne.

As he is this day as he yet was deformed, but both made good by the grace of Parliament.

George while that he liued here, should be long forth to lead a branch.

All promises were not kept, as affirmed in promise.

The Lord our God is a consuming fire, Deut. 4. 24.

A charitable mind is like, but in truth a costly mine.

The effect of the English Parliament.

The Crown enailed to King Edward and his heires.

Prince Edward made heires apparent by Parliament.

dignity, with all things as is aforesaid therunto annexed, and appertaining, to have them after the decease of our said Soueraigne Lord the King, to him, and to his heires of his body lawfully begotten.

Quia quidem Bulla Communibus Regni Angli in dicto Parlamento existent, transportata fuit. Cui quidem bulla quidem Communibus offerimus suum praebeant sub huius verbis. A Caste helle les Communnes fuit affecta. Quibus quidem bulla, & assensu eorum Dominus Rex in Parlamento praedicto lectis, auditis, & plenius intellectis de assensu Communium spiritum, & temporalium in dicto Parlamento summis existent, ac Communitatis praedictae, per non autoritate eiusdem Parliamenti promouimus, decretum, & declaratum existit, omnia & singula in bulla praedicta contenta fore vera & indubia. At idem Dominus Rex de assensu dilectorum trium Statuum Regni, & auctoritate praedictae, omnia & singula promissa in bulla praedicta, contenta cunctis, ac eo pro vera & indubia pronouimus, decretum & declarat.

(1) Their things I have laid forth more at large out of the Parliament Roll, that ye may vnderstand both what and how great matters, the power of a Prince, the outward show of vertue, the wily fetches of Lawyers, fawning bowe, peniue feare, desire of change, and goodly pretences are able to effect, in that most wise assembly of all the States of a Kingdom, even against all law and right, so that the saying of *Salomon* in this State seemed most true that *to buye dayes is better then to deaden*. But this *Richard* is not to be accounted worthy to have been a Soueraigne, had not beene a Soueraigne as *Galus* was reputed; who, when he was a Soueraigne, deceived all mens expectation; but most worthy in deede of Soueraigne, had hee not bene transported with ambition (which blasted all his good parts) by lewde practises, and by mischievous means, made foule way therunto: for that by the common consent of all that are wise, he was reckoned in the ranke of bad men, but of good Princes; as indeed *King Richard* through his short time of raigne is accounted to haue bene.

(6) The Crown and Scepter accepted as is said, *King Richard* vpon the twentie fifth of *June*, went in great pompe vnto *Westminster* hall, and there in the Kings Bench Court took his Seat, saying, that he would take vpon him the Crowne in that place, where the King himselfe ought to sit, whose chiefe duty was to administer Iustice to his people, and with a pleasing Oration so tickled the eares of his Auditors, that he killed the rursell to thinke that his like had neuer raigned in *England*; and so begonne himselfe with a pretended clemency, he pronounced pardon of all offences committed against him; for confirmation whereof, hee sent for one *Fogge* whom hee deadly hated, who for feare of him had lately taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, and there in sight of the people with semblance accordingly, took him by the hand saying, that hee would bee thenceforth his assured in affection; wherat the Commons greatly reioyced, and with applauses extolled, though others wiser among them rooke it to bee but faised to serue his owne turne. And in his way homeward, whomsoever hee met, hee saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe to bee guiltie, is in a manner directed to a seruile flattery.

(7) *King Richard* whose guilty heart was full of suspicion, had sent for three thousand Souldiers out of the North to bee present in *London* at his Coronation; thefe vnder the leading of *Robin of Biskdale*, came vp both euill apparelled, and worke harnessed, in rually Armour, neither defensible for prooffe, nor feared for thefe: who mustering in *Finsburie* Fields, were with disdain gazed vpon by the beholders. But all things now ready for his Coronation (and much the sooner in that young *Edwards* prouision was conferred vpon his) vpon the fourth of *July*, he with his wife by water came

to the Tower, where he created Estates, ordained the Knights of the *Bathe*, set at liberty the Archbishops of *York*, and the Lord *Stanley*, mote for feare then for loue, whose sonne the Lord *Strange* was then said to be gathering of men in *Lancashire*, whete those Lords haue great command.

(8) But *Mortimer* Bishop of *Ely* a firme man vnto *King Edward*, and vnpossiblet to bee drawn vnto the dissembling of his children, as was well perceived by the Protector, among others, at the Council held in the Tower, was left there prisoner, and accused of many great, but vnlikely treasons. This man borne in *Derbyshire*, and brought vp in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, was from a Doctor of the *Artes* made a priuy Councellour vnto *King Henry*, and after his death althard by *King Edward* to lueue him, was sworn likewise of this Council, and made one of the Executors of his will: whose insight into the intended designs, the Protector much feared, and therefore hauing him fast minded too to keepe him, when hee released others laide in the Tower for the like feare. But the reuerence of the man, or vnderstanding of his wrongs, moued so the affection of the *Oxford* *Academians*, that they directed to the King (who professed much lone to that Vniuersitie) a petytory latine Epistle, no lesse eloquent & pithy, then circumspect and wary, wherein they thus pleaded for his liberty.

(9) Though many important motives we haue most Christian King, earnestly to commend to your princely clemency, the Reuerend Father in *Christ*, the Lord Bishoppe of *Ely*, as being not only one of the most eminent Sonnes of our Vniuersity, but also a singular Patrone and indulgent Father to vs all; yet could not these inducements (howe soeuer very ponderous with all grasse, fit mindes) perswade vs to become intercessors for his pardon, but euer with due regard both to your owne honour and safety; the great necessity of your princely fauours hauing more obliged vs, then of any your royall Predecessors; whilst therefore we stood in some doubt, how we should affected to your Highness, we held it an high offence, if by tendering his safety, we should any way hazard yours: but now vnderstanding, that his offence proceeded, not of petycacy, but humane frailty; and that hee hath alwayes humbly sued for pardon thereof, the bowels of our most vniuersitary, like *Rachel* weeping ouer her Children were moued with compassion ouer the deplored distress of this her deereft sonne; where in yet (as wee hope) her affection deserues no full reprehension. For if a pious affection be prayse-worthy, euen an enemy, much more is it in this our Academy, full of due obseruance towards your Majesty, and professing the study of all vertues. These things so being, we thought fite, (without longer delayes) to flie vnto your clemency, as humble Suppliants, that your Highness already hauing in part inflicted (though mildly) some chastisement on his fault would turn your royal aspect towards him, & impart to him the bounty of your gracious clemency; wherein, you shal not only performe an act most acceptable to him, to vs, and the whole Church, but very honourable & aduantageous also (as we hope) to your own person. For, vpon notice of the readynesse of so great a Prelate into your grace, who is there, that will not extoll with prayes vnto the skies your so great, and euen diuine clemency? Thus glorified the Romans, to haue it marshalled amongst their prayes, that *Salustiane* wights they spared, but strait the proud; and this also they challenged as their peculiar honour, that they were readier to remit, then to reuenge wrongs. Now if you will aspire to this high honour, (as easily you may, by being gracious to this man) you shal surmount the Romans themselves by so glorious a deed. As for the great benefite which may hereby accrue to your

A.D. 1483.
Scene acted
by R. Richard.

As Henry or Henry

By English, Omen, 1483.

A letter written
for the Wives
of Edward
the fourth
of March.

* Digit.
Parvum Subditum,
Ch. 1483.

What cannot the
Parliament ef-
fect, where all
goe vnto the
way of time.

Book 4.

King Richard
the young Prince,
had a Subtle,
but a good
Prince.

King Richard
accepteth the
Crown, and
beginneth his
reigne with
great applauses.

The new Kings
clemency and
affability.

R. Richard's de-
siring a double
Confidenc.

The Northmen
sent for in the
Kings Comma-
tion.

John Mortimer,
Counsaillor.

"your highnes, albeit(as we suppose) we can suffici-
"endly conceite thereof, especially if wee call to
"minde his singular vertues; yet had we rather leaue
"that point wholly to, your secret considerations,
"then pursue it with a discourse tedious to you, and
"enue-breeding to him: least happily by iustifying
"in his praises, it may be thought, that we seeke ra-
"ther by violence to extort, then by submissiuenes to
"beg his pardon, and ur selfe to relie more on the
"greatnesse of his vertues, then of your Clemency, or
"lastly to appeale rather to your iustice, then to
"your mercy. Wherefore (most puissant Prince)
"thus perswade yout selfe of vs, that whatsoever
"we haue spoken in the Bishops behalfe, we doe it
"rather out of a feale of our dutifalnes then any dif-
"fidency of your Graciuolnes: and therefore omit-
"ting all things which might be alleaged, either to
"lessen his offence or augment his vertues: it is your
"sole mercy wherein we repose all our hopes; vow-
"ing, howsoever other meanes of grauitude may be
"wanting to vs, yet we shall neuer suffer the remem-
"brance of so great a fauour conferred on vs to be
"extinguished amongst vs.

(10) King Richard, after this, intending some easi-
"er restraint, though not liberty vnto the Bishop,
"was content to release him out of the Tower, and
"committed him to the custody of Henry Duke of Be-
"ckingham, who sent him to his Castle of Breckmoke
"in Wale, there safely to be kept, vntill himselfe should
"come thither.

(11) The next day with great pompe, state and
"attendance of the Nobility, the King rode through
"London, so as a more royall had not bene scene at an-
"ny Kings Coronation for there attended him, three
"Dukes, nine Earles, two Vicounts, twenty Lords, fiftie
"eighth Knights, all of them most richly furni-
"shed, whereof the Duke of Buckingham so farre ex-
"ceeded, that the caprison of his horse was so charg-
"ed with embroydered worke of gold, as it was born
"vp from the ground by certaine his footmen thereto
"appointed. And contrary to my owne affections,
"or manner of my former proceedings, I will yet con-
"tinue the most honorable offices performed at his
"royall enthroning with no little Admiration, how
"these Lords assembled to set the Crowne vpon the
"young Princes head, were so suddainly carried to
"Crowne his Protector, and that vpon such false and
"slandorous pretences, as euery one of them saw his
"title to be merely an vnjust vlturpation, but in them
"may be scene, that we are all the issues of Adam,
"and in times of extremities, foreshew all possible re-
"gard, as ouermuch fearing our priuate and present
"estate.

(12) Vpon the sixt of Iuly, King Richard with
"Queene Anne his wife set forth from White-hall to-
"wards Westminster, royally attended, and went into
"the Kings bench in the great hall, from whence him-
"selfe and Queen vpon ray Cloth, both of them bare-
"footed, went vnto King Edwards shrine in Saint Pe-
"ters Church, all the Nobility going with him in
"their degree, the trumpets and Heraulds marshalling
"the way, the Crosse with a solemne procession fol-
"lowed, the Priests in fine surplices and gray Antyffes
"vpon them, the Bishops and Abbots in rich Copes
"all of them myrted, and carrying their Crosses in
"their hands; next came the Earle of Huntingten bea-
"ring a paire of gilt spures signifying Knight hood; af-
"ter whom came the Earle of Bedford, who bare Saint
"Edwards staffe for a Relique, then followed the Earle
"of Northumberland with a naked pointed sword in his
"hand betokening mercy, next whom the Lord Stan-
"ley bare the Mace of the Constableness, vpon whose
"right hand the Earle of Kent bare a naked pointed
"sword, and on his left hand the Lord Camell the like
"naked pointed sword, the former signifying iustice to-
"wards the temporality, & the other iustice to the Clergy;
"the Duke of Suffolke then followed with the Scepter,
"which signified Peace: the Earle of Lincoln bare the
"Ball and Crosse which signified a Mercie: Then

came the Earle of Surrey bearing the fourth sword
"sheathed in a rich scaberd, and is called the sword of
"Estate, next whom followed Garter King at Armes,
"vpon whose right hand went the Gentleman Vtcher
"of the Kings priuy Chamber, and on his left the
"Lord Maior of London, with a Mace in his hand;
"Next vnto whom went the Duke of Norfolke bearing
"the Kings Crowne betwix his hands, and then King
"Richard himselfe came, in a Sarvate and Robe of pur-
"ple velvet; having ouer his head a Canopie borne by
"the foure Barons of the five Ports, the Bishop of
"Bath on his right hand, and of Durham on his left.
"The Duke of Buckingham bare the Kings traine, and
"to signifye the office of high Steward of England, he
"bare a White Staffe in his hand.

(13) Then followed the Queenes traine: before
"whom was borne the Serpiter, the turke Red with the
"Dome, and the Crowne, her selfe appareled in Robes
"like the Kings vnder a rich Canapie, at euery corner
"thereof a bell of gold. On her head there were a cir-
"clar set full of precious stones, the Countesse of Rich-
"mond bearing her traine; the Dutchesse of Norfolke
"and Suffolke in their Coronets attendants, with many
"Ladies of estate most richly attired. In this order
"they passed the Pallace into the Abbey, and ascend-
"ing to the high Altar there shifed their Robes,
"and having other Robes open in diuers places from
"the middle upward, were both of them anointed and
"Crowned, he with Saint Edwards Crowne, ha-
"ving the Serpiter deliuered into his left hand, and
"the Ball with the Crosse a token of Monarchie in his
"right, the Queene had a Scepter given into her right
"hand, and the lory Doue in her left, then after the
"Sacrament receiued (having the host deuiled be-
"twixt them) they both offered at Saint Edwards
"shrine, where the King left his Crowne and put on
"his owne; and thus done, in the lame Order and
"Seate as they came, returned to Westminster hall,
"and there held a most Princely feast. Whereof let Hall
"and Graffam tell you for me.

(14) But this his faire Sunne was some ouer-
"cast with many darke Cloudes and mischiefs, which
"fell thicke vpon the necke of each other, for as the
"thing euill gotten, is neuer well kept; through all the
"time of his raigne there neuer ceased death and
"slaughter, till his owne destruction ended it. Yet as
"he finished his daies with the best death, and the
"most tighteous, that is to say, his owne: so began he
"with the most piteous and wicked, I meane the la-
"mentable murder of his innocent Nephewes, the
"young King and his tender brother, whose deaths
"and small misfortunes haue neuertheless come so
"farre in question, that some remaine yet in doo-
"be, whether they were in his daies destroyed or no. Not
"for that only, that Perkins Warbeck by the malice of
"many, and the folly of more, so long a time abusing
"the world, was asured with Princes, as the other poore
"people, reputed and taken for the younger of these
"two: but for that also as all things were in late daies
"so cooerly demeaned, one thing pretended and ano-
"ther done, that there was nothing so plaine and o-
"penly proued, but for the common custome and
"close couert dealing, men had it euery inwardly in
"suspect, as many well counterfeit Jewels make the
"true mistrust. Howbeit concerning the opinion
"with the occasions moouing either party, we shall
"haue place more at large hereafter to intreat of: in
"the meane time for this present matter shall be re-
"hearsed the dolorous end of these young Babes, not
"after euery report I haue heard, but by such men,
"and by such meanes, as to my seeming it were hard
"that it should be true saith Sir Thomas More.

(15) King Richard presently after his mockish Eleasor
"glorious Coronation, made his progresse towards
"Gloucester, to shew (as was thought) in that City his
"new Kingly estate, which first had vouchsafed him
"his old honour in beating her Title, or else, and that
"rather, to bequestred from other busines, the better
"to attend that, vpon which his thoughts most busily

The order of the
Queens pro-
ceedings to re-
cure the crown.

The King and
Queene jointly
anointed and
crowned.

St Thomas
Aquinas.

The time of King
Richards reign
full of calamities.

Doubts made of
the new Princes
desires.

King Richard
progresse to-
wards Gloucester.

at Gressy in
the life of S. Maria
Magdalena.

At Gressy in
the life of S. Maria
Magdalena.

The great estate
of King Richard
at coronation.

Buckingham most
richly attired at
the kings cor-
onation.

The order of the
Kings proce-
dings to be
described.

Rich. Graffam.

ranne. For albeit the Barke of his begynne adventures, had without perill well passed the straightes, and now got sea-roume to spread saile at will; yet being vnder gale, and at fortunes dispose, he feared the gullt of euery wind: at leastwise suspected that his young Nepheues liuing would stay the course of his deeper reaches, as doth the little fish *Remora*, who boldeth (as at Anchor) the biggest shippe vnder saile. His inward study therefore still forged, howeuer his outward countenance was carried to cleare his passage by taking those dangerous lets away, well knowing, that his little Nepheues enjoying their liues, men would be meddling with their downe cast cause, and account him an vniurper without all right to the Realme. To stop which stream, no other course could hee find, but to cut off the current by which it ranne, as though the killing of his Kindmen could better his bad claime, or vnkindly murder make him a kindly King. But being reioiced, he forthwith sent one *Iohn Greene* a lieutenant in especiall trust vnto *Sir Robert Brakenbury* Constable of the Tower, with a letter of credence, that the same *Sir Robert* should in any wise put the two children to death.

(16) This *Greene* thus posted to London, deliuered his errand vnto *Brakenbury*, whom hee found kneeling at his Orizons before the Image of our Lady in the Tower, the businesse being of such weight as the King must be serued before hee had called with his Saint. The Constable reading the letter, and perceiving the bloody intent of the King, answered plainly, he would neuer put those innocent bribes vnto death, to die therefore himselfe. With which answer *Iohn Greene* returning, recounted the same to King *Richard* being at *Warwick*, yet in his way to *Gloster*, wherewith he was marvellously perplexed, and thereto took such displeasure, that the same night hee said to a secret Page of his: *As in how shall a man trust? those that I haue brought up my selfe, those that I had trusted would most surely serue me even those false me, and at my commandment will do nothing.* Sirquoth the Page, there lyeth one on your Pallier without, that I dare well say, to doe your Grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that hee would refuse; meaning this by *Sir James Tirrell*, who was a man of a goodly personage, and for Nature's gifts worthy to haue reioiced a much better Prince, if he had well serued God, and by grace obtained as much trust and good will, as hee had strength and wit.

(17) The man had an high heart, and fore longed vpward, not rising yet so fast as hee hoped, being hindred and kept vnder by the means of *Sir Richard Ratcliffe*, and *Sir William Catesby*, who longing for no more partners of the Princes fauour, and namely, not for him, whose pride they knew would beare no Peere, kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust, which thing this Page had well marked and known: wherefore this occasion offered of very speciall friendship, hee took his time to put him forward, and by such wife to doe him good, that all the enemies hee had, except the *Dinell* himselfe could neuer haue done him so much hurt. For vpon this Pages words, *K. Richard* arose (for this communication had hee sitting at the draught, a convenient Carpet for such a Counsell) and came out into a Pallier-Chamber, where hee found in bed, *Sir James* and *Sir Thomas Tirrell*, of persons much like, and brethren in blood, but nothing of kin in conditions: Then said the King merrily to them, what Sire, be ye in bed so loose and calling vp *Sir James*, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischievous matter, in which hee found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow hee sent him to *Brakenbury* with a letter, by which hee was commanded to deliuer *Sir James* all the keyes of the Tower for one night, to the end hee might accomplish there the Kings pleasure in such things as hee had giuen him in commandment. After which letter deli-

uered, and the keyes received, *Sir James* appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, devising before and preparing the means.

(18) The Prince in the Tower slenderly attended, and altogether neglected by the Nobility, lailly, had news that his vnkle had left the name of Protector, and taken vpon him the Title of King, who with full content of the Lords was to be crowned within a few daies following, with the same Crowne, and in the like estate as had bene provided for his solemnity, whereto the detected innocent sighted and said, *Alas! I would my vnkle would let mee enioy my life yet, though I lose both my Kingdome and Crowne.* Which words hee pronounced with such a feeling force, as much moued the Relator to pity, and to perfwade him with the best comfort hee could: but forthwith the Prince and his brother were both shut vp, and all attendants removed from them, onely one called *Black-will*, or *William Slaughter* excepted, who was left to serue them, and see them fare. After which time the Prince neuerited his points, nor cared for himselfe, but with that young Babe his brother lingered with thought and heavinesse, till their traitorous deaths deliueied them out of that wretchednelle: for the execution wherof, *Tirrell* appointed *Atiles Ferrell*, one of the foure that kept them, a fellow flattered in murder before time. To whom hee ioined one *Iohn Dighton* his bookekeeper, a bigger boord, square kane.

(19) About midnight (all others being removed from them,) this *Atiles Ferrell*, and *Iohn Dighton*, came into the Chamber, and suddenly wrapped vp the seely children in the Bed-clothes, where they lay keeping by force the feather-bed and pillows hard vpon their mouths that they were therein smothered to death, & gave vp to God their innocent soules into the ioues of heauen, leaving their bodies vnto the Tormentors dead in the bed: which after these monstrous wretches perceived, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lying still to be thorowly dispatched, they laid their bodies naked out vpon the bed, and then fetched *Sir James* their inligator to see them, who caused these murderers to bury them at the staires foot, somewhat deepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones. Then rod *Sir James* in halbe to the King, vnto whom hee shewed the manner of their death, and place of buriall, which newes was so welcome to his wicked heart, as hee greatly reioiced, and with great thanks deliued (as some hold) this his mercuries instrument, knight. But the place of their buriall hee liked not, saying, that vile corner should not containe the bodies of those Princes, his Nepheues, & commanded them a better place for buriall, because they were the sons of a King. Wherupon the Priest of the Tower tooke vp the bodies; and secretly interred them in such place, which by the occasion of his death could neuer since come to light.

(20) The continuor of *Iohn Harding* tells vs from the report of others, that King *Richard* caused *Sir Robert Brakenbury* Priest to close their dead corpes in lead, and so to put them in a coffin full of holes, and hooked at the ends with two bookes of iron, and so to call them into a place called the Blacke-deepes at the *Thames* mouth, whereby they should neuer rise vp, or be any more scene. Wherefore they were buried, thus they died, and by these murderers. For very certaine it is, and well knowne, that at such time, as *Sir James Tirrell* was in the Tower, for Treason committed against King *Henrie* the seventh, both *Dighton* and hee were examined, and confessed the murder in manner as is said, but whether their bodies were removed they could not say. And thus as I haue learned of them that knew much, and little cause had to lie, were these two noble Princes, these innocent tender children, borne of most iust blood, brought vp in great wealth, likely to haue liued, to haue reigned, and ruled in the Realme, by traitorous tyranny taken, deprived of their states, shortly thus

The words of Prince Edward when he heard that his vnkle should be King.

The faithful seruice of the Prince removed from him.

Sir Th. More.

Prince Edward and his brother smothered in a feather-bed.

Their bodies were buried vnder a heap of stones.

The body of the two Princes removed, and buried on some knowes where.

Hardings continuor.

The murderers confessed the deed, and nature of their death.

The report of Sir Th. More.

See also in the next chapter.

Remora a little fish, is reported to haue such strength, as it will stay the course of any ship vnder saile.

The fear of K. Richard.

King Richard commends the death of his Nepheues.

King Richard his letter to Sir Robert Brakenbury.

Sir Robert Brakenbury answers vnto Iohn Greene.

King Richards complaint of ingratitude.

James Tirrell made the last, man of murder.

The report of Sir James Tirrell.

King Richard would not vouch his Nepheues in murder, sitting on a heavenly seat.

Sir James ready to hold the keyes vnto the murder of the Princes.

The execution
of King Richard.

God's justice and
vengeance upon
the murderers.

In Bedding.
Arrangement of mur-
der capital.

The guilty con-
science of King
Richard.

Outward en-
emy sets against
King Richard.

The forward-
ness of the
Duke of Rich-
mond towards
the Duke of Glo-
cester.

The Duke of
Buckingham falls
in with King
Richard.

The occasion of
the Kings and
Dukes falling a-
broad.

Richmond failed
himself to
attend King
Richard.

vp in prison and impiously murdered, and the body cast on God wot where, by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle, and his hellish Tormentors. Which things on every part well pondered; God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in what vnsurety standeth this worldly weale, or what mischiefeth worketh the proud enterprise of an high heart, or finally, what wretched end ensueth such barbarous crueltie.

(20) For first to begin with the Ministers, *Miles Forrester* and *S. Martin*, peace-meale rotted away; *Sir James Tyrrell* died at Tower hill for treason. *Deighton* indeed walketh on alive in good possibility to be hanged ere he die, lying at *Calow* no lesse distained and hated then pointed at of all. King *Richard* himselfe as ye shall hereafter heare, was slaine in the field, hacked and bewed of his enemies hands, carried on horsebacke dead, his haire in despite torne and tugged like a Curie dogge: and the mischiefeth that he tooke was within lesse then three yeres of the mischiefeth that he did, and yer all the meane time spent in much paine and trouble outward, and much feare, anguish, and sorrow within. For I haue heard by credible report of such as were secret with his Chamberlaine, that after this abominable deed done, he neuer had quiet in his minde: he neuer thought himselfe sure: but where he went abroad, his eies ener-whirled about, his body priuily fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance & manner like one alwaies ready to strike againe, he tooke threst a nights, lay long waking and musing, fore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbered then slept, troubled with fearful dreames, suddainly sometimes start vp, leapt out of his Bed, and ranne about the chamber, so was his restlesse heart continually tossed and combled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed. Neither had he in his best, any time of quiet, for immediately began the conspiracy (or rather good consideration) between the Duke of *Buckingham*, and diuers other Gentlemen against him.

(21) Which Duke alsoone as *Glocester* vpon the death of King *Edward* came to *York*, sent thither in secret wise a trusty seruante of his, named *Perisall*, to assure him, that he would take his part in this his new world, and if need were, would waite vpon him with a thousand good-fellowes: and againe sent offers of the like vnto *Nottingham*, whither the Protector from *York*, with many Gentlemen of the *North* Countrey was come, and on his way to *London* ward in secret manner met him himselfe, but at *Northampton* openly with three hundred horsemen from thence still continued with him, being a partner of all his deuises, till that after his coronation they departed (as it seemed) very great friends at *Glocester*: first whence as soone as the Duke came home, he so lightly turned from him, and so highly conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And surely the occasion of their variance is of diuers men diuersely reported: Some haue said, that the Duke a little before the Coronation, among other things, required of the Protector, the Duke of *Hereford* Lands, to the which he pretended himselfe inheritor. And forasmuch as the Title which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title of the Crowne, by the line of King *Henry* before deperied, the Protector conceived such indignation, that he reiecteth the Dukes request, with many spightfull and minatory wordes, which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke a right on King *Richard*, but ever feared his owne life, so farre forth, that when the Protector rode through *London* towards his Coronation, he fained himselfe sicke, because he would not ride with him: And the other taking it in euill part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him to be carried. Whereupon hee rode on with an euill will, and that notwithstanding on the morrow rode from

the Feint, faining himselfe sick, wherent King *Richard* said, it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say, that euer after continually each of them liued in such hatred and distrust of other, as the Duke verily looked to haue bene murdered at *Glocester*: from which neighbourhood he in faire manner deperied. But surely some right secret at this day denie this: and many right wise men thinke it valikely (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that greene world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood, if he fell once in suspicion of the Tyrant) that either the Protector would giue the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust. And verily men thinke, that if King *Richard* had any such conceived opinion, he would neuer haue suffered the Duke to haue escaped his hands.

(22) The very truth is, *Buckingham* was an high minded man, and could euill beare the glory of another; so that I haue heard of some that say it, that the Duke at such time as the Crowne was first set vpon the Protectors head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but writhed his face another way. But men say, that hee was of such not well at ease which to King *Richard* was well knowne, and nothing ill taken, nor any demand of the Dukes vnconsciously reiecteth, but he both with great gifts and high benefits in most losing and trustie manner, departed at *Glocester*. But soone after his coming home to *Brecknock*, having there in custody by the commandement of King *Richard*, Doctor *Martin* Bishop of *Ely*, who (yee before heard) was taken in the counsell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar: whose wisdom abused his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the Dukes destruction.

(23) This Bishop was a man of great naturall wit, very well learmed, and honourable in behaviour, lacking no wise waies to winne fauour: he had been fast vpon the part of King *Henry*, while that part was in wealth; and notwithstanding left it not, nor forsooke it in woe, but staid the Realme with the Queen & the Prince, while King *Edward* had *Henry* in prison, and neuer came home but to the field. After which lost, and that side vtterly subdued, the other for his fast faith and wisdom not only was content to receiue him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thence forth both in great secret trust, and very special fauour, which he nothing deueiled. For he being (as you haue heard) after King *Edward* death, first taken by the Tyrant for his truth to the King, found the meanes to set this Duke in his top, joined Gentlemen together in aide of King *Henry*, deuiling first the marriage between him and King *Edward* daughter: by which his faith, he declared the good seruice to both his masters at once, with infinite benefit to the Realme, by the coniunction of those two bloods in one; whose seuerall titles had long time disquieted the Land, hee fled the Realme, went to *Rome*, neuer minding more to meddle with the world, till the noble Prince King *Henry* the seventh got him home againe, made him Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Chancellor of *England*, wherunto the Pope ioined the honour of a Cardinal. Thus liuing many dayes in as much honour, as one man might well wish, ended then so godly, that his death with Gods mercy, well changed his life.

(24) This man therefore, as I was about to tell you by the long and often alternate prooffe, swell of prosperitie as aduersie fortunes, had gotten by great experience (the very mother or mistress of Wisdom) a deepe insight in policie worldly drifts. Whereby perceiuing now this Duke glad to commune with him, fed him with laire wordes, and many pleasant praises. And perceiuing by the proceffe of their communication, the Dukes pride now and then baile out a little bread of enuy, towards the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out, if the matter were well handled: hee craftily sought

The feares of the
Duke of Bucking-
ham.

No such fauour
on betwixt the
King and the
Duke as was said
to be.

Sir Thomas More
opinion of Buck-
ingham.

The diuers opi-
nions of the
King and Dukes
falling out.

The flattery of
Bishop Martin.

Martin wooed
vnto King Ed-
ward's fall.

The union of
Lancaster and
York left in us
by Bishop Mar-
tin.

Martin made
Archbishop of
Canterbury, Lord
Chancellor, and
Cardinal.

His wisdom
and experience.

The deepe poli-
cy of B. Martin.

sought the wayes to picke him forward, taking alwayes the occasion of his coming, and keeping himselfe so close within his bounds, that hee rather seemed to follow then to leade him. For when the Duke first began to praise & boast of the King, and shew how much professe the Realme should take by his raigne; *Mortou* answered thus: Surely my Lord, folly it were for me to lye, for if I would sweare the contrary, your Lordship would not ween I beleuee, but that if the world would haue gone, as I could haue wished, King *Henries* son had had the Crowne, and not King *Edward*. But after that God had ordered him to lose it, and King *Edward* to raigne, I was neuer so mad, that I would with a dead man strive against a quicke. So was I to King *Edward* a faithfull Chaplaine, and glad would haue bene, that his child should haue succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret iudgement of God haue otherwise provided, I purpose not to dispute against the pnce, nor labor to set vp, that God putteth downe. And as for the late protector and now King, and euen there he left saying, that hee had already medled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his Booke and his Beades, and no further.

(24) Then longed the Duke fore to heare what he would haue said, because he ended with the king, and there so suddainly stopped, and exhorted him so familiarly betweene them twaine, to be bolde to say whatsoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfullly promised there should neuer come hurt, and peraduenture more good then he would weene, and that himselfe intended to vse his faithfull secret advice and counsell, which he said was the only cause for which he procured of the King to haue him in his custody, where he might account himselfe at home, and else had he bene put in the hands of them with whom he should not haue found the like fauour. The Bishop right humbly thanked him and said: In good faith my Lord, I loue not to talke much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault. Forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And euer I think on *Asps* tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed vpon paine of death there should no horned beaſt abide in the wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace. The foxe who saw him runne so fast, asked him whether he made all that haile; and he answered, In faith, neither wor, nor reck, for I was once hence, because of this Proclamation made against horned beaſts. What foole (quoth the *Foxe*) thou maist abide well enough, the Lion meant not thee, for it is no borne that is in thy head. No mary (quoth he) that was I well ynough, but what if he call it a borne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merrily at the tale, and said, my Lord I warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boare shall picke any matter at any thing here spoken, for it shall neuer come to their eares. In good faith Sir, said the Bishop, if it did, the thing that I was about to say, (taken as well as afore God I meant it) could delerue but thanks; and yet taken as I weene it would, might happily turne me to litle good, and you to lesse. Then longed the Duke yet more to wit what it was; whereupon the Bishop said, in good faith my Lord, as for the late Protector, sith he is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title, but for the weale of this Realme, wherein his Grace hath now the gouernance, and my selfe am a poore member, I was about to wish, that to those good abilities, whereof he hath already right many, litle needing my praise, it might yet haue pleased God for the better flure, to haue giuen him some of such other excellent vertues meet for the rule of a Realme as our Lord hath planted in the person of your Grace: and there left againe.

(25) The Duke somewhat maruailing at this suddaine pause, said: My Lord, I note your often bre-

things and suddaine stopping in your communication; so that to my intelligence, your wordes neither come to any direct or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I might haue knowledge what your intent is now towards the King, or what affection you beare towards mee. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to vs both, maketh mee not a litle to muse, thinking that you haue some other priue imagination imprinted in your heart, which you bee ashamed to disclose, and specially to mee, which on my honour doe assure you to be as secret in this case as the deafe and dumbe person to the finger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop being somewhat bolder, considering the Dukes promise, but most of all animated, because hee knew the Duke desirous to be magnified, and also he perceived the inward hatred which hee bare towards King *Richard*, hee opened his stomacke to the bottom, and said: My singular good Lord, sith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces custody, I may rather call it a libertie, then a strait imprisonment, in auoiding of idlenesse mother of all vices, in reading bookes and aneient pamphlets, I haue founde this sentence written, that no man is borne free and at libertie of himselfe onely: for one part of dueie he oweth to his parents, another part to his friends and kindred, but the nature Countrey in the which he first tasted this pleasant & flattering world, demandeth a debt not to be forgotte. Which saying, causeth mee to consider in what case the Realme, my natue Countrey, now standeth, and in what estate and assurance before this time it hath continued, what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler wee might haue; for I plainly perceiue (the Realme being in this case) must needs decay, and be brought to confusion: but once hope I haue, that is, when I consider your noble personage, your iustice and indifferencie, your feruent zeale and ardent loue towards your naturall Countrey; and in like manner, the loue of your countrey towards you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and eloquence, which to much doth abound in your person; I must needs thinke this Realme fortunate, which hath such a Prince in floure, meete and apt to bee Gouernour. But on the other side, when I call to memory the good qualities of the late Protector, and now called King, so violated by ryanry, so altered by vsurped authoritie, and so clouded by blind ambition, I must needs say, that hee is neither meet to bee King of so noble a Realme, nor so famous a Realme meet to be gouerned by such a tyrant. Was not his first enterprise to obtaine the Crowne, begunne by the murder of diuers personages? did hee not secondarily proceed against his owne naturall mother, declaring her openly to be a woman giuen to carnall affection and dissolute liuing? declaring furthermore, his two brethren and two Nephewes to bee bastards, and vs bee borne in adultery? yet not contented, after hee had obtained the Garland, he caused the two poore innocents his Nephewes, committed to him, to be most shamefully murdered: the blood of which litle babes daily cry to God from the earth for vengeance. What fury can be in this Land to any person, either for life or goods, vnder such a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne blood, and much lesse the losse of others. But now to conclude, what I meane towards your noble person, I say & affirme, if you loue God, your lineage, or your natue countrey, you must your selfe take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same, as also for the deliuerance of your naturall countrymen from the bondage of such a tyrant. And if your selfe will refuse to take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, then I assure you by the faith you owe vnto God, to deuise some wayes how this Realme may bee brought to some conuenient regiment, vnder some good Gouernour. When the Bishop had ended

The commendation of the Duke and his merits.

King Richard ex-cuseth the Bishop for mouing his deep-seated secrets.

It is dangerous to dispute in private affairs.

A pretty tale subtly applied.

The desire of the Duke to know his meaning.

Edward Hall.

The Dukes protestation of secrecy.

The Bishop declares plainly with the Duke.

The desire of all men to win their native country.

The change of flux under the tyranny of the tyrant.

Blood cryeth for bloody vengeance.

The Bishop persuadeth the Duke to take the Crowne vnto himselfe.

The next day
conference.

The Duke dis-
closeth his will
vpon the Bishop.

The Protector
defind the
crown: (1) the
Prince came to
the age of se-
yentee.

The Protector
writs to the
Councell.

Change of State
change of man-
ner.

Why Barkingham
se from the
Viceroy.

Margaret Coun-
tess of Rich-
mond.

The doubts of
the Duke of
Buckingham.

ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake vnto of a great while, so that night they communed no more.

(16) The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, to whom hee said, My Lord of *Ely*, I must needs in hart thinke, and with mouth confesse, that you bee a sure friend, a true counsellor, and a very loue of of your country. And fith that at our last commu- nication, you haue disclosed the secrets of your hart touching the now vsurper of the crown, & also haue alittle touched the aduancement of the two noble families of *Turke* and *Lancaster*, I shall likewise de- clare vnto you my pitie intents and secret cogita- tions. And to beginne, when King *Edward* was deceased, I then began to studie, and with delibera- tion to ponder in what manner this Realme should be gouerned: I perfwaded with my selfe to take part with the Duke of *Glocester*, whom I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without iniurie, and so by my means he was made Protector both of the King and Realme, which authoritie being once gotten, he neuer ceased priuily to require mee and other Lords withall spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeres, and were able to gouerne the Realme as a sufficient King: which thing, when hee saw me somewhat slycke at, hee then brought in instruments, authentick Do- ctors, Proctors, and Notaries of the Law, with depo- sitions of diuers witnesses, testifying King *Edward*'s children to bee balliards: which depostitions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to bee faigned. When the said depostitions were before vs read, and diligently heard, he stood vp bare headed, saying: *well my Lords, even as I sayd you would that my Nepheues should haue no wrong: so I pray you doe mee nothing but right, for these witnesses and sayings of fa- mous Doctors bee true: For I am only the vnderwrite here to Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, aduogate to be the very heire to the Crowne of this Realme by au- thoritie of Parliament.* Which things so by learned men for veritie to vs declared, caused mee and others to take him for our lawfull and vnderboord Prince and Soueraigne Lord. So againe by my ayde, hee of a Protector was made a King: but when he was once crowned King, and in all possession of the Realme, hee cast away his old conditions. For, when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Earle of *Her- fords* Lands, which his brother *Edward* wrongfully desired from me, and also required to haue the of- fice of the high Constabillship of England, as diuers of my noble ancestors before this time haue had, and in long discent continued; in this my first suite, hee did not only first delay mee, and afterwards deny me, but gaue mee such vnkinde words, as though I had neuer furthered him: all which I suffered pa- tiently. But when I was informed of the death of the two young Innocents, O Lord, my heart inwardly grued, inasmuch as I abhorred the sight of him; I took my leaue of the Court, and returned to *Breck- necke* to you, but in my journey as I came, I had di- uers imaginations how to depriue this vnnatural vicer. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take vpon me the Crowne, now was the way made plaine, and occasion giuen. For I well saw hee was disfaigned of the Lords Temporall, and accursed of the Lordes Spirituall. After diuers cogitations of this matter, as I rode between *Worcester* and *Bridgeforth*, I en- countered with the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the very daughter, and sole heire to *John* Duke of *Som- erset* my Grandfathers eld brother, so that she & her sonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmond* be both between me and the gate, to enter into the Maiestie tollall, & getting of the Crowne; and when wee had a little communed concerning her sonne, and were depa- red, I then beganne to dispute with my selfe, whe- ther I were bett to take vpon mee, by the election of

the Nobility and Commonalty, or to take it by pow- er. Thus standing in a wauncing ambiguity, I con- sidered first, the office, duty, and paine of a King, which surely I thinke that no mortal man can iustly and truly osfer, except he be elected of God, as *K. David* was.

(17) But further I remembred, that if I once took vpon me the Gouernance of the Realme, the daugh- ters of King *Edward* and their Allies, being both for his sake much beloned, and also for the great iniurie done to them much pitied, would neuer cease to barke at the one side of me. Semblably my coffin the Earle of *Richmond*, his aides and kindfolkes will surely attempt either to bise, or to pierce me on the other side, so that my life and rule should euer hang vnquiet in doubt of death or depostition: And if the said two linages of *Turke* and *Lancaster* should inue in one against me, then were I surely matched. Where- fore I haue decreed determined, verily to relinquish all imaginations concerning the obtaining of the Crowne. For as I told you, the Countesse of *Richmond* in my turne from the new named King, meeting me in the high way, praised me first for kindnes sake, secondly for the loue I bore to my Grandfather Duke *Hamfray*, who was sworne brother to her fa- ther, to moue the King to be good to her sonne *Hen- ry* Earle of *Richmond*, and to license him with his fa- uour to returne againe into England, and if it were his pleasure so to doe, shee promised that the Earle her sonne should marry one of the Kings daughters at the appointment of the King, without any thing demanded for the said espousals, but only the Kings fauour, which request I loone ouerpassed and depa- red. But after my lodging I called to memory more of that matter, and now am bene, that the Earle of *Richmond* heire of the house of *Lancaster*, shall take to wife Lady *Elizabeth* eldest daughter to King *Edward*, by the which marriage both the houses of *Turke* and *Lancaster* may be vnted in one.

(18) When the Duke had said, Bishop *Morton* who euer fauoured the house of *Lancaster*, was won- drous ioyfull, for all his imagination tended to this effect; and left the Dukes courage should alwaies, or his minde alter, hee said to the Duke: My Lord of *Buckingham*, fith by Gods prouision, and your in- comparable wilddome, this noble conuincion is first moued, it is necessary to consider what persons we shall first make priuie of this politicke conclusion. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with my Ladie of *Richmond* the Earles mother, which knoweth where he is in Britaine: fith you will begu that way (said the Bishop) I haue an old friend with the Countesse, called *Reynold Bray*, for whom I shall send, if it be your pleasure: so the Bishop wrote for him to come to *Breckneck*, who strait came backe with the messenger, where the Duke and Bishop de- clared what they had deuised for the preferment of the Earle of *Richmond*, sonne to his Lady and Mi- stress: willing her first to compass how to obtaine the goodwill of *Queen Elizabeth*, and also of her el- dest daughter: and after secretly to lend to her sonne in Britaine, to declare what high honour was prepa- red for him, if he would sweare to marrie the Ladie *Elizabeth* alfoone as hee was King of the Realme. With which conclusion, *Reynold Bray* with a glad heart returned to the Countesse his Lady. *Bray* thus departed, the Bishop told the Duke, that if he were in his life of *Ely*, he could make many friends to fur- ther their enterprise. The Duke knew this to bee true, but yet loof to loose the society of such a Coun- sellor, gaue him faire words, saying, he should shor- ly depart well accompanied for feare of enemies, but the Bishop ere the Dukes company were assembled, secretly disguised, in a night departed and came to *Ely*, where he found money and friends, and then sailed into *Fleander*, where hee did the Earle of *Richmond* good seruice.

(19) When *Reynold Bray* had declared his mes- sage to the Countesse, no mercuall if hee were glad, wherefore

The great and
wily charge
of a King.

Buckingham re-
volting con-
cerning the Crowne.

The communi-
cation of the
Countesse of
Richmond with
the Duke of Buck-
ingham.

Henry Earle of
Richmond and
Ladie Elizabeth
must make the
vnted.

With whom and
how to beginne
intended the
signes.

Reynold Bray, the
Instruments.

Ray Morton o-
fessed from
Buckingham dis-
guised.

wherefore she devised a means how to breake this master to *Queen Elizabeth*, being then in Sanctuary at *Willesmer*, and having in her family a certaine Welshman called *Lewis* learned in Philisike, now having opportunity to breake her minde vnto him, declared that the time was come; that her sonne should be ioined in marriage with *Lady Elizabeth*, daughter and heire to King *Edward*: and that King *Richard* should out of all honour and estate be dejected, and required him to goe to *Queene Elizabeth* not as a messenger, but as one that came friendlie to visite her, and as time and place should serue to make her praiy of this deuise. This Philisitian with good diligence repaired to the *Queene*, and when he saw time convenient said vnto her: Madame although my imagination be very simple, yet for the entire affection I beare to you and to your children, I am lo bold to vnto you a secret conceit, which I haue compassed in my braine. When I remember the great losse which you haue sustained by the death of your louing husband, and the great sorrow that you haue suffered by the cruell murder of your innocent children, I can no lesse doe, then daily study how to bring your heart to comfort, and also to reuege the quarrell of you and your children, on that cruell tyrant King *Richard*. And first consider what hatred, and what mischance haue risen by the distinction betweene the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, which two families if they may be ioined one, I doubt not but that your line shall be againe restored to your great joy & comfort: you know Madam, that off the house of *Lancaster*, the Earle of *Richmond* is next of blood, & to the house of *York* your daughters now are heirs. If you could deuise the means how to couple your eldest daughter with the Earle of *Richmond* in matrimony, no doubt, but that the sharper should shortly be depozed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

(30) When the *Queene* had heard this friendly Motion, she instantly bewought him, that as he had bene the first inventor of lo good an enterprise, that now hee would not desist to follow the same, requiring him further, that he would refer to the Countesse of *Richmond*, mother to the Earle *Henry*, and to declare to her on the *Queene*s behalfe, that all the friends of King *Edward* her husband, should assist and take part with the Earle of *Richmond* her sonne, so that hee would take an oath, that after the Kingdome obtained, to espouse the Lady *Elizabeth* her daughter, &c. *M. Lewis* so sped his busines, that he made a final end of this businesse, betweene the two mothers: so the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, brought to a good hope of the preferment of her son, made *Reinold Bray* chiefe solicitor of this conspiracy, giuing him in charge secretly to inuagel such persons of Nobility to ioyne with her, & take her part, as he knew to be faithfull.

(31) This *Reinold Bray* within few dayes brought to his luer Sir *Giles Daubeny*, Sir *Iohn Cheine* Knights, *Richard Guilford*, and *Thomas Ramsey* Esquiers, and others. In the meane while the Countesse of *Richmond* sent one *Christopher Fersowike*, a Priest into *Britaine*, to the Earle of *Richmond* her sonne, to declare to him all the agreements between her and the *Queene* agree: and with all to shew him that the Duke of *Buckingham* was one of the first Inventors of this enterprise: she likewise sent *Hugh Conway* an Esquire into *Britaine* with a great summe of money, giuing him in charge to declare to the Earle, the great loue that the most part of the Nobility of the Realme bare towards him, willing him not to neglect so good an occasion offered, but with all speed to setle his mind how to return into *England*, and therewithall aduising him to take land in *Wales*. When the Earle had received this ioyfull message, he brake to the Duke of *Britaine* all his secrets, aduertising him that he was entered into a sure & steadfast hope to obtaine the Crown of *England*, desiring him of help towards the achieving of his enterprise,

which the Duke promised, & afterwards performed: whereupon the Earle sent back againe *Hugh Conway*, & *Th. Ramsey* to declare his coming shortly into *England*.

(32) In the meane season the chiefe of the conspiracy in *England* beganne many enterprises, which being neuer so priuily handled, yet knowledge thereof came to King *Richard*, and because hee knew the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the chiefe head, and aide of this combination; he thought it most necessarie to pincke him from that part, and thereupon addressed his louing letters vnto the Duke, requesting him most earnestly to come to the Court, whole graue aduise for counsell hee then stood much in need of: with many words of kind complements to bee vttered from the mouth of the messenger: but the Duke mistrusting those sweet promises proceeded out of a blitter intent, and knowing *K. Richard* to speake most fayrely when he meant foulest play, desired the king of pardon, excusing himself that he was sickly & not well able to trauel: which excuse the king would not admit, but sent other letters with checking wordes, commanding him without delay to repaire to his presence: vnto which the Duke made a determinate answer that hee would not come to his mortall enemy: and immediately prepared war against him. Whereupon *Thomas Marquisse Dorset* came out of *Sanctuary*, and gathered a great band of men in the Countie of *York*, Sir *Edward Courtney* and *Peter* his brother, Bishoppe of *Exeter* raised another Armie in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, and *Is. Kent*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, and other Gentlemen raised a Company, and all this was done euen in one moment.

(33) King *Richard* roused from his pleasures in progresse, sent forth commission to muster his men, and with a great preparation from *London* marched towards *Salisbury*, thinking it not best to dispartle his power into small parts in pursuing his enemies enery way at once, and therefore committing all others with a great puissance went to set vpon the Duke of *Buckingham*, the head of the spring. The Duke hearing of the Kings approach, made out to meet him before hee came too farre, accompanied with a great power of wild *Welshes*, whom hee had enforced to follow him, more by his Lordly commandement then by liberrall wages, which thing indeed was the cause that they fell off, and forsooke him. His march was through the forest of *Deane*, intending for *Gloucester*, where hee meant to passe *Sewern*, and so haue ioined his Army with the *Countes*, & other *Welshmen*, which had he done, no doubt *K. Richard* had been in great leperdile. But before hee could attaine the *Sewern* side, by force of continuall raine the river rose so high, that it ouerflowed all the countie adioyning, and was not againe bounded within his owne banks for the space of ten dayes, so that the Duke could not get ouer, nor his complices any wife come vnto him, during which time the *Welshmen* lingering idle, without wages, or victual, sodainly brake vp Campe and departed; whereupon the Duke was wonderously perplexed, not knowing how to recover this vnfortunate chance, and destitute of power, to shew himselfe in field, sought to secure himselfe in secret, till destiny assigned him a better day.

(34) A seruant he had in especial fauour & trust brought vp tenderly by him, and risen to great wealth and eleeeme, his name was *Hamfrey Baniaster*, and place of residence nere vnto *Shrewsburie*, whither the distressed Duke in disguise repaired, intending there to remain secret, until he might either raise a new power, or else by some means constay himselfe vnto *Britaine* to *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*: but as soone as the others which had attempted the same enterprise against the King, had knowledge that *Buckingham* was forsaken of his Company, and could not be found, as men thrucke in sodaine feare flustered enery one for himselfe, many of them taking Sanctuary, but the most of the chiefeest took into *Brit-*

The Duke of Buckingham is first let by the King.

The Duke of Buckingham refuseth to come to the Court.

Connections begun.

King Richard a resolution to wards Salisbury.

The Duke prepares against the King.

Great matters feared that the conspirers could not win.

The Duke of Buckingham happens in secret.

The Conspirators dispeised.

Lewis a Philisitian who means to breake her husband.

Lewis breakech she means vnto the Queene Elizabeth.

The means to restore the Queene daughter to her right.

Queene Elizabeth readily requests the motion.

The Queene consents to the Countesse.

The two mothers agree vnto the treason.

Mary daubeny comes to assist K. Richard.

Fersowike sent into Britaine.

Hugh Conway sent into Britaine.

Earle Richmond breakech with the Duke of Britaine.

lain, among whom were *Peter Courtney*, Bishoppe of *Excester* with his brother *Edward Earle of Devonshire*, *Thomas Marquesse Dorset* the Queens sonne, and his young sonne *Thomas* being a Child, *Edward Woodville Knight*, brother to the Queene, *John Lord Wells*, *Sir Robert Willoughby*, *Sir John Bourchier*, *Sir Giles Daubeny*, *Sir Thomas Arundell*, *Sir John Cheine* with his two brethren, *Sir William Barkley*, *Sir Richard Edgecombe*, and *Sir William Brandon*, *Edward Poynings* an excellent Captain and others.

(35) *Richard* thus farre proceeded, and no enemy seeing, his hopes were encreased, and feares daily lesse, yet being a Prince politicke and vigilant, he commanded the Ports to be securely kept, & knowing that *Buckingham* was not fled with the rest, made proclamation for the apprehending of that Duke, promising a thousand pound to the man that could bring him forth, with pardon of his fautes, to enjoy the Kings favour, and if he were a bondman, presently to be made free. *Banister* minding the present, and forgetting what was past, spread his lappe first to receive this golden shower, and in hope of this guise, made no conscience to betray his own Lord, who had now laid his life upon truit in his hands: hee therefore repaying to the Sheriffe of *Shirburny*, revealed the Duke, who disguised like a poore Countreiman, and digging in a groue nere vnto *Banisters* house, was apprehended, and with a great guard of men was brought vnto *Salisbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and where without arraignment or indgement, vpon the second of November he lost his head: whose death was the lesse lamented, for that himselfe had been the chiefe Instrument to set the Crowne wrongfully vpon *Richards* head: and yet the treachery of *Banister* was most severely punished, as many have observed, not onely in the losse of his reward promised, which he never had, and infamy received, neuer after shaken off; but also in himselfe and children, as are thus reported; his eldest sonne and heire fell mad, and dyed of distracted in a Boares Steye: his second sonne became deformed in his limmes, and fell lame; his third sonne was drowned in a small pndle of water; his eldest daughter was sodainly stricke with a fonsle prodie, and himselfe being of extreame age, was arraigned and found guilty of murder, and by his Clergy suaid his life.

(36) An other Commotion at the same time was in *Kent*, where *George Browne* and *John Gifford Knights*, *Fitz, Scot, Clifford*, and *Bonning*, with five thousand men attempted great matters at *Graveend*, huc hearing of the Duke of *Buckingham* surpris'd, disperis'd themselves for that time. But when King *Richard* perceived how hee was eury where belst, he sent one *Thomas Hutton* vnto *Francis Duke of Britaine*, with proffers of gold to circumuent and imprison Earle *Henry*, who as hee feared was too well friended in those forraigne parts, which thing indeed this *Hutton* well perceived, and so to the King reported, that the Duke was nothing forward to bite at this bait, whereupon, those that lately fled *England*, were indited of treason, and other of *Henries* factions beheaded, whereof *Sir George Browne*, and *Sir Roger Clifford Knights* with foure others were beheaded at *London* and at *Excester* for the like cause dyed *Sir Thomas Sentleger*, who had married Lady *Anne Dutcheffe* of *Excester*, King *Richards* own sister, with others; so lealous was the King of his vsurped Crowne; and that nothing should be laide to vnprovident foresight, the coasts hee stored with Armies of men, furnished the Ports with flore of Provision, and made all things ready to withstand Earle *Henries* arrival. Who now having gotten side of five thousand *Britaines*, with forty vessels well furnished, set saile from thence the twelfth of *October*, but was taken with so terrible a tempest, that his Fleet was disparted, some into *Normandy*, and some compelled to returne into *Britaine*, only the Earles ship with one other kept the Sea, being fore tossed

all night, and in the morning arrived in the mouth of *Fenle* in the County of *Dorset*, where hee might behold the Shore full of men shining in armour, to his great amaiement, whereupon hee sent out his shuppe-boat to know whether they were friends or enemies; their answer was, that they were thither appointed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to attend the coming of the Earle of *Richmond*, to conduct him in safety to the Duke, who lay encompassed not far off, that joyning their forces, they might prosecute *Richards* the vsurper, who being in a manner destitute of men, was fore distracted, and desperate in his owne deligates. These smooth vttruths notwithstanding Earle *Henry* avoided, and with a forward gale returned to *Normandy*, whence he sent Messengers vnto young *Charles King of France*, whose father King *Lewis* was lately departed this life, to haue his safe conduct to returne into *Britaine*, which easily was granted with favourable complements returned to the Earle. Lord *Henry* thus crossed by sea, had present news of *Buckingham* surpris'd and death, with the flight of the Nobles escaped from *Richard*: who meeting with *Richmond* in *Britaine*, fell forthwith into Connell: where first it was determined that Earle *Henry* should take his oath to espouse the Lady *Elizabeth* eldest daughter vnto King *Edward*, and the immediate heire to the Crowne, which hee solemnly did in the Church at *Rhebar*; and they for their parts (ware vnto him fealty, doing him homage with no lesse respect then vnto their sole and crowned King.

(37) Of these proceedings King *Richard* soone heard, which indeed greatly appaled his thoughts, and all penine and sad he returned out of the Weir towards *London*, where to cut off the hopes of *Richmonds* further claime, hee caused a Parliament to be assembled at *Westminster*, and therein attained the said Earle *Henry* himselfe, and all such as had fled the laud in his behalfe, enacting them enemies to their naturall Country, their goods to be confiscated, and all their lands and possessions to be seised vpon to the Kings vie, which was so forwarded by his lewd Counsellors, and so executed by his fawning followers, that some better affected, set forth the present and oppressed estate in these scolding rimes, to their further disgrace, disuolging their names in manner as followeth;

*The cat, the rat, and Lovell the dogge,
Rule all England under a boogge.*

Alluding to the names of *Ratcliffe* the Kings mischievous Minion, and of *Cately* his secret traducer, and to the Kings cognizance, which was the Boare: for which *William Collingborne* Esquier, who had been Sheriffe of *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire*, was condemned, and vpon the Tower hill executed with extremity.

(38) King *Richards* bare standing in dangers abroad, and not altogether free from conspiracies at home, hee thought it best policy to enter amitie with *Scotland*, which hee did for the terme of three yeeres, and the more firme to assure himselfe of that King, hee increased a marriage betwixt the Duke of *Ratcliffe* the kings eldest sonne, and the Lady de la *Pole* daughter to John Duke of *Suffolke*, and to the Dutcheffe *Elizabeth* King *Richards* owne sister, whom hee so much favoured, as that after the death of his owne sonne, he proclaimed him Earle of *Lincolne*, her sonne and his Nephew, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*, disaberriting King *Richards* daughters, whose brothers hee had before murdered.

(39) His feares nothing lessened, but rather daily increased, he attempted once more to stop the Current which led to the spring, to which end hee sent his Ambassadors laden with gold, and many gay promises vnto *Francis Duke of Britaine*, offering to give him all *Richmonds* lands, and yearly revenues if he would either send the said Earle into *England* or commit him there vnto prison. These coming to the

A table raised for the hart.

Earle Henry was carried into prison.

The Lords went to prison.

The Lords were taken away.

Henry & others arrested by Parliament.

William Collingborne executed for the same.

Richard was both peace with Scotland.

John de la Pole Earle of Lincoln proclaimed heire apparent.

Offers made to the Duke of Britaine.

the Dukes Court, could have no communication with him, he lying extremely sicke, and his wits too weak to discourse. Whereupon *Peter Landse*, his Treasurer, a man pregnant in wit, and of great authority, tooke the motion into hand, vnto whom the English Ambassadors promised all the Earles Reuenues if he could bring King *Richard* request to passe. He greedy of gaine, and being in place to doe what he would, promised to effect it, conditionally that King *Richard* would make good his offer. Thus whilst messengers posted betwixt *Peter* and *Richard*, *John Bishop of Ely* being then in *Flanders*, was certified by *Christopher Wysswick* of all the circumstances of this purpose, whereupon the Bishop with all possible hast, sent the same intelligence the same day, and by the same man vnto *Earle Henry in Brittain*, willing him to shift himself and followers into *France*: who forthwith sent *Pyrrick* vnto King *Charles* to haue his licence that he might with his good liking come into his dominioms, which being obtained he caused the other Lords vnder pretence to visite the sicke Duke to escape into *Anion*, and two daies after changing his Apparell with his seruants, waied vpon him as vpon his Master, and posted thence into *France*: whose escape when the Treasurer heard of, he sent after to apprehend him, and that in such hast as at his entrance into the *French* dominioms they were hard at his heeles.

(40) This suddaine flight of the Earle and of the other English Lords, the Duke of *Brittain* (being somewhat recovered of his dangerous sickness) rooke very greedously, imputing it a great dishonour vnto himselfe, to suffer the least suspect of breach betwixt him and the Earle, and therefore sore offended at *Landse* whom he suspected to be deepe in the deed, he sent for *Edward Woodville* and *Edward Pennington* two English Elquires, vnto whom he deliuered a summe of money which he had promised to *Earle Henry*, with a conuey vnto all the rest of the English, to depart *France*, bearing all their charges till they came to their Earle in *France*. Neither was King *Charles* backward to forward *Earle Richmond* against the Tyrant and Vürper of the English Crowne. And the more to loy Henry, *John Earle of Oxford* imprisoned by King *Edward* the fourth in the Castle of *Hammes*, with Captaine *Blunt* his keeper, and Sir *John Fortescue* Porter of *Calis*, came vnto *Earle Henry* to take their fortunes in following of him. This Earle of *Oxford*, as we haue seene, was a continuall aide of King *Henry* the first, against his opposite *K. Edward*, and had done many seruices in the *Lancastrian* cause, till destiny had cast downe the hopes of their side. Him therefore *Earle Henry* made his chiefe Counsellor for warre, as for experience, policy, valour, and faith in that busines, no man was more meete. Whose prowesse further appeared when *Earle Henry* was the wreath at *Redworth* field, where, in the Front of that Barrell he led the band of Archers, and euer after liued in great fauour with this King *Henry* the seventh, and in great honour died the fourth yeere of King *Henry* the eight. In the like trait for Counsell and fauour with these Kings, was *Richard Fox* Doctor of Diuinitie, who being then a student in *Paris*, was found by *Earle Richmond* to be the chiefeft man for imploiment in his French busines, which he so prudently and faithfully effected, as the Earle being King, acknowledging him one of his principall aduancers, made him of his Princiue Counsell, Lord Priuie Seale, and raised him to very great places in Church and Common-wealth, and lastly to testifie in what decree effeme hee held him, made him Godfather to his sonne Prince *Henry*, who was after King of *England* with whom in great reuerence he liued a long time, even till his eyesight failed through age, and did many woekes of piety, whereof *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, is and shall be for euer a noble witness and his honorable care of reuerend antiquity, in preferring the bones of many *Saxon* Kings, and by him bestowed

in faire Monuments in the Cathedral Church of *Winchester*, shall neuer want due celebration amongst all that honour antiquity and glorious studies. But from these worthy Subjects, we returne againe to their soueraigne King *Henry*.

(41) Whose beginnings thus forwarded by the Duke of *Brittain* and the French King, drew many English into *France*, and filled the heart of the Vürper with an extreme feare; therefore to accomplish by policy, what was doubtfull by armes, he sought to baite his hookes yet another way. The tide hee knew stood with the daughters of King *Edward* (his sonnes being murdered) and among them to Ladie *Elizabeth* the eldest, whose marriage he well saw must bring *Henry* the Crowne. But that once diuerted, his streame of itselfe could beare no great floate, nor bring any inondation into the Land, and therefore Queene *Elizabeth* in Sanctuary must be Courted, that her daughters might come to Court, and there be regarded according to their degrees. This so cunningly was carried, by men that could carry themselves to fit womens affections, that the King was purged of the murder of her sonnes; there made to beleue that her selfe was respected a Dowager Queene, and sister in law to the present King, and that himselfe had a Prince and many Princely Peeres most fit matches for those Princes her daughters; that her sonne *Thomas Marquisse Dorset*, whilst he followed the Runaway *Henry*, left his honorable preferment inceded to himward; and lastly requiring a reconciliation with the Queene, forgave all injuries vttered against him out of her womanish passions, with a most willing heart: and indeed these messengers were such Crafts-masters as they brought Queene *Elizabeth* into a fooles Paradise, and made her beleue that their words were his heart. Whereupon forgetting all things passed before, as the murder of her sonnes, the dishonour of her husband, the bastardy of their Children, and her owne scandal for Sorcery: nor remembering the faithfull promise shee made to Lady *Margaret Earle Henries* mother, shee deliuered her five daughters as lambes committed to the rauening wolfe, in which act of hers is seene the weakness of that Sexe, and the ambition whereunto by nature they are inclined, for premeely vpon the deliuey of her daughters, shee sent priuily for the Lord *Marquisse Dorset* her sonne, then residing in *Paris*, willing him to desert from the Earles Faction, and come vnto King *Richard*, who promised him preferment, and that her selfe and daughters were in high fauour, all injuries on both parts forgiven and forgotten.

(42) This enurance made vnto the Tragedy intended, to furnish the stage and finish the Scene of her owne life, the next Actour must be Queene *Anne*, who onely now stood in the Tyrants way, her death he meant should giue life to his intruded regencie, and adde a further Claime and strength to the possession which he already had, by matching with his Niece the next heire vnto the Crowne the Lady *Elizabeth*, the let onely resting that himselfe had a wife, her death therefore must immediately be sought, yet so as the honorable repure of his name should no waies be impeached, euer carrying himselfe in outward semblance for a good religious honest man, and much delirous that his people should account him so. First therefore he began to lament the barrenness of his wifes wombe, and the great dangers that the Realme was like to sustaine, if himselfe should die Issueles, complaining often thereof vnto his Nobility, but most especially vnto Archibishop *Rathem* lately released out of prison, whereby the Prelate coniectured Queene *Anne* had not long to liue. Then restrained he her bed vnder pretext of Penancy, taking her defect as a scourge for his owne finnes, which day and night he sought to expiate by prayers: His next policy was, how her death might be wrought with the least suspect of wrong, and how taken when shee was gone: There-

King Richard is reuolted to much with his Niece,

A subtill device.

Many false promises issued to his ends.

Queene Elizabeth brought into such a Paradise.

King Edwards five daughters deliuered to the Tyrant their Niece.

Queene Elizabeth cometh to the Marquisse her sonne.

Queene Anne is used to the purpose of the King.

King Richard is forced to succour.

Of Canterbury.

King Richard is reuolted to the Queen's bed.

Peter Landse.

Landse promised to deliuer the Earle.

Bishop Norton grieues to see one of his daughters.

King Charles grieues his life cometh to nothing.

Earle Henry hardly escaped.

The Duke of Brittain displaced at Landse.

The honorable Academy of the Duke of Brittain.

John Earle of Oxford cometh to Earle Henry.

John Earle of Oxford in great fauour with Henry.

Bishop Fox in great fauour with King Henry.

The professions of Bishop Fox.

Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford founded by Bishop Fox.

A report goes forth that
Queen Anne
was dead.

Queen Anne
learneth her
own death.

Her death and
burial place.

King Richard
counsell Lady
Elizabeth.

Leeds, 1514.

Thomas Epile of
Darby much in-
fected of the
king.

George Lord
Strange deliv-
ered in pledge to
King Richard.

Hammer be-
feged by the
Carrion of Calis.

The Earle of
Oxford from his
old friends from
Monsieur.

King Richard
counsell.

Henry seizeth
the French man
by sea,
Marquess Dor-
sette for to be
escape his Henry.

fore as an assay to the Peoples tale, be caused it to be given forth that Queene Anne was dead, which was to commonly divulged, that the rumour thereof came to her owne care, and she having had sufficient experience of her husbands proceedings, feared this to be one of his plots, mistrusting (and not without cause) that her life was in danger, wherupon all dismay with a lamentable countenance, she came to the King, and with weeping teares demanded, what offence shee had done, that the sentence of death was given against her already. Richard made it strange to see her so perplexed, and with loving words and smiling semblance, bad her live to scandalize report, and to thinke that many yeeres were yet added to her life, but whether in conceit for sorrow, or of poison, I cannot say, she died shortly after, and was solemnly buried in the Abbey of Westminster.

(43) The King thus delivered from the bands of Mazimony, and now a widower at liberty to choose where he would, cast glances of love towards the Lady Elizabeth his owne brothers daughter, and began to court her for his second Queene, but the thing was so offensive to the law of nature, and so directly against the Law of God, as all men abhorred the motion, and most of all the maiden her selfe, which Richard perceiving, shee forbore our earnest purluise to gaine his time and all fit occasions; but most especially, having no leisure to woo, his subjects on all sides daily revoluting, and his Nobles more and more had in suspect; among whom one was Lord Thomas Stanley Earle of Darby who had married Lady Margaret Countesse of Richmond, Earle Humes owne mother: him therefore hee most mistrusted, and before he would admit his departure from Court, he commanded him to leave his sonne and heire George Stanley the Lord Strange for his hostage, which he did, though it little auailed to binde Darbys affection unto his side.

(44) In this while King Richard hearing that Oxford had escaped out of the Castle of Hammer, and that he, with the Captaine thereof James Blunt, were fled into France and joined with Richmond; thought it high time to quench the sparkes in those parts, before they should rise to a higher flame; and therefore hee appointed (which was presently accomplished) the Garrison at Calis to sitat the said Castle with a hard siege, being well assured that many wellwillers to the Earles proceedings lay there harboured, who vpon the least advantage would be ready to play. But Henry not vnmindfull of his distressed friends, nor Oxford forgetting his kinde Hostelle Captaine Blunts wife, made vnto the Peerce, and on the sudden put Thomas Brandon, with thirty approved Souldiers into the Castle, who from the wailes plaied vnto the besiegers, whiles Oxford annoyed them vpon their backes, so that presently they offered, and came to a composition, which was, that they within should safely depart, but the Castle to remaine in Subjection to the King.

(45) Hammer thus restored in danger to be lost, and nothing had thence besides a woman and a few suspected perions, King Richard thought himselfe now sure of all, and fearing no insualion at home, imagined that much harme could not bee done abroad; yet being in France (as be thought) found very few friends, and was fully perswaded that the French Kings assistance stood more of words then in deedes. And indeed some occasion of such suspicion was ministred, for King Charles being young, and the Princes at variance, Earle Henry was enforced to make suite vnto them man by man. Besides Thomas Marquess Dorsette sent for by his mother the Queene, suddenly in the night made an escape from Paris, with purpose for England, which stroke great feare among Earle Humes part, chiefly for that all their Counsels were knowne vnto the Marquess, which if he should reueale, their designs were made desperate. To prevent which, hee was posted after,

and brought backe againe, though much against his will. These things considered, King Richard to lessen his great charges, discharged his Navy at sea, commanding the rest to watch the shore; Beacons to be built, and armour to be ready at every call; then giuing his affection to leaue to entertaine more security, saw not the sword that hung ouer his head.

(46) But Earle Henry delivered from the feare of the Marquess, thought it not best to prolong time, left others vpon like purposes should he wray his intents; and thereupon obtaining a small aide of the French with a certaine summe of money, for which the Lord Marquess (whom he much mistrusted) and Sir John Bowcher were left in pledge, hee set forward to sea, and prepared his shipping in the mouth of seyn: whether ridings was brought him of Queene Annes death, that King Richard purposed to marry Lady Elizabeth: a feare indeed fitt exceeding the former, these being the Princelies by whom hee must claime, wherupon much distemperance arose, every mans braine working vpon the newes. But after much consultation, it was held the best to make ouer into England, to interpose the proceedings: the march was fully made, wherupon Earle Richmond with two thousand men only, and a small number of ships, set saile from Harfleur the fiftenth of August, and the seventh day following arrived at Milford haue in Wales, where taking land hee came vnto Dale, and thence the next day marched to Hereford well, ten miles into the Maine, from thence hee marched to Cardigan, where he had newes that the Countrey was forsaide against him, but finding that vnture he made still forward, bearing downe such Houlds as held against him: then sending secretly to Lady Margaret his mother, to the Lord Stanley, Talbot, and others, signified vnto them, he meant to passe Severne, at Shrewsbury, and thence to march directly towards London. In his way to Shrewsbury, there mette him Sir Rice at Thomas a man of great command in Wales, with a number of men to side in his quartrell, which Henry afterwards requited in making this his first aide the Governour of Wales.

(47) The Earle more boldly from Shrewsbury, held on his marche to the Towne of Newport, whither Sir Gilbert Talbot with two thousand strong from the young Earle of Shrewsbury gaue him his aide. Then passed he forward to Stafford, and had conference there with Sir William Stanley, and proceeding forward was honourably rescued into the City Litchfield, where Thomas Earle of Darby with five thousand armed men had beene some few daies before, but hearing of Earle Humes approach removed to Anderton to auoid suspicion of the jealous King that kept his sonne Hostage for his further truth.

(48) King Richard at this time helde his Court at Newnham, where being informed that Earle Henry with a small company was landed in Wales, made small account of what he could doe, altogether relying vpon the Lord Walter Herbert, and Sir Rice at Thomas two principall men, in whom hee conceived no little trust: yet left this new risen spring might gather in more heads, he sent to John Duke of Norfolk, Henry Earle of Northumberland, and Thomas Earle of Surrey willing them with a selected power to repress the insolency of this headstrong Earle: moreover he sent for Sir Robert Brakenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Thomas Bowcher, and Sir Waltemflangford Knights, all of them in great iealousie and mistrust, commanding them with their forces to come and attend vpon his person which accordingly they set forward to doe, meane while sending his Spials to know the way Henry went, had intelligence that hee was past Shrewsbury without any impeachment; whereas storming in chollet and cursing their vntures whom hee had put in trust, craved vengeance from heauen, and instantly

King Richard dis-
charged his
Navy.

Earle Henry in-
terests for ward his
journey.

A sudden issue.

Henry of Rich-
mond arriveth at
Milford haue.

Henry sent word
to arrange to his
mother and
others.

Sir Rice of Tho-
mas cometh with
Henry.

Sir Gilbert Tal-
bot joineth with
Earle Henry.

Henry cometh
to Litchfield.

King Richard at
Newnham.

John Duke of
Norfolk Henry
Earle of North-
umberland, Tho.
Earle of Surrey
sent for to the
King.
Robert
Brakenbury,
Walterflangford.

King Richard
put at Challen.

stantly intended to revenge it himself; then having notice the Earle was at *Lichfield*, and his partie increased by daily repair, incontinently hee marshalled his followers; and like a valiant Captaine and politike leader led forward his Battailles five and five in a rancke. In the middell of his troopes he bestowed the Carriages belonging to his Army: and himselfe mounted upon a white Courser, inuited with his Guard, followed by his foemen, and the wings of Horsemen ranged on euery side, with a frowning steme countenance, but yet in great Pompe, entered the towne of *Leicester* after the Sun was set, being full of indignation and swelling in anger, which tomen hee alwaies with threats of reuenge.

(49) Earle *Richmond* from *Lichfield* departed for *Tamworth*, and in the way met Sir *Thomas Bourchier* and Sir *Walter Hungerford* going towards the King, who vpon this vnlooked for occasion, and knowing themselves in what suspicion they stood, secretly leir the company of their Captaine *Ardenbury* the night following, and wandering in waies vnknowne, with much adoe gotte safely vnto the Earles Companies.

(50) In the like danger through darkenesse of night, *Henry* himselfe chanced to come, for albeit he was a man both valiant and forward, and by his owne wil dome could manage his weightiest affaires; Yet now hauing notice that King *Richard* with a strong army was neere, and that his latter in law, the Lord *Stanley* stood as a Neuter, he was stracke deepe in his dumps, and with twenty fight Horle-men lingering behind, so seriously musing what was to be done, as latly he lost the sight of his Host, and by the darkenesse of night mislead his way; neither durst he for the Kings Scout-watch demand direction to *Tamworth*, but lay in a small village about three miles distant, to his no little grieffe, and his whole Armies great amazement, the one prognosticating it to be a prelage of an ill beginning, and the other doubting some deuiment of their Lord, but in the dawning of the next morning conducted by good fortune he came to his Host, exulting that his absence was to haue conference with his secret friends; and then priuily departing to the Lord *Stanley*, had conference with him, and was put in good comfort.

(51) But conseratiuely, King *Richard* was wrapp'd and perplexed with feare, not onely with the departure of Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Sanford*, and Sir *Simond Digby*, in whom he had reposed great trust, but also in the dreadful dreames which nightly he suffered, wherein to his seeming, terrible diuels so pulled and haled him, as by nomcanes he could take any rest, which fearefull imaginations struck so deep an impression vnto his heart, that the signes thereof appeared in his countenance, howloeuver hee fought to put them off to shew.

(52) But being determined to put himselfe to the mall of battell, or else, (and that rather) enforced by diuine iustice to pull the reuenging hand of heauen against him, in the morning he marched toward the enemy, and vpon a faire plaine called *Redmore* neere vnto *Rasworth* about seven miles west from *Leicester* he pitched downe his Tents, and thence sent a Pursuuant to the Lord *Stanley*, commanding him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his presence, which if hee refused to doe, hee sware by Christs passion, his tonnes head should off before that hee died. The Lord *Stanley* answered the Pursuuant, that if the King did so, hee had more tonnes alive; but to come to the King hee was not at that time determined. This answer declared, King *Richard* commanded the Lord *Strange* incontinent to be beheaded, at the very season, when the two Armies came in sight each of others, but his counsellors tolde him, that the time was now to fight, and not to execute, which might better bee done when the field was fought: wherevpon the

Lord *Strange* was deliuered prisoner to the keepers of the Kings Tents, and the Kings holy vow thus broke, the Lord *Strange* escaped with life, by this bad tyrants to good a death.

(53) But now the time and houre of Battell being come, he drew out his Army vpon the plaine, whole order for fight he thus placed, the forward he ordered of a marvellous length, to strike the more terror in the Beholders hearts, in whose forefront he placed his Archers, as a Bulwarke to defend the rest, the leading whereof was committed to *John Duke of Norfolk*, with whom was *Thomas Earle of Surrey*, his sonne, his owne Battailion was furnished with his best approued men of warre, hauing Horsemen for wings on both sides of his hanel; and being thus ordered for their further incouragement King *Richard* mounted in place to be heard, thus said to his Souldiers.

(54) "My faithfull followers, friends, and selected Chieftaines, I confesse by your puissant valours I first aspired to the top of this royal estate, in obtaining & wearing this Diademe of Imperial Majesty, and maugre the seditious attempts of all cinkered aduersaries, by your prudent & politike counsels I haue gouerned the Realm, People and Subjects, as I haue omitted nothing I hope appertaining to the office of a lost Prince, nor you pretermitted anything belonging to the parts & duties of most prudent Counsellors. And albeit, that in the getting of the Garb I was prouoked by sinfull Counsell, and seduced by a diabolical contraption to commit a most wicked & detestable Act, yet with salt teares and straight penance I haue, I trust, expiated that heinous offence: which abominable crime, I desire you as clearly to forget, as I daily remember to deplore and lament. If you will now vouchsafe to call to minde in what case we al stand, and in what doubtfull perill wee are intrapped, I doubt not but that you will with me confesse, that if euer amity preuailed betwixt the raised, and the raisers, betwixt the Prince and his Subjects, this day requires as much in vs both. For if wise men say true, that there is oot so much power in getting, as there is pollicy in keeping; the one, meete fortunes chance, the other widows deepe insight, then I with you, and you with mee this day must needs take labour and paines, to keepe that prebeminence & possession by force, which by your prudent labour I haue obtained. The diuel, you know, a continuall enemy to humane society, a disturber of Concord, and a fower of sedition hath entered into the heart of an unknowne *Wylisman* (whose father I neuer knew, nor him euer personally saw) exciting him to aspire and ouer our Realme and Crowne, to the disherizing of vs and of our posterity: you see further how a company of Traitors, Thieves, Out-lawes, and runnagates of our owne Nation, besides a number of bегgerly Britaines, and faint hearted Frenchmen, are ayders and partakers of this his wicked enterprise, ready at hand to oppress and spoile vs, our lands, our wiues and children; which eminent mischieues, if we then will withstand and resist, wee must time and die together as brethren, fight together as Lions, and scarce not to die together like men; thus resolu'd, belet me, the fearefull *Han* neuer shed faster before the Greeke *Grayhound*, the silly *Lark* before the spar-hauke, or the simple sheep before the Wolfe, then these proud bragging enemies will run out of the field at the sight of your manly visages. For haue we not already manifest tokens of victory and triumphs? Is not the Captaine of the Rebellion *Richmond* a Welsh milke-dop, of no courage and lesse experience in Marshall teares of war, brought vp by my brothers means, and mine, like a bird to a cage, in the Court of the Duke of *Britaine*, neuer saw Army, neuer wore Armour, without practise, and therefore without knowledge,

R IIII

how

King Richard sets forward to meet his enemy.

King Richard comes to Leicester.

Sir Thomas and Sir Walter Hungerford come to Earle Henry.

Henry Earle of Richmond seeth his way.

Henry excels.

King Richard terrified with dreadful dreames.

Richard set down his battell upon Redmore.

Lord Stanley answers into the Kings message.

The Lord Strange is commanded to be beheaded.

The order of R. Richmonds battell.

King Richards Oracion vnto his Souldiers.

King Richard confesseth his fault.

"how to gouerne a field. What are his followers but
 "a sort of fainting runagates, whose fearefull eyes,
 "as they could not behold our rates in peace, can
 "worke abide to see our royal banner displayed against
 "them in fight; for their owne consciences shall be-
 "wray their guilt; their oathes, their perjury; their
 "promise, iohndelicty; and the sight of vs their annoi-
 "ted Soueraigne shall either cause them shamefully to
 "fly, or submissiually to yeld themselves to our mercy.
 "As touching his French and Britaine aiders, their
 "valours haue beene well knowne to our Noble
 "Progenitors, often vanquished but neuer vanqui-
 "shed; onely bragging without any great deeds,
 "drunkards without discretion, Ribaulds without
 "reason, Cowards without resistance, and (in a
 "word) effeminate, lasciuious, and neuer seene in
 "the Front of a Battell, seeking ten times more
 "meanes to flee and escape, then once to assault the
 "face of their enemies. Therefore like valiant Cap-
 "taines aduance forth your Standards, and make
 "knowne your manhood by dint of sword, and be
 "ye sure that if euery one of you giue but one sure
 "stroke, the day wilbe ours; for how can a handfull
 "withstand a whole Realme? Aduance therefore
 "forward, my Captaines, in whom I well know is
 "wanting neither courage, policy, wisdom, nor
 "pulsance. I therefore desire you, for your loue
 "to meward, the zeale of your native Countrey,
 "and the safety of your Prince and selues, to leue
 "this day your true English valour, and for my selfe
 "I assure you I will this day either triumph in a
 "glorious victory, or die in this quarrell with Im-
 "mortal Fame; in whose Palace all our names shall
 "be enroiled, if we preferre the renowne of our
 "Countrey before our owne liues. Now *S. George*
 "for vs, and *for victorie*; hark therefore forward,
 "and remember this, that I am he who with high
 "aduancement will preferre the valiant and hardy,
 "and with seuerer torture will punish the dastard and
 "cowardly Runaway. The Oration ended, as it
 "gaue courage to some, so gaue it distaste vnto others,
 "whose hearts carried gall though their mouths
 "droppd honey, some intended to turn to Earle *Henry*,
 "some determined to take part with the strongest;
 "and some meant to stand still and doe nothing; so vi-
 "sured was he of his Subjects loyalty, that had been so
 "traiterous to his owne Nephews.

(55) Earle *Richmond* then seeing King *Richard*
 "thus embattell'd, sent to the Lord *Stanley* who stood
 "hoovering aloofe off, to come helpe him to order his
 "fight, whose answer was, that *Henry* should doe it
 "himselfe, and that he would come to him when he
 "law time conuenient, which stricke the Earle into a
 "great dumpe, but now hauing no time for delay, ne-
 "cessary compelled him to order his men. The Fore-
 "ward he made single according to his small number
 "of souldiers, and in the Front placed his Archers, o-
 "uer whome *John* Earle of *Oxford* was Capitaine,
 "the right wing was led by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and the
 "left assigned to Sir *John Savage*; Earle *Henry* himselfe
 "with his vnkle *Talbot* Earle of *Pembroke* gouerned
 "the Main-Battell, better replenished with horse, then
 "foote, whose whole number consisted hardly of five
 "thousand, the kings doubling the number and more.
 "The Battels thus ordered, Earle *Henry* armed at all
 "peeces, gasing his helmet, rode from ranke to ranke,
 "and from wing to wing, encouraging his men, and
 "the more to encrease their hot spirits, mounted vpon
 "a little banke, the better to be seene and heard,
 "these wordes he vttered in all their hearing.

(56) If euer God giue victory to a iust quar-
 "rell, if euer he aided warre for the reuention of a king-
 "dome or Countrey, or euer fauoured them that
 "fought for the reliefe of poore innocents, oppres-
 "sed by tyranny, then no doubt my friends and fel-
 "low souldiers, but that this day be will giue vs a
 "triumphans victory. For if we consider for what
 "and against whom we fight, we may not doubt but
 "that God himselfe will fight for vs. The thing

"which we are bere ready to try by sword, is the li-
 "berty of the Land from vnder the viorpation and
 "yoke of a Tyrant, and hee, against whom we
 "draw sword, is the Monster (for I may not call him
 "man) which feareth neither God, Lawes, Justice,
 "nor Humanity, an homicide, a murderer of his
 "owne kindred, a destroyer of the Nobilitie, a Mawle
 "to his Subjects, and a firebrand to the whole King-
 "dome, whom iust vengeance craveth to haue que-
 "red; and consider I pray you, who be of his hand,
 "euen such as by murder and vntuth to their kin-
 "d and Countrey, haue got wrongfull possession of
 "our rightfull inheritance, letting your wises weep,
 "and Orphanes wander, to seeke their liuehood
 "where they can get it, whose teares I doubt not
 "crie in the eares of the Lord, who will punish these
 "Malefactors either with pricke of conscience eue-
 "redly to flay, or deliuer themselves into our hands
 "without Battell. Consider further, I pray you,
 "that in yonder great Battell are men brought more
 "for feare then for loue, by force compelled and not
 "willinglie assembled, persons that desire more the
 "destruction, then the life of their Capitaine, and fi-
 "nally a multitude, whereof the most part be our
 "friends and the least part his that leads them; and
 "surely it stands in suspence, whether the malice of
 "the souldiers towards their Generall, or his feare
 "conceined against them, be the greater, for this is a
 "rule infallible, that as ill men daily couet to destroy
 "the good, so God appointeth the good men to con-
 "found the ill, and if it be the true that Clerkes preach
 "that the one is to be hated, and the other beloved,
 "who then can spare yonder tyrant *Richard* Duke of
 "Gloucester vntuly calling himselfe king, that hath
 "broken both the Lawes of God and man, in the
 "blood of his brother, the murder of his Nephews,
 "the death of his wife, the slander of his owne mo-
 "ther, and the bastardizing of his brethren. If you
 "haue not heard, yet I haue read that *Targue* was
 "proud, for the rape of *Laueria*, lost the Kingdome
 "of *Rome*; yet was not his fact so detestable as *Ne-
 "uer*, who slew his owne mother, to behold the
 "place of his conception; but yonder vilsper is
 "both these persons in one; a *Nere* in murder of his
 "young Nephews, and in defaming the wombe of
 "his owne conception: and a *Targue* intending to
 "defile, and carnally to know his owne Nece vnder
 "pretext of holy Matrimony, which Lady you are
 "witness, I haue I worne shalbe my wife. This is the
 "quarrell for which we are here this day assembled,
 "and for whose equity we craue God to be iudge:
 "a good beginning of his Protection we haue alrea-
 "dy seene, in escaping the treasons laid for vs in *Bril-
 "laine*, the dangers of *Scas*, and our safe arriuaage vnto
 "this place, not hunted by anie, but rather our selues
 "hunting after that furious Bore; who this day, and
 "in this place, is so intrangled in his owne toyke, as his
 "crooked tuskers shall not be able to gnaw the cords
 "of his insane alinder, nor himselfe haue power, to
 "free himselfe from his pursuers, whoe I asseguine (I
 "doubt not) shall be died in the blood of this filthy
 "swine, and shall well rid the world of an vgly hog-
 "backed Monster; which thing to accomplish let vs
 "remember, that victory is not gotten by multitude
 "but by manhood, but the smaller number we bee,
 "the greater is our glory if we vanquish, if vanqui-
 "shed fretting time shall neuer consume our memo-
 "ry, that died to free our selues, and Nation from
 "the oppression of an vilsper Tyrant; and thus I
 "assure you, that for so iust a cause you shall finde
 "me this day rather a dead Carrion vpon the colde
 "ground, then a Carpet prisoner kept aliu for re-
 "proch. Aduance therefore forward like true hearted
 "Englishmen, display your Banner in defence of your
 "Countrey, get the day and be Conquerours, loofe
 "the Battell and be villaines; God and *Saint George*
 "giue vs a happy successe. Which no sooner was said
 "but that the souldiers buckled their Helmes, the
 "Archers stripe vp their sleeves, bent their bowes and
 "flushed

The diuers opi-
 "nions of King
 "Richard last.

Lord Stanley first
 "to vs Earle *Hen-
 "ry*.

The Earle was
 "bushy his hesi-
 "tation.

The Earle of
 "Oxford Capitaine
 "of the Archers.

Henry Duke of
 "Richmond ex-
 "cited.

The readiness of
 "Earle Henry
 "souldiers.

frushed their feathers attentively listening when the Trumpet should give the sound of Battell.

(57) Betwix both the Armies there lay a great manly, which Earle *Henry* left upon his right hand, with purpose to have that for a defence, as also the Sannet at his backe, and face of the enemy, which when King *Richard* perceived, with sound of trumpet and shout of his Army, hee passed the Marsh, when the bow-men on both sides let freely flie their arrows: the rest comming to encounter with strokes: but the Earle of *Oxford* fearing to be encompassed by the enemy, commanded earey of his raukes to keepe within ten foot of his Standard, which being accomplished, and their fight a while stayed, their opposites mistrusting some fraud or deceit, ceased likewise from there, many of them willing inough so to doe; notwithstanding, the L. *Stanley* at the same time joyning with the Earle, a cruell battell was againe begunne, and manfully continued vpon eicher part. Till lastly, King *Richard* hauing intelligence that the Earle of *Richmond* was but slenderly accompanied with men of Armes, and them also buied in their owne guardes, meant by his incommet to finish the day, as the onely man, vpon whom stood all the hope of his enemies successe, and therefore hauing the markes of Earle *Henry*, made from the range of his owne battell, and vpon the spar with his Speare in his Rest, ranne violently towards him in a furious spleen; in which rage, at the first brunt, hee bare downe and ouerthrew the Earles Standard, and slew Sir *William Brandon* the bearer thereof; next matching with Sir *John Cheney* a man of great might, manfully threw him to the ground, thereby making an open passage by dint of sword vnto the Earle himselfe: *Richmond* beholding the high valour of *Richard*, most lion-like coped with this cruell Bore, and beld him manage his iustkes at his sword point, betwix whom the fight was so desperate, that *Henries* company were stricke in great despair; at which very instant Sir *William Stanley* came in with three thousand tal fresh Souldiers, who entred the battell with such courage and valour, as they bare down all before them where they went, whereas the Kings side began to faint, and to giue oer fight, bathe more resolute a while maintaining their ground, and now mistrusting treason among themselves, turned their backs and ran away, whereby King *Richard* perfectly perceived the downefall of his ill raied glory, and the full period of his short raigne; and all hope of resistance now past, a swift horse was brought to escape the field, with comforts that another day might set the victory on his side: but with a mind vnmarchable in hatred against *Henry*, or rather to haue his death registred in fames honorable tole, whose life had bene blotted with the penne of disloued infamie, hee bathily clofed his helmet, saying, that that day should make an end of all battels, or else in this now in trying he would finish his life, which last was perfectly performed; for thrusting into the middelt of his enemies, and there valiantly fighting among the thickest, hee obtained more honor in this his two houres fight, then hee had gained by all the actions of his whole life.

(58) There died that day with him *John Duke of Norfolk*, *Walker Lord Ferrers of Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more: Sir *William Catcely* one of King *Richards* chiefe Counsellors with two others, were taken and two daies after beheaded at *Leicester*, among them that escaped were *Francis Viscount Lovell*, *Hamfry*, and *Thomas Stafford* brethren, which three tooke Sanctuary at *S. Johns in Gloucester*. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* though hee submitted himselfe vnto *Henry*, yet was hee committed to the Tower and therein a long time remained. Vpon Earle *Henries* part onely ten men were slaine, as Sir *Gilbert Talbot* wrote the newes from the field, whereof for

note Sir *William Brandon* was the best, in all to the number of foure thousand men. This battell was fought the two and twentieth of August, and yere of Christ Iesus 1485. in the field *Redemore*, nere vnto *Bosworth*, in the Coaunte of *Leicester*; after which Earle *Henry* gaue thanks vnto God, and commending his Souldiers, with suffrance for them to take the spoiles of the field, dubbed many of the knights which his doings was so acceptable to the whole Army, as with great applaude they all cryed King *Henry*, King *Henry*; whose fortwardnesse to him-ward, when the Lord *Stanley* perierued, hee tooke K. *Richards* Crowne, found among the spoile of the field, and set it vpon the Earle of *Richmonds* head, thereby confirming the election of the people, at which instant beganne the raigne of this new King.

(59) The slaine body of the vsporing Tyrant, all tugged, and torne, naked, and not so much as a cloat left to cover his shame, was trussed behind *Blanch Saint-Leger* (or *White Bore*, a Parlement at Armes,) like a hogge or Calfe, his head and Armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and his legges on the other, and all besprinkled with mire and blood, was so brought into *Leicester*, and there for a miserable spectacle the space of two dayes lay naked and vnburied, his remembrance being as odious to all, as his person deformed, and loathsome to be looked vpon: for whose farther despite, the white Bore his cognizance was torne downe from every Signe, that his monument might perish, as did the monies of *Caligula*, which were all melted by the decree of the Senate: lastly, his body without all funeral solemnity was buried in the *Gray-Friers* Church of that City. But King *Henry* his Successor, of a princely disposition, caused afterward his Tombe to be made with a picture of *Alabaster*, representing his person, and to be set vp in the same Church, which at the suppression of that Monastery was pulled downe, and utterly defaced; since when his graue ouergrowne with nettles and weedes, is very obscure and not to be found. Onely the stone chest wherein his corpes lay, is now made a drinking trough for horses at a common Inne, and retaineth the oarly memory of this Monarches greameffe. His body also (as tradition hath deliuered) was borne out of the City, and contemptuously belowed vnder the end of *Brew-bridge*, which giueth passage ouer a branch of *Stamford* on the west side of the Towne. Vpon this Bridge (the like report runneth) flood a stone of some height, against which King *Richard*, as hee passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance stricke his spar, and against the same stone as hee was brought backe, hanging by the horse side, his head was dashed and broken, as a wife woman (forsooth) had foretold, who, before *Richards* going to battell, being asked of his successe, said, that where his spurre stricke, his head should be broken; but of these things, as is the report, so let be the credite. Dead he is, and with his death ended the factions a long time continued betwixt the Families of *Lancaster* and *York* in whole bandings, to bring, set & keep the Crown on their beades, eight or nine bloody set battels had bene fought, and no lesse then fourescore persons of the blood-royall slaine, as *Philip Communes* the French Writer saith; many of them being well knowne to himselfe: after which floemes, and this Tyrants death, a blessed vnion ensued, by joining those houses in *Henry of Lancaster*, and *Elizabeth of York*.

(60) Hee was of stature but litle, and of shape deformed, the left shoulder bunching out like a Mole-hill on his backe, his haire thinne, and face short, a cruell countenance, in whose aspect might bee perceived both malice and deceit. When hee stood mauling (as hee would doe oft) his life was, to bite and chaw the nether lip, his hand euer on his dagger, which euer hee would choppe and down in the thertth, but neuer draw it fully out. Pregnant in wit hee was, wily to faigne, apt to dissemble, and haugh-

The monarchs field in *Bosworth* field.

Harling with 17.

Henry procla- med king in this field.

Dead *Richards* body lyes naked, was trussed up in *Lancaster*.

Mis-fact.

King *Richard* had naked in his scene of all.

His badge defaced and was downe.

K. *Richards* monument.

K. *Richards* coffin made a drinking trough.

A flying prophesy of King *Richard*.

With *Richards* death death the quarrell of *York* and *Lancaster*.

M. C. C. L. A. G.

The destruction of K. *Richard* in *Bosworth* battell.

The purpose of *Richards* Army.

The fight begins

The strength & courage of King *Richard*.

The three Chief- raiuers cope to- gether.

Sir *William Stanley* commeth in with new sup- plies.

The Kings side giues oer fight.

The valiant courage of King *Richard*.

King *Richard* slaine.

Men slaine in the battell.

Catcely beheaded.

haughty of Stomacke, an expert Souldier, and a better King then a man. He founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *Yark*, and a Collegiat Chantry in *London*, neere vnto the Tower, called *Our Lady of Barkings*; he endowed the *Queenes Colledge* in *Cambridge* with five hundred Marks of yerele reuencue; and disforrested the great Field of *Wickwood*, which King *Edward* his brother had inclosed for his game: he reigned two yeres, two months, and one day, and was buried, as we haue said.

His Wife.

(61) *Anne* the second daughter and Coheire to *Richard* *Neut*, the first Earle of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, was first married to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the sonne to King *Henry* the sixth, and after his death was remarried to *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, Anno 1472. afterwards by vsurpation King of *England*, with whom in great Seue and solemnity shee was Crowned *Queene* the sixth of *July*, and yere of *Salutation*, 1483. She was his wife to the last yere of his Raigne, and then leauing her husband to

chooe another *Queene*, was laid at rest in the Abbey of *Westminster*, in this thing happy, that he liu not the death of the Tyrant.

His Issue.

(62) *Edward* the sonne of King *Richard*, and of *Queene Anne* his Wife, and the onely childe of them both, was borne in the Castle of *Middleham*, neere *Richmond*, in the Countie of *Yarke* Anno 1473. and being vnder foure yeres of age was created Earle of *Salisbury* by his Vncle King *Edward* the fourth; the seuenteenth of his Raigne; but his father King *Richard* in the first of his vsurpation created him Prince of *Wales*, the four & twentieth of *August*, and yere of *Christ*, 1483; he then being about ten yeres of age, vnto whom also the Crowne was intailed by Parliament; but this Prince dying before his father, and much vpon the time of his mothers decease, saw not the reuenge that followed the Tyrants Raigne, whose bad life no doubt hath made doubtfull the place of this Princes buriall, and other Princely officers done him in his life, and at his death.

1st. Edw. Mort.

Cam. Brit.



HENRY



Henry VII.

HENRIE THE SEVENTH, KING
OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND
LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SEVENTH MO-
NARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSUE

Monarch 57



CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1485.
22. August.
The date of his
kingdom com-
mencing.



HENRIE of that name
the seventh, having by
such mixt meanes of *valor*
and *praisur* as are already
described, obtained the
possession of *England*
Crown, we must now pre-
sent vnto you his actions
in the person and time of a
King, maintained by him

with like mixture of *courage* and *skill* as it was archie-
ued, to the verification of that role, *That things are*
kept by the same Arts whereby they were gained. In de-
scribing whereof, wee meane nothing lesse, then for
humoring the vaine admirers of phrase and conceit,
to mount vp into Panegyricall flourishers, in honor
of the man, though his excellent vertues would wor-
thily beare, if not duly also exact them: yet may

wee not omit to obserue, that as in his attaining to
the Crowne, there was (through diuine providence) a
concurring disposition of all important Circum-
stances, without which his attempt might haue pro-
ued disastrous; so hee, having now possessed the
Soueraigne power, and mastered the State in the
maine pointes, easily made circumstances waite
vpon his wisdom, and to take their forme from
his directions: Of the first kind, where in his felici-
ty deserves to be celebrated, were these. That he
by the *Male*-line a meere stranger to both the roiall
houses, as descended from the *Welsh* and *French*,
and by the *female* springing out of such a family of
Lancaster (the *Beauforts*) as by the same law which
enabled it to inherite in ordinary states, was made
incapable of succession in the Regalitie, should so
safely be conuained away into forraigne parts, there
to continue an head of expectation and reuolt, du-
ring

General obser-
uations concern-
ing this Princes
whole course.

Consequence of
his descent to
the houses of
Lancaster and
York.

ring the intestine troubles and dangers, to him in-
evitable here at home. Secondly, that the Realme
of England should bee so auctored from Richard,
(though a very honorable, wise, iust and necessary
Prince, after hee was somewhat settled) as for his
like, to neglect (in a fort) so many naturall heires
of the house of York, some of them in right prece-
ding Richard, such were the children of Edward the
fourth, and George Duke of Clarence, Richards elder
brethren, and all of them iust barres to the Earle of
Richmond, who scarce had any thing of a legal title,
or of a warrantable intention; but his purpose
to remove an *usurper*, and marry the Lady Elizabeth,
the rightfull inheritor. Thirdly, a long and fatal
backesse of Richard in his warlike preparations,
through the meer contempt of his enemy the Earle,
which was the cause, that both hee landed securely,
and Richard was druen to fight in a manner with tu-
multuaries, rather then trained forces. And finally,
that a principall, potent, noble, and yet a deeply in-
spected Conspirator, (as being Father in law to the
Earle) should have charge, vnder Richard, our
chiefe portion of his Army at the very instant of
ioining battell.

(2) These considerations (among many other)
had in them such an aptitude to his designe, as no
humane wit could fashion, and without the which
a man of equall stature and parts to Henry, or Henry
himselfe, might in vaine have become wise, in vain,
industrious and valiant. Circumstances of the other
fort shall plentifully occur in the whole carriage of
his ensuing actions. In both which are verified two
contrary rules; for the state of the first obserua-
tions teacheth vs with *Plautus*, that *Centum doctores
hominum conficit hoc vno vincto Deo, Tunc nec God-
desse can efficitur nec vna vincta Dea, Tunc nec God-
desse can efficitur nec vna vincta Dea* speaking as an Heathen man of that famous
Idole Fortune; and in the second, that which *Iuuenal*
excellently noteth,

*Nullo nomen adeo si sit prudentia, sed te
Nesciam Fortuna Deum, proleque locum.*

No Goddesse wert, where Prudence guide, though Chappes
A Goddesse deerd found Actes to Heaven aduance.

(3) Now for the Character of this famous
wise Prince (which with reason ought to bee set in
front to his actions, as certaine lightes of the mind,
by which to discern the fountain of counsels and
causes) a learned, eloquent Knight, and principal
Lawyer of our time, giues vs many things, of which
these selected, are very regardable. *This King*
(saith he) attained vnto the Crowne, not onely from a
private fortune, which might endue him with a mode-
ration, but also from the fortune of an exiled man,
which had quenched in him all the furies of ambition,
and an industry. His wisdom (speaking thereof, as
it was in his ruine) seemed rather a dexterity to
deliuer himselfe from dangers when they pressed him,
then any deepe foresight to prevent them a farr off.
Heauen hee was ouer the Greatnesse of his Nobility, as
remembering how himselfe was set up. Great and de-
uout reuerence hee bare vnto religion, as hee that
employed Ecclesiasticall men in most of his affaires. In
his gouernment hee was led by more, fearfully by his
lawes, and yet hee was a great reformer of iustitias in
all his proceedings, which withstanding was no im-
pediment to the working of his will. In his warre (mean-
ing domestique) hee was rather confident then en-
terprising, by which also hee was commonly not the
poore. Generally, hee seemed inclinable to line in peace,
and in the queching of the Commotions of his subjects,
hee was euer ready to achieve these wars in person,
sometimes referring himselfe, but neuer retiring him-
selfe. Of nature hee was to accumulate treasure; in
expending whereof hee neuer feared charge that his af-
fares required, and in his foundations was magnificent
enough. Hee chose commonly to employ cunning persons,

as hee that knew himselfe sufficiently to make use of their
uttermost reaches, without danger of being abused with
them himselfe.

(4) Another hauing a purpose to write in En-
glish the history of this Henry (an argument which
for the worthy doing thereof, requires as wise a man
as Henry himselfe,) hath among many extraordina-
ry praises (most what framed out of his strong affec-
tion) truly noted concerning his achievement of
the Crowne: that the Almighty hand of God brought
him over the toppe of the highest and most dangerous
abysses, to sway this Scipio, when neither Title,
Power, nor great Probability could giue him so much
as one found path to sit him forward. And of the man
himselfe, *That hee entertained that, as fortune, as so-
ueraine change of fortune, with such moderation, and*
contrasted discretion, as it well appeared hee had
throughly conquered himselfe, before hee subdued the
usurper his enemy. What could bee added greater
to so true a prayse? nothing certainly; for that he
(as else-where that Writer saith) was the Saluame,
who brought peace to this Kingdom, long before oppres-
sed by warre and tyranny: it was onely an excellent
effect of that excellent moderation. Other Authors
of our times concur in the same iudgement of him,
whom they prayse "for singular wisdom, excellent
temperance, and moderate frugality; for policy, iustice,
and clemency: which princely vertues caused him to
bee highly reuerenced of forraigne Princes. These
honourable Eulogies after so many yeeres from his
death, iustly countenance their relations, who writ-
ting, in or about his owne dayes auctore so lesse; a-
mong whom, *Bernard Andrew of Tholome* is most
flowing and abundant. This Andrew (as himselfe
writes) was afterward entrusted with the instructi-
on of Prince Arthur (eldest sonne to King Henry)
in good letters, though hee was blind, and hauing af-
well the title of *Poet Laureat*, as of the Kings *Hysto-*
grapher, (how hardlie scarce those two faculties
meet with honour in the same person) meant to
haue historized and poetized the Acts of this king,
but (for want of competent and attended instructi-
ons in many places of chiefe importance) left his la-
bour full of wilde breaches, and vniuallied; yet in
such points as hee hath professed to know, not wa-
worthy to bee vouched: for there is in him a great
deale of cleare elocution, and defecated conceit a-
bout the ordinary of that age. Here, among other
verses in honour of this our Henry (whom hee enty-
leth *the most sapient King*) hath hee not hyperbo-
lically, but proper, wherein hee laudes him.

*Principis ingenium miraris proham,
Fama, religio, comitate,
Sensu sanguine, gratia, decore.*

*A peerlesse Prince for wisdom rare,
I am, pity, courteous, chearfull,
Knowledge birth, grace, and feature faire.*

Whereby also, after these portraicts of his inward
faculties and gifts, may be guessed that a body they
had for their mortall mansion, no way vnfitable
and it seemes by that *Mausole* (so they call the Im-
ages of our Kings, which are carried for prebelen-
ce in their funerall chariots) which at this day is
"extra, that hee was of stature tall and slender, some-
what round visage, and though in "his childhood
sickly, yet of aspect so all his outward lineaments,
so noble and gracious, as well prised, and after-
ward fitted the most fortunate height to which he
was now ascended. But notwithstanding these great
praises, there want not some who think him to haue
been an heauy Father to the common wealth, which
by fardly courses hee greatly laboured to bring un-
der as a seeming ground-works of his owne, and his
posterities security. And in his last dayes a *mauer*,
(the naturall maladic of age) tooke him strongly,
the enuy whereof he partly diuerted from himselfe
by

John De Witt, 1611.

*A. H. and J. H.
1611.*

John De Witt, 1611.

** Father's faith.
Richard's faith
being grounded
in the defence.*

Plautus.

Isomach.

*The description
of Henry
in the
end.*

** Sir Fr. Bacon,
Page 365.*

** Nemo in
1611.*

** Burroughs, 1611.*

by the splendor of some few public buildings, which they gave the people cause to take of their brauerie, so they also infinitely wrought in their light minds a mitigation of their burthen.

(1) Let vs now behold his vertues as they are shiningly deduced into action. After the Battell he hauing truly first ascribed the whole good of his successe to God, commanded, that to the body of * his enemy King *Richard*, *a honorable interment* should be giuen in the Friars at *Leuesler*, where notwithstanding * hee was with little reuerence buried. From thence the King made speed to *Londoun*, as to the chiefe seat and Epitome of the English Monarchie, whithunto which vpon Prince found himselfe heere secure enough : he entered the Citie vpon a * *Saturday*, as vpon a *Saturday* he obtained his triumphall and Crowning victory. The Mayor of *Londoun* and his fellowship, * recieued him in violet at *Harley Parke*, but his entrance (which was at * *Shoreditch*) was honoured with a very great troope of the Peeres, and Nobles in his traine, at which our Poetical Historian *Andrew* was present, and saluted the victorious Prince with certaine Latine *Supplikes*, which he sung vnto him as himselfe writeth. But *Henry* staied not in Ceremonious greetings and popular acclamations, which (it seemes) hee did purposely eschue, for that (*Andrew* saith) hee entered * covertly, meaning belike, in an Horse-litter or close Chariot. His lodging was in the Bishoppe of *Londons* Pallace, where (after publicke offerings and solemne thanks giuen to God in the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul*) the businesse of his Coronation was seriously consulted of; which was afterward (vpon his remoues to the Tower, where hee created his vnckle *Tasler* Earle of *Pembroke*, Duke of *Bedford*, and other Estates) with due pompe and rituall magnificence * accomplished at *Westminster*.

(6) But the naturall solder and indissoluble cement, which must make this Kingdome stand, was his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of the late *Edward* the fourth. This as a point of most importance was with great matuery and iudgement againe thought vpon, when *Henry* was now already crowned. The remoter danger, supposed to reside in the person of *Edward* Earle of *Warwick* (only sonne and heire, euen in his infelicitie, to that unfortunate Prince *George* Duke of *Clarence*) was preuented; for he had bene, by King *Henric* direction, brought vp prisoner from the Manour of * *Sheriff-botton* in *Yorkshire*, (where as well he, as the Lady *Elizabeth* were kept by King *Richard* vnder guard) and immediately that vp within the Tower of *Londoun*.

(7) *Francis* * Duke of *Britaine* had offered *Henry* before his departure to match him with the Lady *Anne* his eldest daughter and sole heire, but hee was otherwise affected, as placing his loue where it might afford him greatest & present strength. *Andrew* addeth, that King *Edward* himselfe designated his eldest daughter vnto *Henry* then Earle of *Richmond*, and fought in his lifetime to bane effected it; but his meaning being (belike) suspected, as bot a drift to get *Henry* into his hands, the motion tooke no hold as referred till God had cleared the way of all such impediments, as might hinder the consolidation of both the Royall families, *Turke* and *Lancaster*, (after their so mortall and confusue massacres) in the person of one Soueraigne.

(8) The Lady herselfe, besides youth and beautie (precious Ornaments of that Sexe) had in her from her * infancy a *wonderfull care, and care to please God, and a like deuotion and humble carriage toward her parents her brothers and sisters* she did exceedingly love, and as well toward the poore, as all the seruants of *Christ*, she bore a singular affection. * Her Vnckle (the late vniuerser) in contempt of God and man (whose Lawes he was so long accustomed to violate, till the iust reward thereof did at length overtake him) incontinently meant to haue defiled her, vnder the a-

bused name of *Matrimonie*. When therefore the newes of his death came to her eare, the ioy of her heart brake forth into these words. * *So yet at the last thus hath God, rewarded the humble, and not despised their prayers. I will remember, whether shall I at any time be worthy to remember, that my most noble Father of famous memory meant to haue bestowed me to marriage vpon this most comely Prince. O that I were now worthy of him, but my Father being dead, I want such good friends as should motion so great a matter: and perhaps hee will take a wife from forraigne parts, whose beauty, age, fortune, and dignity shall bee more then mine. What shall I say? I am all alone, and dare not open my minde to * any. What if I acquainted my mother with this? *Bastardie* forbids: What if some of the Lords? *Indelicacy* forbids. O then that I might but confer with him! perhaps in discourse I might let slippe such a word as might discover my intention. What will bee? I know not: thus I know, that a *mighty God* cannot tell how to defend himselfe from them who trust in him. Therefore I make an end of thinking, and repose my whole hope vpon thee, *my God*, doe with mee according to thy mercy. Shee secretly thus reuolving all matters, and reioicing of them in her minde, was heard from above; for King *Henry* hauing vnderstood the honour, chastity, and singular vertues of the maiden Princesse, the rather inclined to make her the Soueraigne of his affections: assigning therefore * a day, wherein (for the vniuersal abolishment of all Hostilities betweene the two Royall houses of *Turke* and *Lancaster*) to establish an vniou of Families by conclusion of their two persons in marriage.*

(9) The meane while hee wisely goes on to secure the maine, which consisteth in setting the generall state, and securing his owne person, hee, for the one, * holds a Parliament at *Westminster*, and for the other, induticates a certaine number of choise * *Archers*, with allotment of fees and maintenance, which vnder a peculiar *Captaine*, and the name of *Yeomen of the Guard*, hee assigned to that service, for him and his successors, Kings and *Queenes of England*. In the Parliament was attained *Richard* late Duke of *Gloucester*, slaying himselfe by vniuersal, King *Richard* the third; and with him by name many other of the Nobility and Gentry. And yet wishall to lay a foundation for his green Government in loue and clemencie, hee, during the Parliament proclaimed free pardon and entire restitution of their fortunes, to all such as submitted themselves to his mercy, and made oath of Fidelity. A seasonable and necessary Act; Whereby hee greatly weakened malicious humors, and wanne to himselfe no small accession of friendship and seruices; for many forsooke Sanctuaries, and tooke vp their refuges in his goodnesse and most gracious labour. And to remoue all feardall and danger from his friends, hee reuered and reuoked all former Acts, hurtfull either to himselfe, or to them for his cause, the whole house of Parliament, * concerning finally in establishing by a solemne Act, the Crowne vpon him, and his heires for ever.

(10) After dissolution of which Parliament, the King redeemes such pledges, as hee had left in *France* for money borrowed, and allows into his Council these two renowned agents in aduancing his fortunes, *John Astor* and *Richard Foxe*, as the most necessary piers and supports of his State; the former of which, notwithstanding (*Thomas Burce* dying) was elected and enthronized Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the latter, was forthwith advanced to be Lord Keeper of his Priuy Seale, & successively preferred to the Bishopricks of *Exeter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*.

(11) The most wished and most welcome * day of marriage betweene King *Henry* and the Princesse *Elizabeth* being now come, was celebrated by them with all religious and glorious magnificence, and by the people, with * fires of ioy, dancing, songs and banquets through *Londoun*, all sorts and sexes beleeching

* *Ann. Arb. MS.*
Her Christian
discreet
moderation
on about mar-
riage.

* *How then did
Andrew know it?*
either has done
poorly here, or
did not know
his own study;

* *John De. of H.*
referred *MS.*
misplaced.

* *By. Sheweth.*
* *Archers.*
* The *Yeomen*
Guard first in-
stituted.

* *King Richard*
and
others accused.

* *misplaced.*
The Crowne
settled vpon King
Henry and his
heires.

* *The King mar-
ried the Lady*
Elizabeth.
* *15 January*
1484.

* *Ann. Arb. MS.*

* *Henric* left all
his inheritance
to his
children.

* *Fabian.*

* *Ann. Arb. MS.*
and vpon the 21.
of Aug. last
Fabian.
* *Stow.*

* *His entrance in-
to Londoun.*

* *Latimer.*

* *See Camb.*
* *MS. Arb.*
* *in. October*
* *MS. Arb.*
* *MS. Arb.*

* *His Marriage*
with the Lady
Elizabeth
deducted.

* *MS. Arb.*
* *MS. Arb.*
* *MS. Arb.*

* *Ann. Arb.*
* *MS.*

* *Lady Elizabeth*
deducted.

* *St. Trin. Anne.*

ching *Almightie God* to send the King and *Queene* most prosperous success, and an infinite increase of the common weal by bestowing upon them a young Prince, and other issue at his good pleasure: Which prayers (saith *Andrew*) our Lord Iesus Christ vouchsafed to heare; the *Queene* within a while after, pronouncing with Child, of whom shee was happily delivered in the month of September following at *Worcester*, which to the most fortunate King was a new happiness, to the *Queene* a great rejoycement, to the Church a *soveraigne delight*: to the Court an exceeding pleasure; and in briefe to the whole Kingdome an incredible contentment. Not that without reason, as it afterward appeared; for (if God had beene pleased to haue granted longer life) not England onely, but the whole world should in such a pledge have had cause of eternall rejoycement. But God who governes all things, and in whose hand are aswell the Scepters of Princes, as dates of their lines, disposed otherwise.

(11) Meane while there were not a few who did enuie to King *Henry* this unexpected height of felicity; but they who first discovered themselves, were certaine remaines of the late overthrow at *Bosworth*, whose diffidence, or euill will, was greater then to relye vpon King *Henries* clemencie, or to behold the dazzling brightnes of his new attained glorie; and for that cause refused to forsake the Sanctuaries which they had taken at *Calcester*. These were the Lord *Lowell*, *Sir Humphrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his brother. Who, while the King, secure of dangers behind him, was in his Progresse at *Turke*, meaning by affability, bountie and other his wisest courtesies, to gaue the good will of the 20th other people, (with whom the memory of King *Richard* was very deare) and so to weaken the strengths and hopes of all future conspiracies, forsooke their refuge, and secretly in secret places gathered forces, therewith to surprize and dethrone the King. The Lord *Lowell* raised his forces with such speed, that the King who at *Lincolne* first heard of his escape, and lightly regarded the same, was no sooner tierled in *Turke*, but certaine intelligence came that he approached fast with an Armie; and withall, that the *Staffords* had assembled forces in *Worcestershire*, meaning to assault the City of *Worcester*. The extremity of the King (who neuer dreamt of such a darling) was not small, for neither had he any sufficient numbers about him of his sure friends, nor could iustly repose confidence in the *Northerne* men, whose loye to King *Richard* their late (saine) Lord, made them still suspected. But danger quickeneth noble courages, and therefore vpon due recollection of himselfe, hee armed about three thousand men, (if tanned leather, whereof the most of their beards-pieces, for want of other stuffe, were framed, may be called armour) and sends them vnder the leading of *Jasper Duke of Bedford*, with commission to pardon, or to fight. The Duke offering pardon, the Lord *Lowell* fled by night to *Sir Thomas* brought into *Lancashire*, where he lurked certaine monthes; the headlesse multitude yield without frowne, and the felicity of King *Henry* pretayles in every place; for the *Staffords* hearing what had hapned to their Confederates, disperse their Cloude of rebels, and speedily take refuge at *Calaham*, a village about two miles from *Abingdon* in *Oxfordshire*. But the priuiledges of that place * being iudicially scand in the *Kings Bench*, they were found vnable to afford protection to open traitors, whereupon they were forcibly taken thence, and conueighed to the Tower of *London*, from whence *Sir Humphrey Stafford* was drawne and executed at *Tisbury*, but his brother *Thomas* by the Kings mercy had his pardon. These short dangers and troubles, by reason of their suddainity did worthily make the King wakefull euen over smaller accidents; this blaze being kindled from so neglected sparkles. But there followed deuises, which in their owne nature were so strangely impudent, and in their way so strongly bolstered, that if *Lowells* enterprise made

him suspicious, these other might iustly fill him with innumerable ialousies.

(12) The records are immortal, which testifie, that the erection of Idols and Counterfeits, to dethrone them who are in possession, is a verie olde Stratagem. What troubles a *Pseudo-Nero* wrought, by support of the *Parthians* (who wonderfully fauoured *Nero* being,) the *Romane* writers teach vs. Neither hath the *Diuel* (Father of Imposthories) any so solemn practise, as Personation and Resemblances of true, whether men or things. Inasmuch that some *Diuines* have thought, that as he can, and often doth transfigure himselfe into the forme of a Celestiall Angell, so that he also deceiued our first mother vnder that resplendent but assumed habite. And what mischief he wrought, in this very kind of thralling out into the world false pretenders, the speech of wise *Ganahel* testifieth, who rehearseth the names of *Theodas* and *Indas Gablous*; but the world hath since had more worfull experience hereof, in that execrable Impostor *Mahomet*, pretending to bee the *Messiah*. In England it selfe (before the time of this *Henry*) what strange practises and conspiracies were set on foote vnder the title of a *Pseudo-Richard* in the reigne of *Henry* the fourth, the former Histories haue sufficiently opened, so that this Prince encountered nothing new in the Generall, howsoever pestilent and extraordinary in the particular. Indeed his raigne (more perhaps then any other of his predecessors) afforded plentiful matter for such deuises to worke vpon, there being many then, who hauing bene * constrained (as it were) on the bowels of *Sedition*, and nourished with the bitter and pernicious milke of dissension, were not onely apt to embrace, but also, where they were not offered, euen there to beget occasions of confounding all. Men, who could neither endure warre, nor peace long nor any leuies in either, as defaults to enioy the licentious violence of ciuill warre; a * misery, which all our dayes (how wide soeuer) want compass to expresse. The strange attempts of which kind of men (or rather Monsters) we shall see exemplified in the subsequent tragedies. *Richard Symond*, an ambitious and imposthous wretch, and withall a Priest, neither vnlearned, (the sacred shadow of which name the rather countenanced his practises) in hope to make himselfe the principall Bishop of England, plotted the aduancement of *Lambert Symond* (being his pupill in the Vniuersitie of *Oxford*) to the Crown of England; iunglited thereto by the diuell, and suborned by such as fauoured the *White-robe faction*, vpon this occasion. There went a rumour, that *Edward Earle of Warwick*, sonne and heire to *George* the late vnfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, second brother of King *Edward*, * was either already murdered, or should shortly be. This Architect of guile, *Symond* hauing this *Symond* in tuition, (the * issue of a Baker, or Shoemaker, but a well-faced and Princely-shaped youth, of no * very euill nature, but as it was corrupted by his Tutor,) meanes out of this rumour arrie inhibition, to produce an apparition and prodigie, which in Title, behaviour, and artificiall answers (inspired by his Tutors practises) should resemble * one of King *Edwards* children. Here we must confesse that our authors leade vs into a perplexitie: Some * affirming, that this counterfeite was exhibited to the world vnder the name of *Edward Earle of Warwick*, sonne of the Duke of *Clarence*, by the most turbulent and fatal Earle of *Warwick* slaine at *Barnet*-field. But hereunto reason seemes repugnant. For what ground of claime could that Gentleman haue, nor onely for that his Father was attainted, but much more for that the *Queene of England* then in being, was the iudithate eldest daughter and heire of King *Edward* the fourth, and sister and next heire to *Edward* the fifth? Neither waies there ancient authority then any of the others, affirming that this Idoll did viurpe the name of one of King *Edwards* sonnes; many arguments concurring to buttresse this affirmation. For, that

Cron. Tacit.
N. Hen.
Sect. on Hen.
4. p. 17.
Counterfeits
Processe on Child
to dethrone the
true.

* 10. 1.

Wentwell exco-
municated in *Queene*
4. in *Henries* doct
for allowing the
person of King
4. d. 10. 6.

* To De.
20. 3.

* To De.
20. 3.

* To De.
20. 3.

The first Idoll
erected against
King *Henry*.

* To De.
20. 3.

A false Idoll
in the Image.
* To De.
20. 3.

Hen. And. M. S.
To De. 20. 3.

* To De.
20. 3.

Hen. And. M. S.
To De. 20. 3.

Lowell *Symond*
Historic recti-
fied and vindica-
ted.

Hen. And. M. S.

Prints Arise
hence.

Hen. And. M. S.

The attempts of
the Kings malign-
ers.

The Lord *Lowell*,
and the *Staffords*
rebell.
Hardy cur-
saries saith they
hath taken *Calcester*.

Prints Arise
Henry 5.
Malin.

* To De.

Yeere booke of
Henry 5. Anno 5.
Treason taken
from Sandbury
and punished.

He is called
Lo. d. *Stafford* by
his day con-
demon.

the same time (as *Polydore* writeth) it was brated, that the *James of King Edward the fourth* had not been murdered under their *purport* *Pie* *Richard*, but were escaped, and lived in *obscurity* beyond the *Sea*; how can that be true, which *Stew* and the rest (who follow *Polydore* therein) affirm, that *Lambert* was crowned King of England at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, as heire to *George Duke of Clarence*? For with what iniurie to the toiall brethren (ained to be alive) was that? Verily there seems no coherence in the circumstances, nor appearance of truth in the substance. And how much stronger to the purpose of the Conspirators was the fiction of an *Edward*, the Kings sounce, and him selfe once proclaimed King, then of an *Edward*, who was but an Earle, and a Duke of *Clarence* heire? But you will aske, what was the poore Earles part in this tragedie? what other? then that by rumoring his murder, they might bring the person of King *Henry* into common detestation for his crueltie; for clearing whereof the King publicke afterwarde shewed the Earle to the view of all. And albeit the vulgar fame is, that *Lambert* was called *Edward*, yet *one who thou lived, saith directly, that this *Cypher* was dubbed & monisted from his owne meane ranke to the title of a King, vnder the name of the second brother, who for certaine was called *Richard*: but what Record there is to the contrary, is to vs as yet vnkowne; for our vulgar Bookes extant can hardly passe with a lury of ordinary Criticks and Censors for vachallengenble evidence.

(14) This aery *Thyphon* (which grasped at the embracement of the two Kingdoms of England and Ireland) thus thoroughly schooled and instructed, is secretly conveyed by his Sionian Tutor to *Dublin*, the chiefe City of the Irish, where he was confident of partrakes, as amongst the hereditary Clients, and adherents of the house of *York*; which affection was first breathed into them by the cunning popularities of the Lord *Richard Duke of York*, the first of that line, who publicke claimed the English Crowne, His hopes deceived him not, for the Lord *Chancellor of Ireland, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, of the noble Familie of the *Geraldines* presently professed himselfe for the plot, and by his authority and persuasions drew the generality of the Irish after him into it. Messengers are herupon dispatched, vpon all hands both into England, to such as they had hope of, and into low Germany to the Lady *Margaret*, sister of King *Edward* the fourth, Dutchesse Dowager of Burgundy, a most mortall enemy of the Lancastrian familie. In both places the lighted matches of sedition found powdry spirits, and wonderfull correspondence. There is flocking from all parts to support the quarrell, and the Irish (to haue the glory of gining England a King) proclaim & reuerence this painted pulke, & flying bubble with royall Style and honors.

(15) *Henric* seeing the fire so strangely kindled round about the walls of his belit house & strength, saith seriously to counsell at the Monastery of *Carthusian* Monks neere *Richmond*, where after exact deliberation it was decreed, & it was general pardon to stay the minds of as many as it had possible should without any exception be proclaimed to such as from thenceforth should continue dutifull. Which was principally done to temper and assure some private persons, as Sir *Thomas Broughton* and others, whose forces, willes, and wealth were held moost in suspicion. 2. That *Elizabeth* late wife to *Edward* the fourth, and mother in law to *Henry* now King of England, should forfeit all her lands and goods for that (conitory to her faith giuen to them, who were in the plot for bringing in King *Henry*) she had yielded up her daughters to the hands of the Tyrant *Richard*. 3. That *Edward Earle of Warwick* then Prisoner in the Tower, should be openly shewed alive in London. All which was accordingly executed, but without any great fruit, for still the plot went on.

(16) The condemnation of *Elizabeth* *Queene* Dowager, rather moued enny towards *Henry*, then relieved his cause; for to many the iustice of that sentence was doubtful, the circumstance of a mother in law inferred a breach of pietie, and the judgement it selfe did also want example. The iustice was doubtfull both in regard of the cause, and of the proceeding. Of the cause, for how could there haue defended her daughters by the priuilege of sanctuary from such a Wolfe and Tyger, as would haue infringed it for her sons, had they not been quietly deliuered to his bloodie hands? The same Tyrant doth now demand her daughters as to honour, not to slaughter; but if it had bene to slaughter, what helpe? she, terrified with the motion, after much deliberation yields them to him, when she neither could, nor durst detain them. But you say she violated her faith, and hazarded thereby the liues and hopes of all that were in the plot for her cause. A great crime certainly. But *Richard* was in title, and power a King, and hung ouer her head with inuincible terrors; when *Henry* of *Richmond* was but an Earle, and he farre off, and in banishment, and without any appearance of preuailing, and her selfe a friendlesse widow. The manner of proceeding was no lesse strange; for by what law or triall was shee condemned in a Præmunire? Shee neuerthelesse is put out of all, and confined to the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southerke*, where finally she ended her dayes, borne to be an example of both fortunes, hating from a forlorne widdowes estate bene raised to the bed of a Bachelon Monarcke; and in his life time bene reduced to the seeming of a priuate fortune, when her Lord was driuen to flee the land; and afterward saw those turnes and varieties as few *Queenes* euer felt, or saw so many, or more contrarie; whether we regard the height of worldly felicity, when shee did behold her sonne a King, or the depth of misery, when the Tyrant invaded his Crowne and life, or now her daughter being *Queene*, and her selfe a miserable prisoner. The consideration whereof, as it may worthily mortifie ambitious affections, so the strangenesse of the sentence verifies that collection among others, which that learned Gentleman makes of such Kings range in these words. *Hee had* (saith hee) *very strange kind of interchanging* very large and unexpected pardons with seuer executions. *Nevertheless*, (his wisdom considered) it could not be imputed to any inequality, but to a discretion, or at least to a principle, that hee had apprehended what it was not good, absolutely to pursue one course, but to trie both wayes. Howouer that was; certainly, shee being lo iust an object of his commiseration, who had married that daughter, by which hee enioyed a Kingdome, and gotten that vertie power, wherewith hee ruined her; it cannot be reasonably thought, but that there were other moost important motives, perswading such a sharpe course, or otherwise, that it must be reckoned among the chiefe of his errors. But as in the times of her flourishing estate, shee founded and endowed a faire Colledge for Students in *Cambridge*, which of het is called the *Queenes*; so we will leaue to those her Beneficiaries the farther search of this Argument, and deploeration of her fortune, which seems such to vs, as if King *Henry* affected to leaue somewhat in this example, wherewith to oppose & amale the world. Velleis perhaps it were, that hauing proclaimed a general pardon for all offenses without exception to such as in future should remaine loyall, and foreseing that some, who might be willing to lay hold of that benefite, might also be cunningly practised with to fall away, vpon distrust of his word, when once hee had ferud his present vies, hee therefore meant (by so cleare a demonstration, as the vtter vndoing, and perpetuall imprisonment of his wiues owne mother,) to giue them assurance, that hee, who vpon her prison had bene so seuer a punisher of faith breach, would

Queene Elizabeth depouled of her crown, and conuicted as a Monist.

The Pr. saith, very str.

A probable cause why King Henry took so rigorously with his mother as law.

* See New was often used to denote that system of learning.

Mr. Ash, M. S.

Lambert was used into Ireland and returned.

* Polid. Poly. Stew calls him Earle of Fildere, and Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Lambert proclaimed King of England.

Conclusions in the Council of England upon the same of this conspiracy.

neuer violate it in his own, and thereby secure them at that point, and secure himselfe of them.

(17) Yet neither could this device take its good effect, but that *John Earle of Lincoln* (sonne of *John de la Pole Duke of Suffolke*, and *Elizabeth King Edward the fourths sister*) secretly fled into *Flanders* to the Duchesse of *Burgundy*, whither *Francis Lord Lovell* was likewise not long before escaped. Sir *Thomas Bracken* (another principal Confederat) temporized in *England*, there to remaine a stay to the businesse, as well for mutual intelligence, as receiv of an Army when it should arrive. This Earle of *Lincoln*, besides that he could not with any patience behold a Lancastrian wielding the English *Scepter*; was also of a "sharp wit, and high reach, and therefore not without an ambitious sensibility, that in countenancing King *Henry*, hee wronged that expectance, and relation to the Crowne, which hee had in right of his mother, sister to King *Edward* the fourth, and to King *Richard* the third, who had

* deligned him for heire apparent, & contracted his sister the * Lady *Jane de la Pole*, to *James Prince of Scotland*: was also the rather animated by letters received from his aunt the Duchesse of *Burgundy*, earnestly calling upon him for his preference. This Duchesse was the second wife of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, * slain by the *Swits* at the battell of *Narvay*, by whom though hee had no issue, yet by reason of her great dowry, & wife behaviour among the Dutch, shee was strong in money and friends; all which shee was willing to convert to the utter subversion howsoever of the Lancastrian line. Though therefore, shee well knew that shee *Lambert* was not an Idoll,* hammered out of the hote braine of that

* bratefrow *Richard Simus*, yet the embraceth the occasion, countenanced the Imposture, and leaves nothing unaid or undone, which might give life and successe to the enterprise. The Earle, the *L. Lovell*, and others shee furnished abundantly, and joyntly vnto them a renowned Cornell *Martin Swart*, a Gentleman of * honorable birth, exemplary valour, and singular experience, and certain selected companies, to the number of about two thousand

Almaines, which looneafter arrive at *Dublin*. *Lambert*, who before was but proclaimed, is now in Christs Church there solemnly by them crowned King of *England*, & feeding and triumphing, wearing mighty showes and cries, carrying him thence to the kings

Castell upon call mens shoulders, that he might be seene and noted; as hee was surely (saith *Stow*) an honorable boy to look upon though nothing lesse was meast, then that hee should enjoy that honour if they prevailed; as meaning then to erect *Edward Earle of Warwick*. Poterity might worthily doubt of the truth of these so desperate impudencies, and ridiculous Pageants, practised in the highest affairs of mankind, but that the thing is so universally testified, and also that the highest affairs of the world (when once they are passed) are little better then such like Pageants.

(18) *K. Henry* (on the other side) though he had by most diligent espials endeavored to know the truth of *Lamberts* quality, to diuert the streame of affections, which hee saw inclined that way, so that the practise was carried with little wonderfull art, as that very many (otherwise discreet and sober men) were induced to beleue that hee was indeed King *Edward* sonne; and although the generall pardon proclaimed by King *Henry*, did undoubtedly stay very many from open revolt, but much more the careful watch which was kept at the Ports, to hinder the escape of Malecontentes or factious Fugitives: yet hee manifestly saw, that it wold in the end come to a field: for which cause hee takes order for the levie of an Armie, resolving to give his enemies battell with the first opportunity, it being the ancient and manfull fashion of the English, (who are naturally most impatient of lingering mischiefs) to put their publike quarrels to the trial of

the sword. *Lambert* attended with *John Earle of Lincoln*, *Francis Lord* * *Vicount Lovell*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, or rather *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* (belike his sonne) and *Cornell Swart*, with an Army of desperate and pickt soldiers, *well English, Dutch*, as *Irish* (all fired with insidie hopes and promises to bee employed upon the overthrow of King *Henry*) come on shore at *Lancashire* at a place called the pile of *Fenside*, where they joine with their assured confederat Sir *Thomas Bracken*, and his squire, and after some short refreshment in those partes, march with crested courages against King *Henry*, taking their way through *Yorkshire* (the hoped nursery of their furell friendship) and gloriously publishing their new King where, though without any in creale of force by concurrence, for King *Henries* widome had mated their errand,) their journey was directed toward *Newburie* upon *Trent*.

(19) The King then at *Counter*, being by such sowres as hee had appointed for that service, presently advertised of *Lamberts* arrival, and having his forces ready vnder the conduct of *Tasfer Duke of Bedford*, and the Earle of *Oxford*, because delay in this case was on all hands repeated mischievous, sets forward to *Nottingham*, and by a wood side called *Donr*, encampeth his people; in whom there appeared a gallant forwardnesse to reuenge themselves by the sword of that indignity, which was offered to the English name by strangers and rebels, who durst hope to give them a ruler. Thither repaired *George Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury*, *George L. Strange* his son, *Sir John Cheine*, and other noble and valiant Gentlemen with their numbers, which added no small sinesse to *K. Henries* numbers. *Poynder* hath diligently set downe the names of such principall men in those parts as repaired thither, partly voluntary, partly first sent to the common defence of the King and Kingdom; but without due additions of each mans degree and place of precedency i yet their names doe well deserve to be remembred, both for the honour of their Families, and examples of loyalty. He recounteth sixty five Captaines which assembled from places thereabout, vnder whom there cannot probably be thought fewer Souldiers then eight or ten thousand, the English usually, till of late, having commonly an hundred and fifty in a Company. Their surnames (besides *Edward Lord* * *Hasting*) are in him as followeth; *Langford*, *Montgomery*, * *Vernon* of the *Pete*, *Shurley*, *Fulcher*, *Griffey*, *Sutton*, *Stander*, and *Stanley*, *Houghton*, *Astrey*, *Stanlop*, *Clyfson*, *Stepleton*, *Willoughby*, *Perpaine*, *Balington*, *Beyley*, * *Braden*, *Martham*, *Morbury*, *Borough*, *Tyrant*, *Hafey*, *Sheffield*, *Newport*, *Ormesley*, *Tompel*, *Kynett*, *Willoughby*, *Dybbey*, and *Dybbey*, *Harrington*, *Sachemerd*, *Vylers*, *Bylding*, *Poultery*, *Vard*, *Gryme*, *Caryon*, *Lucy*, *Belknap*, *Thurgerton*, *Grey* of *Kitchin*, *Wolsten*, *Poynder*, *Philp*, *Cleary*, *Cotton*, *S. John*, *Mordant*, *Terrill*, *Rainford*, *Paynton*, *Daniel*, *Murray*, *Armidale*. From the vttermost bounds of the North, there repaired also other chiefe perform and leaders (saith he) as * *Ogle*, * *Newble*, a *Lutmer*, *Bulmer*, *Langford*, *Narver*, *Nayls* of *Northshire* and *Williams*. The Earle of *Lincoln* neuerthelesse comes forward with his Counter-king, nothing perhaps adding greater courage to that side, then the example of *Henry* himselfe, who with lesse numbers (but much more secret Art) prevailed in a night field at *Besford*: his meaning was to get into *Notwiche*. The King wakefull upon all aduantages, and perfectly intructed of his enemies courtes (whom desperation did thrust forward to a daring hope) dislodged with his Army, & passeth through *Newburie*, leaving it behind him about 3. miles, to intercept the *Lambertines*, and there sits downe againe. The Earle of *Lincoln* encamps with great haierie and shew of courage in the face of the Kings forces.

(20) The next day both the Armies are brought forth to fight, next to a little village called *Stoke*. The Earle of *Lincoln* marshalled his people by the aduise

Scabbe Gof.

Lambert lands in Lancashire.

o

Wentleyham the residence of K. Henries army.

* High Argill.

Great repairs of the noble and people to his old.

Polyd. Dng.

* Polydore calls him Kingdon, saying a Monarch.

Bracken in his Polydore erroneously calls him,

* Thales three times a Carus as others whom he encounters by principles work.

John de la Pole Earle of Lincoln and others, is in the Duchesse of Burgundy.

* Polyd. Dng.

* Camille in History. * In the * History.

* Polyd. Dng.

* John de la Pole.

* Polyd. Dng. such he was from a young man.

Lambert crown King of England in Dublin.

John Stow.

Bracken.

King Henry goes with his battell.

of *Cornell Swart* and others, to the best advantage upon the brow or hanging of an hill expecting the charge. The *Almans* were all of them hardie and approved men, and thoroughly well-appointed, and so in likelihood were such *English* as stood for that side but the Irish, besides mulcades and fierce-ness, had small provision, save (after the rude manner of their Nations) darts, spears, or the like. The maine of the Battell relied wholly vpon the *English* and *Almans*. King *Henry* on the other side, (as hee that thirsted for an end of this bloody daies worke,) speedily disposed his whole numbers into three Battailions: the Voward whereof was best replenished with flore of choise and picked men, well armed and appointed, and furnished with wings. The Armie being thus ordered, *Andrew* saith that King *Henry* vieth this speech.

(21) Most faithfull Lords, and you most valiant "Companions in Armes, who haue (together with "vs) endured so great perils by Land and Sea; lo, "we are againe against our wils, drawne to try our "fortunes in another Field. For the Earle of *Lin-* "coln (a perished man) without any occasion mini- "stered by vs, defends an vnjust quarrell against vs: "whether doth hee is diffemblyng, but most openly "impudent, without any feare of God, not so much "onely to endamage vs, as to fulfill the humor of a "giddie, and intemperate-tongued woman, who is "not ignorant that her blood was extinguished by "her brother *Richard*; but because that line adai- "waies maintaine a most deadly fiewd against ours, "there (without any great regard to her Neece, my "dearest Consort) alliaies to destroy a self vs as our "posteritie. Yee see therefore how often we are "provoked by them, but they shall not carrie it a- "way vnruegued. God therefore and his holy An- "gels we first call to witness, that we are proudent "both night and day for your safetie, and for the "Common quiett; though thus the ancient enemy "repugneth. But God, a iust, strong, and patient "Iudge, will also bring a remedy to this euill. In the "meane time we exhort and admonish you, that the "consideration of our iust inheritance be at this pre- "sent more forecable with you, then their wicked- "nes; neither doubt, but that the same God, who in "the former warre made vs victorious, will enable "vs to triumph ouer also ouer these enemies. Let vs "therefore set vpon them courageously; for God is "vpon our side to assist vs.

(22) The Earle of *Oxford* (on the behalfe of the whole Army) was prepared to make answer: but the King hastening to the prooff, brake off all Ceremonies, and the signe of Battell giuen, they thunder forward with showers of people, and found of martiall musicke, and like a blacke tempest, powethem- selves vpon the Front of the Enemies Battels: who rushed forward with equal violence and furie, as men that at once encountered against feare and fortune. The fight continued do befull about three houres. A long space for men of courage to be employed in killing one the other, and fit to glut the hunger of furie. The Earles *English* wanted nothing but a good cause, and the *Almans* gaue not place to the Kings people in any point worthy of gallant Souldiers, but sold their liues dearly and their *Cornell Swart* had scarce any before him in personall performance. Neither were the Irish behind for their parts, if their skinner had bene sword-prooffe, for the contempt of death was alike in them as the rest. Briefly, the wonder of that daies worke was, that Christian men, in no sounder a quarrell, could dare to die so boldly, chiefly as the Earle of *Lincolne* and some others, who knew the secret of that desperate enterprize. But God, the Lord of reuenges, punishing their vnjust malice, with a suddaine whorle-wind crying in the head of the Battell, (even as when *Constantine* fought against the Enemies of the Church) our Souldiers, who seemed vanquished, became victorious. For the Kings vanguard reinforced it selfe, and

gaue so furious a recharge, (in likelihood vpon this encouragement lent as it were from Heuেন) that it vtterly brake the Enemies squadrons, and gubing in among them with full random, slew first such Cap- taines as resisted, and put the residue which yielded vnto, either to the sword flight. Herewith the whole Armie shouted, the trumpets found victorie, and the generall cry runnes King *Henry*, King *Henry*. When the battell and chafe were ended, so that there was time and leisure to view the field, it then appeared what mindes the slain bodies carried for all the chief Captaines, the Earle of *Lincolne* himselfe (though the King would gladly haue had him sa- ued, to come thereby to a greater light of his dan- gers) the Lord *Lowell*, Sir *Thomas Broughdon*, *Cornell Swart* and *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, Generall of the Irish, were (like *Cadwalla* and his Complices) found to couer those places dead, which they defended li- uing, among foure thousand other Souldiers which were slaine vpon that side. The King at this battell lost almost halfe the People in his Vanguard, and Surgeons had flore of worke among the Suruiuers, so that the Garland gained at this Iourney was not vnripe in blood; Howbeit there is no mention that any man of honor or speciall note, fell vpon the Kings side.

(23) Among the Prisoners was the Counterfeit himselfe, and the lewd contriuer of this wicked Strata-agem, *Richard Simon*, who with little changemay most truly be called another *Simon*. The King (who referred himselfe in this battell, (as in others, but "neuer retired) made both their perfous examples of his clemency. For *Lambert* being questioned, how such a breaching-boy as he was, durst attempt so great a wickednes, denied not, that hee was compelled thereto, by certaine bad persons, who were of that conspiracie, and as for his parents quality, hee enswore them to bee such as indeed they were; allegating of base and despicable calling. *Sim* himselfe, or Sir *Richard Simon* the Priest, whether for discouery of some great secrets, or the extraordinary reuerence borne to his sancti- on (extraordinary say we, for otherwise Priests had bene openly pit to death) was not executed, but condemned to a dungeon, and perpetual shackles. *Lambert* (whom the glittering petting of regall style did but barely so adorne) was condemned to the Kings kitchen, there to manage spits at the fire, who if hee met and first had answered his late Titles, would haue chosen much rather to haue bene turned from the Ladder by an hangman. But having in this abiect condic- ion giuen sufficient prooffe that hee was but a Pupper, or a property in the iuracratical motion, hee was at length (promised we cannot say) made one of the Kings Falconers, in which estate it seemes he liued and died inglorious. This battell was fought vpon a Saturday day of the weeke which is obser- ued to haue bene fauourable and luckie to this *Henrie*. His first care after the victory felde, was that which most became a religious Prince, the humble and ioyous acknowledgement of thanks to God, in the very place. From thence hee passed to *Lincolne*, where he spent three daies in publike supplications, processions, and thanksgiuings, and sent his Standard to our Ladies Church at *Walsingham* in *Norfolke*, there to remaine as a Mouement of his victorie and grate- tude. Such as were taken in the Battell or chafe, are then executed. From *Lincolne* hee proceeded into *Yorkshire*, where hee tooke a stuer course aswell by exorcismes, as transme, for purging those parts from such as were culpable, or probably dangerous. At *Newcastle* about the middle of *August*, he dispatched his experienced and traly Agent *Richard* a son Bilshop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgcombe* Knight into *Scotland*, there to settle a peace with King *James* the third, to empach the retreat and protection, which his enemies and rebels found therein. Him- selfe having spent a great part of Summer in this progreffe, or rather itinary Iusticing, retournes by *Leicester* toward *London*. Those prudent Ambas- sadors

The king pre- sented.

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The Earle of Lincolne and all the chiefe leaders of that side were taken in the field.

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See. 733.

* *Epist. in laud.*

Bishop Peter, & his
a great Catho-
lic, and more
choice pretence
of King Henry
Regency.

* *Ann. Joh. M.*
The Dauphin of
Burgundy in-
mortal malice.

* *Polym. Dig.*

* *Ann. Aub.*

* *3 November*
A.D. 1487.

* *Add. to Feb.*
Elizabeth Com-
mon Queen of
England.

A difficult case,
whether King
Henry should
take the Britains
or no.

Charles King of
France practices
to induce Britains
to his Empire.

Amboise where
out of France to
King Henry.

factor in the mean time negotiating with the Scotch King, wrought * him to be more inclinable to a perpetual peace; then it stood with his safety to let his Subjects understand, who favoured him not. Seven yeeres since is conlortio voto, with a secret promise of King James to renew that term, as it began to expire; with which assurance the Ambassadors returning, gladdened their wife Sovereignes heart; who thereby found that the Bishop of Exeter, then he had been pendent in furthering Hamvinto it. The firebrands and readiest fuel of Rebellion thus seemed to be quenched, and the King beholds himself in the Grace and favour of his people, not lesse of foreign Princes, Margarett Dauchess of Burgundy (his implacable * Jane) excepted; whom the news of her Nephewes the Earle of Lincolnes death, and the bloody blowing up of all her late hopefull and collyb contriements, did gally and wound extremely; but added fresh appetites of revenge to her former immortal malice, which a never ending our working, till she had vented another no lesse prodigy then Lambert was. But the King being honoured and fought vnto, as well by a *Nuncio* * from the *Romanee See*, who obtained leave to publish a Croisado here against the Turkes, as also from the *French*; after his many labours, as well Martialis as Civil, sustained on behalfe of himselfe and the Common-weale, makes a triumphall * entrie into *Berlin*, which was adorned in the best manner. And to the same moneth vpon * *Saint Katherine* day, his wife *Elizabeth* was Crowned *Queen of England*, as if that then first he had held himselfe assured of Royal estate; for he saw not what dangerous luffs would yet beguieen by that inuict Ladies praides, to heave him out of authority.

(34) The next maine action which lifted the judgement, and ride the sionewes of King Henry, was a forraigne case of more difficulty and Art, then of intestine danger, as in which the high and paramount respects of Common weale were intangled, or encountered with offices most necerly concerning the honour of a Princes minde, which neuer is more blemished then with the note of ingratitude. A dispute and combat betweene wisdom and blood, publick and private, (if any quality, or action of a King may be said to be private) which seemed worthy of so excellent, clear, and considerate a discourse, as that of *Henries*. You heard what noble fauours and humanities, when he liued a banished Earle in the Continent, he had received, first of the Duke of Britaine, then of Charles K. of France; so that he stood equally (as it were) obliged to them both, & could acknowledge no lesse. Charles (more ambitiously then iustly) desired exceedingly to annex Britaine to the Crowne of France, taking occasion of the time, and other circumstances, which all seemed to conspire with his affection. The Duke old, and the father of one onely daughter surviving till marriage; *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, and rival of King Charles in the same desires, (as well for the Dutchy, as the daughter,) feeble in meanes; and King Henry well obnoxious to the French for benefits, as he had in his particular at home; and the Duke of Britaine, by succouring *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, and other French Lords, whom King Charles repudied his adherencies, committed to the French an occasion (or colour at least) of warring vpon Britaine, and so by the apt concurrence of circumstances, to annex it by conquest, if by treaty he could not. *Henry* of England, now knowne to be victoriously fed, feared worth the Counting. Ambassadors come from the French, who lay open the wrong offered by the Britaines, in succouring the enemies of France, put Henrie in minde of passed benefits; and pray his assistance, or at the least a neutrality; but altogether concealing the mystery of this ware, which was to annex Britaine to the Crowne of France. Howsoever, Henry, though he well enough

knew, that a King must ever be the best part of his Councell, (for what are others opinions, if himselfe want the happinesse, or lodgement, to chooe the best?) propounds the points to his priuy Councell, whereupon be Christianly offers himselfe a Mediator betweene the French and Britainian office, in which it was apparant he might best settle all obligations and duties both to God and them. The French pretend liking, but in the mean time follow their desire hard. Henry lends his Chaplen, Master *Christopher Frythier* a man * whom he very often imploied. The French make out. Things come to some extremities. It becomes manifest that King Charles abused the King of England's credulity; for the City of *Nantes* in Britaine was brought by siege to point of yielding, while messengers, and puckets, outwardly oiled with the name of peace, slide to and fro, and the French doubt nothing so much, as lest the English should stirre, before their victorie had made Britaine irreuerentable. The Lord *Wendole* (as without the Kings will, or pcuty) slips out into Britaine with three or foure hundred chafie men to assist the Duke, and came time enough to beefline with almost all his Souldiers, at the battel of *Saint Albion*, where the French wanne the day; notwithstanding that the Britains, the rather to appall their enemies, had paralleled * seuentee hundred of their owne Souldiers in white Coates with redde Croffes, after the English manner, and made thereby a shew of two Regiments of English. The Britaines had a great losse in that battel, wherein they were made fower by fixe thousand. The Duke of *Orleans* and Prince of *Orange*, who then were British in faction, were taken Prisoners in the same fight. The French lost about twelue hundred, and their General an Italian. So that the state of Britaine seemed ripe for a fall.

(35) But King Henry, having long since suspected, and foreseen, what the worst mark of the French might be, and seeming to have enough suffered the interell, which they might expect in him as a man, to be abused by their praides to the prejudice of his other friend, the Duke of Britaine, (who forgate not to sollicit and urge that point,) had made the quality of this affaire known to the body of State in open Parliament, for that purpose assembled; as meaning by authority thereof to purge himselfe from all imputation, if, as a King, he did that which the reason of Government required, which would not assent, that Britaine should be made French, left by that accession their Neighbourhood might grow intolérable, Britaine being so many Sea-terms and Outlets to mischeefe the Englishs traffike. Himselfe was otherwise also sufficiently resolved, that the general good ought to predominate the particular, and that his private obligations ought not to entangle, or prejudice the publick service. The Parliament therefore, considering that which stood for the Common-weale, decrees aide of men and money, on behalfe of the Duke of Britaine; it being (besides all other respects) a perillous example, to suffer the great to deuoure the lesser Neighbour States, vpon pretences of iustice, or revenge. Forces are leued; but (for respect of King Charles, and in hope that the shew of preparations would stoope him to equal conditions, not yet so roundie, as the Britains necessities expected. Meane while that no formality or Princely Ceremony should be vnaccomplished, King Henry by his Ambassadors certifies King Charles of his Parliaments decree; prays him to desist from further Hostilities; otherwise that he must assist the Duke, but yet (for the French Kings sake) with this reformation, of performing his subiects no where but in Britaine. Charles made small account of these overtures, because hee truly perwaded himselfe that the English aides would not arriue in season; which fell out accordingly; (for before that time, the French had gotten that victorie, (whereof cues now wee speake) at the Battell of *Saint Albion*. Vpon newes whereof, the English Regiments were immediately sent out vnder *Robert* Lord

John Wenden
Mediator betw.

The Lord Wenden
comes into Britaine.

* *Peter* Aug.
in *Carol.*

The Battell of
S. Albion, where
the French pre-
vailed.

King Henry re-
pents thought in
Parliament.

The Parliament
grants aide
to support the
warre of
Britaine.

Popul. Dig.

*Engl. Church
Bis. Simon
was a
John. See Annal.*

**Polyd. Virg. Lat.*

**Polyd. Virg.*

**M. B. H.
John. See Annal.*

**Polyd. Virg.*

*The Duke of
Britaine dies, and
the English re-
turne.*

*The beginning
of new lives
in Yorkshire.*

*John. See in John
Annal.*

**Polyd. Virg. Lat.
John. See Annal.*

*The Earle of
Northumberland
killed by the
people in a
tumult.*

*The King in pri-
son in Yorkshire.*

John. See Annal.

*Sir John. Egremont
Capitaine of the
Rebels escapes
to the Duchesse
of Burgundy.*

John. See Annal.

Brooke Generall, Sir John Cheyny, Sir John Middleton, Sir Ralph Hilson, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Lazenby, and Sir Edmund Cornwall Knights, and Colonels. The whole Army contained eight thousand men. These march toward the enemy; who, acquainted with the temper of the English, whilst they are free, as being then almost insensible, containe themselves within their Campe; but yet a noleth the English with continuall skirmishes on horsebacke in several places at once; finally to the profit of the French, who were alwaies put to the worke, the Archers received them with such perpendicall shot. In the meane space, Francis Duke of Britaine dies, leaving in effect, one only daughter, the Lady Anne, (for the other, being the younger) deceased not long after. This altered the whole face of the case. The British Nobility (under their young Mistresse) immediately fall at variance among themselves, and the English thereby were on every hand in danger: so that God (as it appeared by the sequel) had defined Britaine to bee annexed to the Crowne of France; for the English (after sixemonths stay) were in wisdom compelled to returne; the rather, for that Winter now was come upon them, and Britaine, destitute of competent defence, (her Rulers disagreeing among themselves) was finally by the marriage of King Charles with the Lady Anne, made a parcel of the French Monarchy, as hereafter will appeare.

(26) King Henry the while was againe in danger to have had present vie of Souldiers at home. Wee steered, what care was becomen taken by him to weede the North, and free it from lurking enemies. That notwithstanding, when the Earle of Northumberland, (Lieutenant of the North) signified at an assemblie (according as the truth was) that the King (though the Northern people had befoight us) would not remitte our prayer of such Subsidy, as was granted in Parliament for supportation of the warres in Britaine: left the Acts of State should be reuered at the rude peoples pleasure; but that on the contrary Commission and warrant was sent downe for him to see the same levied by distress, or otherwise: the desperate multitude, falsely supposing that the Earle was the occasion of such an answer, did suddenly set upon him at the Church near of one John a Chamber, and furiously murdered him, with certaine of his servants in a place called Cock-legge by Thrusell, eightene miles from York. They to carry their wicked attempt through, make head vnder Sir John Egremont, a discontented Knight of those parts, openly declaring where they came, that their meaning was to fight with the King in defence of their liberties, as if the causelesse killing of a most noble Lord had beene one of them. Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey sent from Court with some forces to repress their increase, skirmisheth with a rout of these Rebels, beats them away, and takes John a Chamber prisoner. The whole swarme flockes to York, where they rooked about three or foure daies, when hearing of the Kings approach (who was euer one of the first in the necke of such occasions) they scattered themselves, but the ring-leaders were hanged and quartered, and John a Chamber, with some others, were executed at York after an extraordinary manner. Sir John Egremont escaping, fled to the common Center of all King Henries dangers and enemies, Margaret Duchesse of Burgundy, to that though the colour of rising was about money, yet Egremont at least had reference, it seems, to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, vpon the old ground of quarrell (hated of the Lancasterian Familie) and this to bee but a sparke or flint of that great and troublesome fire, which afterward brake forth and blazed so prodigiously. The Earle of Surrey is left by the King (having severely punished the murderers) Lieutenant of the North, and Sir Robert Towfild Knight, as chiefe Commissioners for leuying the tax or subsidie.

(27) The unworthy death of the Earle of Northumberland was seconded by a more unworthy, of James the third King of Scotland, so as King Henrie lost at home a most honourable stay of his Northern affaires, and a sure Ally abroad. This unfortunate Prince, hating by some irregularity of life, and parricides, and errors of government (amplified perhaps by the contradictions and reports of his malignant Subjects) incurred extreme hatred with many of the Nobility and people, laboured with King Henry, as also with the Pope, and King of France, to make an accord betweene him and his Mutinallies, for that they had compelled Prince James, his sonne, to be the titular and vnnatural Head of those armes, which traitorously (as pretending to haue a right on behalfe of the Common-weale to depose an euill King) they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by earnest Ambassadors, but could obtaine no other then this outrageous answer: That there was no talking of peace, unless he would renigne his Crowne. King Henry and King Charles vehemently protested against these their whole proceedings, declaring by their Ambassadors, that they thought the same to be as a common injury done vnto themselves; & the example to be very wicked and pernicious, and not sufferable by France, that Subiects should be permitted to put hands vnto their Soueraignes. Herupon it came to a Battell at Banockburn by Strimelin, wherest K. James (valiantly fighting before his whole numbers were come) was (notwithstanding the contrarie commandement of the Prince his sonne) slaine in the Mill of that Field, whither he fled after the battell ended. By reason of this infortunate precipitacion of the Scottish King, Hadrian de Castell an Italian Legate, whom Pope Innocentius the eight had sent to take up the cruell quarrell, came too late, (for he arrived not in England till the battell at Banockburn was passed,) but not too late to receive honour at the hands of King Henry, who respecting his wisdom and excellent learning, (vpon the speciall commendations first of John Meriton Archbishop of Cantuarbie, but afterward vpon his owne experience of the man in sundry employments to the Roman Sea,) bestowed vpon him the Bishopricke of Hereford, and (after resignation thereof) the Bishopricke of Bath and Wells; who was also at the length created Cardinal by Pope Alexander the sixth. But who is here among many thousands (saith Polyd.) that wist not to admire these outward honours which may like be giuen to the contrary as well as to the well-deserving, and may like be taken away from either? But the praise of this Hadrian is of another farre more noble kinde and eternal: for he was the man who first reuined the glory of the ancient Latine eloquence, and of all other sorts of abstract and cogitate learning, as in which himselfe excelled. Thus doth Polyd. (himselfe an Italian,) celebrate the learning of his Country-man, of whose other qualities, yet others write more harshly; as that out of meere ambition to be Pope (without any other grudge) hee conspired, with Alphonsus Petrucci, and other sacred Cardinals, to murder Pope Leo the tenth: induced thereto by suggestion of a Witch, who foretold him that one Hadrian, an old man, of meane parentage, of great Learning and wisdom, should succeed in the Papacy. The man thought it must needs be impossible, as being, though of very base Parentage, yet of some noble qualities: but another Hadrian, the sonne of a Dutch Brewer, and instructor of Charles the fifth the Emperour, proved to be the man; and this our Hadrian lost by deprivation all his promotions whatsoever, for his nefarious attempt. Into such extreme folly is learning and wisdom metamorphosed, where it is tainted with Ambition, or wants a Religious discretion to manage it aright.

(28) And albeit the King himselfe could verie hardly haue spent his time in the studies of peace, as those

* English in Scotland.

* Polyd. Virg.

King Henry in prison: relates to reconcile the state to their King.

Dr. Lell. B. H. of Anglo.

Lower the third King of Scotland slaine in battell by his Subjects.

* John. See Annal.

K. Henrie bestowed on a stranger for Learning; caute.

* Polyd. Virg. Lat.

The sixth reuined in this age of pure Latine and chiefe learning.

Golden Cardell E. B. B. H. of Anglo. pag. 100. Paul. Index.

* Hadrian. A.

Warre with
France and the
catholikes.

The young Dut-
cheffe married
by proxy.

* Simon daval.

* Rem. daval. MS.

The French car-
ried the practice
of marriage with
the inheritance of
Britaine most ac-
cidentally.

* Tapt. Dug.

* Joh. Til. Chron.
* In Chron. de
Londres. MS.

those which were farre more apt for the service of God, and for attaining of knowledge, then in martiall tumults; yett the quality of his supereminent place enuired vnto him that felicity; for he was necessarily drawne into a warre with France vpon lesse occasions. Anne the young Dutcheffe of Britaine, (by their aduise, who affected to preclude the liberty of that Dukedome, which by union with France, would be absorpt & extinguished,) had so farre entangled and engaged her selfe with the Procurators of Maximilian King of Romaine, that shee was not only publicly courted, but contented (for vttermost performace of those rites whereof marriage by proxy was honorably capable) to take vpon her the Bride, and being solemnly bedded, to permit Maximilian Depuie, in the presence of sundry Noble witnessers a well meane women, to put in his legge, stript naked to the knee, betwene the spouall sheetes, that ceremony seeming to amount to a Consummation. Charles King of France, notwithstanding these solemnities, and his owne particular engagement with the Lady Margaret daughter of Maximilian, (whom for the purpose of marriage he had already entertained into France,) did so ambitionally and vehemently con- to gaine Britaine, that vpon confidence of his force, he resolved to breake through all respects, and not only to offend all his foreine friends, but to make them his iust enemies, rather then to faile in effectuation. Instruments are therefore very secretly set on worke, and batterie is placed with bags of gold at all the opportunities which might let in his purpose. Ambassadors also (the Lord Francis of Lorraine, Charles Marillac, and Robert Gaguine)

Generalles of the Order of the holy Trinitie, are dispatched to Henric, praying that with his good will he might dispose of the body of the Lady Anne in marriage according to the right which he had therein, as the chiefe Lord of whom she held the Dukedome. Henric denied the request, yet yielded notwithstanding to send Ambassadors into France there to Capitulat about a peace. The French carried this affaere with notable Art, for to diuert the world for looking into the depth of their dust, King Charles still detained the young Lady Margaret, Maximilians daughter, so as at last it could be but suspected, that Charles meant to match her with some of his blood, and all the entercourse of Orators and Ambassadors vied in the meane time, tended but to bold the English bound vpon other objects, till they had wrought their feat in the Court of Britaine. For Maximilian, (to let the world see what injuries shall be offered euen to Kings, that are not strong) him they altogether neglected; King Henry they played with, and Ferdinand King of Castile (who was ready to ioin with Maximilian and Henric against the French) they refused to appeale, with rendering vp vnto him the Countie of Ruffenme, and Perpignan according to what without reembarment of one penny of those 300000. Crownes, for which John King of Arragon (father to Ferdinand) had mortgaged them. The young Ladies doubte, rising either out of religion, or point of honor, his cunning Agents, and Emisaries wipe away with these solutions. That Maximilians daughter was not of yeeres to consent, and therefore the contract between King Charles and her, did not binde either in law, or conscience: That her owne contract with Maximilian was void, for that it was done without the consent of her Sueraigne Lord, King Charles, whose ward or Client shee was. The Ladies vanquished in her iudgement with these reasons, attracted with the present greatness of King Charles, and loath by refusal to make her Countrey the seat of a long and miserable warre, secretly yielded to accept of another husband. Thomas Goldflow Abbott of S. Augustine in Canterbury, and Thomas Earle of Ormond in Ireland, King Henric Ambassadors into France, being bene dandled by the French during these illuse practices, returned without other fruite of their labors.

(29) What could now the most patient doe lesse then take sword in hand vpon so palpable and vnworthy illusion? But Maximilians wrongs were too impudent and intolerable; for Charles from home the Lady Margaret, and married the Inheretrix of Britaine, annexing it to his owne Realme; whereas King Henric found himselfe rather mockt, then otherwise empairod. James Contehold hereupon comes Ambassador from Maximilian, and obtained his request, which was, that they might force should by a certaine day professed, made the French, in full reuenge of these their bold pronouciations; Maximilian for his part, promising to support that warre with at least ten thousand men for two yeeres. King Henry baving formerly in abundant manner prouided himselfe of treasure, was ready before the day with a roiall army: but Maximilian (whose will to worke the vttermost mischief to France was not doubted,) being sent vnto by King Henry, signifying his forwardnes, was found vtterly vanquished. Causes of Maximilians weaknesse in late, were the rebellions and dislikes of his Flemish Subjects cherished by the French, the seclusiue of Princes neighbourhood making them vniually glad either of others molestations. For subduing whereof King Henry had heretofore given him good and successful assistance vnder the conduct of Giles Lord Drombrey Governour of Calles, the Lord Marley and others, whereby he the rather outcame; yet was hee the feeblar, as then, by reason of so fresh exhaustures. King Henry with good cause was not a little troubled at these newes, secretly signified by his trustie Almer M. Christopher Pfrerick, and Sir Richard Rysley knight, his Ambassadors to Maximilians. For hee was very loath to vndergoe so great an Action vpon his particular strengths, though he doubted not to finde a potent party among the Britaines, (whose affections were as yet loosely fetled vnto King Charles,) and yet farre more loath to deuide the expectation of his owne people, who had so largely contributed; Chieflly the City of London, one of which, euen in those daies he recruited for his furniture in that voiage almost ten thousand pounds from the Commoners, and (as it seemes by our Author) two hundred pounds besides from enery Alderman, where the same King could not, but with some difficulty, leue in the third yere of his Reigne a loane of ffortie thousand pounds, whereof three of the best Companies are noted (as for baising done and deferred extraordinarily) to haue lent about nine hundred. And verily this wise King (knowing how great a strength that rich City was vnto him) humored that people with all sortes of popularities, for himselfe did not onely come among them, and capte himselfe to be censured a brother, in one of their Companies, but wore the habite of a publicke fast, and late as he faister, as is verie credibly reported out of the Records of their Hall. His wisdom therefore saw, that in gaining over the inuasion of France he should sloathfully abandon a goodly occasion of making himselfe vniuersally acceptable to his people. His resolutions therefore are by him at leastwise pretended to continue, and for that cause he sufficiently encreaseth his numbers, that he might seeme able to goe through with that enterprize alone, and though the time of yeere were too farre spent (for he landed not at Calles, till the sixth day of October) yet marcheth he with his whole forces toward Boulogne, being well assured that with this troupe he should at once plaister two wals, that is, hamor his English Subjects, and for a peace draw to himselfe store of Crownes from the French.

(30) He had with him besides the flower of his Nobility, and Captaines, innumerable numbers of People fit for the fruite. The most named persons were these, Jasper Duke of Bedford Lieutenant General of the Army, Thomas Marquisse Dorset, the Earle of Arundell, Oxford, Suffolk, Surrey, Bourne, Derby, Kent, Devonshire, and Ormond, sundry Barons, as Desrue-

France annexed to France.

Maximilian's re-
sponded to
come with Henr.

* Addit. in
Pub. Chron.
The Londoners
large contribu-
tion to the King.

King Henric's
parliament in Lon-
don.
* The Marquis
Taylors.

A.D. 1492.
An. reg. 3.

The chief English
names who ser-
ued in this war.
29.

which he ledged
by Henry.

of Polyd. Cal's
late in England.
* Hen. Andr. MS.

Business meeting
the Kings to a
peace.
* Polyd. Cal.

* Hen. Andr. MS.
* Hen. Andr. MS.
* Polyd. Cal's
late in England.
* Hen. Andr. MS.

The high point
of violence pro-
duced by King
Henry in action.
using his words.

* Hen. Andr. MS.

Hen. Andr. MS.
* One hundred
eighty thousand
land, two hun-
dred and sixty
thousand acres.
* Hen. Andr. MS.
* Polyd. Cal.

For the pre-
sents of the King
or his wife.

* Hen. Andr. MS.
* Hen. Andr. MS.

* Hen. Andr. MS.
* Hen. Andr. MS.

my, Abercromby, Delaplace, South, Hastings, Cobham,
Ore. But it is needless to weary our selves with
long relations of a short voyage; for King Henry, be-
fore he set forth out of England, was secretly dealt with
by the Lord Cardus Governour of Henault, accord-
ing to instructions from the French Kings behalf,
to accept of conditions, which till Delaplace was be-
sieged (as now by him it was) was not knowne. The
ignorance of this mystery made many forward Gen-
tlemen to mortgage their lands, and runne into much
debt for their fuller and braver furniture, in hope
to get great matters in this warre, whereof to their
griefe they found themselves deceived. In the mean
time the Lrd Cardus having met at Calais with Richard
Fox Lord Bilhoppe of Exeter, and * Giles Lord
Dawbeney, the Kings Commissioners; after iust and
long debate, concluded vpon Articles of peace
betweene the two Kings.

(31) Delaplace was brought to some distresse, when
by intercession of this agreement it remained safe
and quiet: King Charles was chiefly moved to buy
his peace at a deare rate, both for that the state of
Britaine was as yet vnquiet, and for that hee meant
forthwith to march into Italy for the conquest of
the Kingdome of Naples; and K. Henry on the o-
ther side was not vnwillig, because Maximilian
had failed, and Britaine seemed clearly possi-
bilitie of euersion. To which may be added, a natu-
rall, noble, and religious inclination in King Hen-
ry, to liue in amity with his neighbours; the in-
clination of new dangers, then in brewing against him
by the turbulent, and vnappeacable Dutchesse of
Burgundy, and * cherished by King Charles; and lastly,
the enrichment of himselfe by recompensing the
charges both of this, and the Burgundie warre out of the
French elck where, whereby he should farre the bet-
ter bee able to withstand all forraign practices, or do-
mesticke outrages. As for the preferring of him-
selfe, and his honour with his Subjects, hee wan-
ted not both true and honourable glories: Such as
were the cure to auoid vnecessary effusion of Chri-
stian blood: the vices of his presence at home, be-
sides many other: but his wildome in the carriage
of this right weighty action was chiefly e-
minent in this, That he would not enter into Treaty, till
he was in the field, and that with such a puissance,
as was likely enough to force her vnder conditions; nor suffer
the least signe of his secret willingness to peace, or
inward doubt of troubles at home, to creep out as any
cray or chink of his dissimulation or carriage, whereby he
as farre outwitted the French fairly, as they former-
ly seemed to haue overwrought him subreily. Had
they truly bene informed in those points, it is pro-
bable they might haue gone a cheaper way to work-
for, besides what other Articles fouer, it was con-
cluded, That Henry should * not quit his claime to
France; but that for a Peace, which by the contract
was only to continue during the two Kings liues, Charles
of France should pay in present to Henry for his
charges in that warre, a ioven hundred, forty and five
thousand * Ducques, and twenty five thousand
Crownes yearly toward the expences, which hee
had heretofore been at in aiding the Britons. Which
(by the English called Titbotes) was duly paid dur-
ing all this Kings reigne, and also to Henry his son,
till the whole debt was run out, thereby to preserve
amity with England. There were moreover by Hen-
rys consent, who was thus content to gratifie his
Peeres (at another cost) not only present rewards,
but also certain annuall pensions allotted to the
chiefe Lords of his priue Councell. A course of
bounty which might otherwise haue proved preiudi-
cious to the seruice of the King of England, by en-
gaging his Counsellors affections to the French:
The liege of Burgundy lasted till the eighth day of No-
uember, & Henry (in his Queens most tender,
frequent and loosing lines, did the rather ingite to
speedie returne,) having tried all his transmarine
affaires, * arrived at Douer, from whence hee jour-

nied to Westminster, there to celebrate the Feast of
Christmas. This voyage into France, affording no
greater exploits then we haue heard, was celebra-
ted by blind * Bernard with hyperbolical and well-
borne verses not ordinary, in which directing his
speech in honour of Henry, to the Henries he con-
cludes,

*Effugite ignis montes celos commingere Solis,
Quadrupedes: Hec a primis ecce parant;
Non opus est volucribus, si primas Apollo,
Pauoris Admittit equos, et ipse Chocet,
Principis hoc nostri vultus tamula abundè
Lumina, crede mihi, Phœberece placit.*

(32) The famous counterfeiance of Perkin War-
berie, with which the braue of the Lady Margaret
Dutchesse Dowager of Burgundy had long travelled,
doth now beginne to disclofe it selfe, and make new
businesses for King Henry. The inglorious glorie
of the first inuention in his reigne of this kind of
vexation, Lambert Simnel's person had giuen to his
Master the wily Simon, so that our Dutchesse was but
an imitatrix, and yet perhaps shee gaue not place in
any point to the first example, or Archetype, ac-
cording to the fortune of the first deuse, being no more
successefull then it was, might reasonably haue de-
terred her from the deedition of a second: but whe-
ther it were an immortal enuie toward the Lanca-
strian race, or a burning zeale of aduancing one that
might at leastwise beare the name of a Plantagenet,
though by any sinister practice, as if it had bene
lawfull to murther her ends (admit them iust) by any
insinuous coules, shee resolves to erect another
Idoll, as perceiving by the first, how notable an en-
gine impolitarie was, to trouble Henry: being well
assured, that England was full of corrupt humors, and
ill-affections to worke vpon, not so much through
the desert of her present King, as for that the dregges
which naturally reside in the bottom of mens hearts,
where most bloody and barbarous factions haue for
a long time weltered, and worried one the other
with various euent, were not clenched and avoided.
The Diuell therefore ready to furnish all attempts
which may raise trouble, and mischief, easily fitted
her. There was come therefore to her hands a youth
adorned with such a shape, as might easily persuade
the beholders was worthy of a noble fortune: he had
thereunto a natural fine wit, and (by reason of his
abode in England in K. Edwards dayes) could speake
our language, as also some other, which hee had by
a kind of wandering trauell obtained. This youth was
borne (they say) in the City of Torrey, and called
* Peter Warbeck, the son of a conuerced Iew, whose
Godfather at Baptisme King Edward himselfe was.
The English in contempt (and for a note perhaps
of his Ioraine birth) did afterward call him by a di-
minutue of his name, Perkinus Perkin. Him the
Dutchesse (as a fine peece of timber, out of which to
carue a new Idoll) moulds by degrees, & makes
him take shape according to that Idea, which shee
had prefigured in her working imagination, before
the which the late honours of her house conspicu-
ous in three Princes (which altogether made not
twenty and five yeeres of reigne) did so perpetually
hover, as her soule could neuer take contentment,
but in the hope that the house of York should againe
be the dwelling place of Misery.

(33) Her offence against Henry wanted not many
seeming reasons, but none so great, as that hee
had slaine her own brother King Richard, who albe-
it he was there reputed murderer of her Nephewes,
yet were they a degree more removed from her, and
so lesse deere in likelihood then a brother; and how-
soever shee might secretly detest, or beleeue the com-
mitment of that parricide, yet could shee neuer brooke
(feeling they were gone) that the reward of her bro-
thers death, and that even to him who slew him,
should be the Crowne of England, whereby not
only

* Hen. Andr. MS.

* Hen. Andr. MS.

The Dutchesse
of Burgundy ad-
dresseth a letter
to Richard against
Henry.

* Polyd. Cal's
late in England.
* Hen. Andr. MS.

* Polyd. Cal's

Charles was the
last Duke to
leave K. Henry
for married house.

only her brother, but the whole male-line of her family was for euer to bee excluded; much lesse could shee (a Plantagenet) abide that *Henry*, who brought to the Crowne the surname of a newly raised Familie. These and other considerations in the breast of a Lady, bred vp in a dominating Family, her selfe a Dowager, in such a fortune, as in which shee was Paramount for the time, and absolute without controule, being carelesse withall of fauing for posterity, because shee was without a child, and in that regard the more abundantly stored with treasure; all which made her spirits ouer-boile with impatience and virulency; so farre forth, that hauing infused all her principles into *Peter* her creature vnder the Title of *Richard Plantagenet*, second son of King *Edward* the fourth (the most covertly lends him into *Portugal*, from thence to take his *sea-ward flight*, as *elsewhere* is related. Neuertheless, there will not (perhaps) want some, who in defence of the Dutchesse, had rather referre it to *Magnanimity*, and *Noblesse of spirit*, in seeking the honour of her house; which, if it might passe for such among the heathen, yet can it not among Christians; much the lesse, for that her duty to *England*, & the royall flourishing estate of her own *Neece*, the right beire, exacted at her hands a greater tendernesse.

(34) That *Peter Warbeck* should bee inflamed by her fauours, and encouragements, so dare in earnest the personation of a Kings sonne, seemes not a thing to bee admired; for there is in humane nature (which ties not her selfe to Pedigrees, nor Parentages) a kind of light matter, which will easily kinde, being toucht with the blazing hopes of ambitious propositions. He therefore vpon the first disclosure of himselfe, did put on so excellent a seeming, as might easily moue King *Henry* to bee ialous, whereunto the petulious pride might come at last; for there wanted nothing in the whole forme of the young vpstart, but only the confidence of a truth, and truth it selfe: which makes me call to mind * what one hath written of a goodly white Saphyre in *Fonie*, made by art so neerely to resemble a true Diamond, that with much difficulty, and but by one onely lapidary, it was discovered; which if it had hence graced with some great Princes, wearing, what could waite to haue made it passible for a very Diamond of great value? *Peter* came such from out of the Burgundian forge; and (if his parentage be receiued) assumed the image and resemblance of a King, being otherwise not so much as a meane Gentleman. Neuer can it be marvelled at, if such a Phantasm as this, did abuse, and trouble the common people of that time; for euen to such as do write thereof, it begets a kind of doubt (which without some little collection of their spirits doth not easily vanish,) it seeming almost incredible, that such a bloody play should meely be disguised and fauned; the discovery therefore was worthy such a wit as King *Henries*, and the poth it gaue to his sovereignty did thoroughly try his sitting, being of force enough to haue cast an ordinarie rider out of saddle.

(35) Therefore, it was the Dutchesses misfortune, that her intentions (if they were hers) had to encounter so politicke and consilia man as King *Henry*, whose prudence searcht into the abstrusest secrets, and whose diligence ouercame all difficulties. Yet the Lady *Margaret* couste to vent her Creature at the first was exquisite; for the (as in a Magicke practise) hauing kept him secret till shee full her time, causeth him to bee closely conuayed into * *Portugal*, from whence (attended with five associates and Priuadoers) bee sailles into *Ireland* (the Foller-place and nursery of immortal good will to the house of *Turke*) where (worthily standing their late calamities) he so strongly enchanted that rude people with the charmes of false hopes, and milke of seemings, as he was sure of partakers in great plenty. *Charles* the eight, King of *France*, bearing (and

perhaps beleauing) that the Duke of *Turke* was alive, and glad to haue to probable an occasion of doing mischiefes to *Henry of England*, in regard of their flagrant enemies which euen remained vnuentured betweene them, inuities Duke *Richard* most officiously to *Paris*, and besides all other honours, assigned him (at his coming) a guard for his person, wherof the Lord *Cornwall* was Captain. Afterward there repaired to this new Duke, Sir *George Newill* Knight, (a * baillard of the noble house of the *Neills*), Sir *Iohn Taylor*, *Rowland Holman*, and about an hundred English, to whom (as a principal) wee may adde * *Stephen Fryen*, French Secretary to King *Henry* himselfe; all which, together with the whole Strategeme, was smacked out of *France* with the first graine of incense sacrificed vpon the Altars of Peace at *Bolign*, after the same was once made and ratified (as you haue heard) betweene the French and vs. The Dutchesse then seeing her artificiall creature thus turned againe vpon her hands, pretends an extreme ignorance that euer shee had sent him before that present, and an excessive joy for his miraculous escape, and preservation, which seemed such to her (as she pretended) as if hee had bene rescued from death to life, and that the same might want no quickning, which her personall countenancing, or her Court could afford, shee openly glazes him by the delicate Title of the * *White Kefe of England*, and questions him of the manner of his escape, with such like, to beget a firme belief in the hearers, that he neuer had seene him before that time, and that he was indeed her Nephew *Richard* Duke of *Turke*. The Nobility of *Flanders* accordingly, doe vnto him all honour, and shew enuious his person with a guard of thirty men in murrey and blew. Neither was hee in any point wanting to his part; but fitted such likely answers to all questions, and such princely behaviours to all occasions, as made firme bold to publish him with the fullest blast of his Trumpet, for no other then a true *Richard Plantagenet*, and as it is so obscured of some, that by long vsing to report an vntruth, at last forgetting themselves to bee the Authors thereof, beleaue it in earnest; so these honors making our *Peter* to bury in vster oblivion his birth or obliquity, he seemed to bee perswaded; that hee was indeed the selfe partie, whom hee did so exactly personate. Nonetley, and impudency were scarce euer knowne to haue found more applause, or beliefe, euen among many verie wise, and (otherwise) worthy men; who moued in confidence, and not onely vpon discontent, inclined to partake with this new *Plantagenet*, as the onely right heire of the English Diadem, as if, whether he had bene the true one, it was past dispute. This intoxication, & abuse of the world, was wonderfully exacerbad by the secret reuolt of Sir *Robert Clifford* Knight, whom (as one that had seene, and knowe the error *Richard*) the cunning conspirators in *England* had sent ouer, to informe himselfe, and them, whether he was indeed as hee seemed. Sir *Robert* (whose presence and errand were to the Dutchesse most welcome,) being brought to his sight, did forthwith give credite, and constantly signifie, that this was indeed *Richard Plantagenet*, the true Duke of *Turke*, and that hee well knew him for such. Mistray and encouragements, were hereupon sent out of *England*, from such as fauoured him; among whom was * Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry*; by whose punctual reuolt from *K. Richard*, hee had principally achieved the Crowne of *England*. * *Iohn Ratcliffe*, *L. Fitzwater*, * *Sir Simon Menunsart*, * *Sir Thomas Thwaites* Knights, and others; but the maine continuance of the cause in fortune parties was Sir *Robert Clifford* (a knight of an honourable fame and family) which moued the secret friends of the new Duke to set the rumor so cunningly on foot among the English, that * *fewer might a word, which causeth thunder, bee caught or knowen, then the Author thereof*; and multitudes being weakened therewith, bore of humor

A somewhat relation of *Peter* will inuice since he was published.

* *See anon.*

* *See anon.*

Peter in *Plantagenet* with the Dutchesse, * *See anon.*

Sir *Robert Clifford* 5 figures in this friends in *England* that *Peter* was the true Duke.

* *See anon.*

* *See anon.*

* *See anon.*

* *See anon.*

Peter in *Plantagenet* with the Dutchesse, by each repetition of a *Richard* Plantagenet, * *See anon.*

* *See anon.*

humor, dangerously prepared to mutation, did every where discover it selfe.

(16) For prevention therefore of all those effects, which might issue out of these causes, (being in their proper nature most generative of sedition, and of all sorts of civil furies) King *Henrie* diligently watcht the coasts of *England* to be well and strongly watcht, aswell to empêche the landing of enemies, as the escape of fugitives: but above all, he writes letters to his best friends in forraigne parts, & also employs nimble wits with severall instructions, some to assure the constancy of *Sir Robert Clifford*, (the maine stay and credite of *Perkins* cause) with promise of immunity and favour if hee would returne into *England* in quiet, others to find out the truth of *Perkins* quality, being furnished with treasure to draw and requite intelligences; and all of them (as occasion should serve) to pretend themselves vehement favourers of the new Duke. These necessary hypocrites and double faced Ambassadors, called *Spees*, (whose services, howsoever conductable to such as sets the on worke, yet their perfidious quality commonly partakes with that of *Judas Iscariot*, and often meetes with like reward,) doe plaie their charge so roundly that * *Sir Robert Clifford* is secretly drawne off, the new Duke is discovert aswell by them, as by sundry letters from friends abroad, to be but *Perkin Warbeck*, and many other mysteries are revealed. This gave to the wife King great satisfaction, who to weaken the enemies practice the more, not onely divulgeth the fraud, but sends over sea *Sir William Paunings* Knight, and *Sir William Warham* his Ambassadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy* (then gubnert by others by reason of his tender age) who promised not to assist the said *Perkin*, but if the Dutchesse Dowager would doe any such thing to the prejudice of King *Henrie*, it was not in him to hinder her, for that she might dispose of her owne. A maine argument vied by these Ambassadors before the Archdukes Councell to coynceine, that *Richard* the very Duke of *Turke* was murdered as well as King *Edward* his brother. † *As Polydore* (who seems to have had good meanes to understand these times) rehereth it, was, *That there would Richard should in youth have made away the elder brother, if the younger had become suffered to survive, for that the right of the elder, was immediately upon his death in the younger, and that consequently during his life, King Richard could have no more assurance, then if the elder were still alive: which Argument notwithstanding doth all most prove nothing but this: That their words the younger might intend, that both his Nephewes should be murdered, and hee knew nothing perhaps to the contrary. Whereas facts are to be proved by confessions of parties, by witnesss, or vehement presumptions, (though vehement presumptions are said to confute but an halfe proof) all which are * otherwise so supplied, as leave small cause to doubt of both their deaths. But if *arthur* (a learned Priest and Doctor in the lawes) the mouth of that Ambassador sent to the Arch-Duke, in the end of his oration vied this bitter scoffe, and sarcasme against the Lady *Margaret: That shee in her old age brought forth two Messieurs within the space of a few yeeres, and both of them not in the right, or month month after their conception, as naturall mothers, but in the one * hundred and eightieth month, and whereas other women bring forth infants utterly unable to helpe themselves, these brothers of hers were full strippling, and as soon as they were borne, offered battell unto mighty Kings. And albeit the Arch-Dukes answer seemed reasonable, yet was not King *Henrie* so satisfied, but that within a while after, for * that the Arch-Duke had secretly furnished *Perkin* with leaders, hee tooke occasion to banish all Flemings, and Flemish wares out of his Dominions, and inhibited his Subjects to trade in any Countries within the obedience of *Maximilian* King of *Rome*, or of the Archduke *Philip* his sname, who by way of talie and requitt did the**

like against the English.

(17) *Lex* vs come now from the addresses of things, to their doing. The high prudence and industry of *Henrie* having thus discovered the foundations of *Perkins* hopes in *England*, and the humors which were most vsuall, made it his first worke to raze those groundworks, and purge the vines of his Realme from that corruption by needfull Phlebotomie. The * Lord *Fitzwater*, a principall conspirator, being condemned, and sent to *Calais*, lured there in hope of pardon, but for practising with his Keepers to escape, hee finally payed his head for satisfaction. *Sir Simon Montfort*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Durborn* (Gentlemen of noble houses) as Captaine and Author of the conspiracy were beheaded, but all therewithal Clerkes as Lay-men had their pardons. Not long after these executions and pardons, the King upon sure intelligence, that *Sir Robert Clifford* (in whose bosome the secret of all *Perkins* plotting) was arrived, entered the Tower of *London*, and there continued; that so, if *Clifford* should accuse any of the great, (and whom hee then would accuse, it is probable King *Henrie* knew) they might without suspicion, or tumult be attached; the Court, and publike prison for crimes of highest nature, being then within the cincture of one, and the same wall. *Sir Robert Clifford* at his coming into the Kings presence, (though hee was secretly before assured of his life) most humbly praying and obtaining pardon, approached (among many others) *Sir William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine. The King would not at first give credite (or at leastwise pretended, not to give credite) to the accusation of a Peere so great, and so neere unto him: but upon farther search, finding the same confirmed with circumstances, and particularly, for that hee said to *Clifford*, * *Hee would never bear Armes against the young man, if he knew him for certaine to be the sonne of King Edward*, hee reioiceth to vnto severity against the delinquent.

(18) But *Bernard Andreæ* directly saith, That (besides bare words and purposes) *Sir William* had supported *Perkins* cause with treasure, wherein hee is recorded to have abounded, as that in his Castle of * *Holt* he had in coine and plate to the value of forty thousand Markes, besides lands of inheritance in sundry places about, to the yearly value of three thousand pounds; (a pretty stocke in treasure at those times, to uphold the first beuste of a warre, and a large extent of land to furnish the wing of a powerfull battell with able soldiers out of *Tenants*) with all which the able Anchor in plaine wordes saith, *That hee was prouided to defend the said Pretender, and bring him into the Kingdome. And if we have any insight into King Henries disposition, it seems to vs, that before hee entered into the Tower, hee not onely knew the Lord Chamberlaine vsuall, but also that such quiet apprehension hee chiefly repaid thither. Stanley* being herewith attached and referred to further examination, is said * *To have denied nothing of all that whereunto hee was charged, which hee perhaps the more confidently did, in hope that king Henrie would pardon him in respect of passed services, they (in their effects considered) being the greatest whereof mortality is capable, preservation of life, and gaining of a Kingdome. But the poore gentleman found himselfe farre deceived in his poincke: Lord and Master, who (to teach mankind thereby, how dangerous it is to make a King) was not vnwilling to cut him off, as perswading himselfe, that those services proceeded of ambition, not of affection, or if of affection, the cause now ceasing, the contrary effects might proue as pernicious, as the other had been advantageous and available. The King was unwilling to displease his Father in Law, *Thomas Earle of Derby* (brother german to *Sir William Stanley*) and did therefore for a while suspend his iudgement; but rigour finally prevailed, and hee was at *Westminster* openly arraigned, couicted, and after-*

* *True Amal.* Payed his life but a laugh.

* *Many expect* *Sir Rob. Clifford* in the Tower of *London*.

* *Sir William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine was executed.

* *Polydore Virg.*

* *As Sir Amal.*

* *Illustrated & revised edition very prompt.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

King Henrie
discovered
and watcht
aswell the
coasts as
the people
within.

* *Sir Robert Clifford*
was away from
the Dutchesse,
* *Perkins* as a King
had his power
to take letters,
* *Polyd. Virg.*
in *Henrie*.

The maine argu-
ment proving
that King *Rich-
ard* was
brother of them
murdered.

* *Sir Tho. More.*

The Dutchesse
of *Burgundy*
two monstrous
births.
* *Amal* and
Perkin were
about fifteen
yeeres old, with
Polydore at the
time of their
appearance.

* *Bern. And. MS.*

Henry Lord Chamberlain
instructed.

ward at the block on Tower-hill beheaded. In whose office Giles Lord Darnley a most faithful and moderate man succeeded. This sharpe iustice exercised vpon so eminent a person, was of great vie in the itay of peoples minds through the Realme of England. But in Ireland they were not so letted, or reduced, but that for the better and fuller purging thereof, Henry Dewy (a Monk of Lanigan Abbey) was sent Lord Chancellour thither, with orders and directions, and Sir Edward Poynings Knight, with souldiers; whose great diligence and cares were not wanting, to punish such as heretofore had aided *Perkin*, or might hereafter. The Earle of Kildare Lord Deputy, falling into suspition with *Phynings*, was by him apprehended, and sent prisoner into England; where the King did not onely graciously beare and admit his defences, but also returned him with honour, and continuation of authority. In the meane time (the error, or weaknesse of the Burgundian Dutcheffe and her *Perkin*, suffering their enemy in this sort, to purway for his own security and their depulsiō) bee yee for farther assistance of himselfe makes a progresse into Lancashire, there to recreate with his Father in law the Earle, and the Countesse his mother, where among all other his secret purposes, he thoroughly satisfied the Earle, both for the iustice and necessity of Sir William Stanleyes death.

(39) These certainly, were perillous times to line in, and vndoubtedly full of infinite isalouses, and hypocrites, not valike to those lately passed, * *wherein there was nothing so plaine, and openly prynced, but that yet for the common custome of close and covert dealing, men had in their inwardly respect, as many well-counterfeted words make the true suspected*: these generall difficultis being among the strange gradations, by which the incomprehensible providence doth vie to chastise insolent Nations and to make regular Princes, mee and absolute. But the Dutcheffe and her *Perkin* knowing all things as they passed in England, resolute notwithstanding to proceede; and therefore taking advantage of the Kings absence in the North, he with a force of broken and discontented perions, sets saile for England, and approacheth the coasts of Kent about *Sandwich* and *Deal*, there to beginne his enterprize for obtaining the Crowne of England, vnder the borrowed name and title of *Richard Duke of Yorke*, if he found the Commons forward. But they, though doubtful at first what to doe, yet at the last considering that his Souldiers were for the most part of desperate fortunes, and felonious qualitie, (though hardy otherwise, and approoved men of warre,) remembering withall the mischiefes of part-takings, would not adhere, but training them within danger vpon promise of succour, assaile, and drive them to their shippes, take five of the Captaines, *Mansford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quinton*, and *Grenin*, and * one hundred, sixty and foure others, which were all of them afterward executed. *Perkin* himselfe who would not trust his person on shore, being worthily troubled at the inaspicious fortune of his followers, presently hoisted sailes, and returned to his Lady *Patrouelle* and Creatrix, into Flanders.

(40) These newes being brought to the King, where he was then in the North, he is * said to have given God thanks, and declared his ioy in these words. *I am not ignorant (most mercifull Iesu) how great victories thou hast given mee, vpon the Saturday at the prayers of thy most gracious Mother, all which I ascribe not to my deserts, but to the bounty of thy celestiall grace. Thou seest, I must benigne Iesu, how many sinners, how many devils, how many weapons, that terrible Iuno hath prepared, notwithstanding that after my marriage (soon I aming herselfe joyfull), hath faithfully promised to cleave towards all my sinners and good will, but shee, more changeable then the wind perverting all things afield divine as humane, fears not God, but in her fury seeks the utter ruine of her own blood. Thou, O God, who*

knowest all, deliver us also (if we forme worthy) from these evils, but if our finnes have deserved to suffer, doe thou, O Lord, thy good pleasure. Mercifully we are to thy Grace immortal thanks, which though with our tongue we cannot utter worthily enough, yet most they bee rendered. We are always of good courage, and so minded for certain, that no prosperitie, no adversity, no abundance, no diffidence of places, or times, shall once make us of thee commendable. The most modelt King hanaing ended his speech, doth forthwith (with our Author) ironically deliberate with his Councell what was to bee done hereafter. It may probably seeme, that he had withdrawn into the North, to inuise *Perkin* (by occasion of his absence) the rather to take Land, that so hee might draw all his dangers into one place, and decide them in a Battell, with his Subjects: he did reuolt to *Perkin* in any numbers, or if they did not, then might he fall into his hands, by landing vnwarily vpon trust of the peoples fauour, and so by a more compendious, and easie way settle his Estate; of which he failed but little, by the said counterpolicy of the Kentishmen. In regard whereof, in the first Act of Councell, praise and thanks were decreed to them, with which Sir *Richard Gylford* Knight was presently sent away, and order taken for the erection and watching of Beacons vpon the Coasts.

(41) The Dutcheffe on the other side, seeing the South of England prone to drie, and barren to her driftes, conceives againe her Idol into Ireland, where shee well knew there could not want partakers; and *Perkin* himselfe daring to entertaine the hope of a Crowne, (for by so long perfonation of a Kings sonne, and beire, ambition had throughlie kindled his youthfull blood) was now no little caule of bringing things to an issue by his owne forwardnesse. * *Maximilian King of Rome*, whether as one willing to keepe the English buid (Henry having forbidden his Subjects all traffike with the Flemmings, and all other of his sonnes the Archdukes Subjects,) or as crediting the fiction, and therefore thereunto in honour and confidence; * *Charles also King of France*, but specially the Dutcheffe of *Burgundy*, (by whom this bubble was first blowne vp, and put abroad) did concur to the molestation of King *Henry* * *Maximilian*, and the French King, more secretly, but the Dutcheffe with all her Oares and Sailes plied it in open vie. Botne vp by these supporters hee the rather easily drew the Irish to assent to his pretext; but his counsell weighing with themselves that the Irishmens friendship, how firme so euer, was insufficient in respect of their nakednesse and poverty to worke their willes, hee according to such advice as were taken before his departure from his Creatrix, crosseth into Scotland, for feare of punishment, saith * *Andreas*; if perhaps by the Kings true Subjects within Ireland hee should channce to bee apprehended; but the event shewes, that it was not onely for his more security, but principally to strengthen his enterprise with the Scottish aide, whereof in those daies hee had small reason to bee doubtfull; and his case was such, that no third course was left vnto him, but either to fight and conquer, or lye branded with immortal infamy both of Cowardize and impolitic. Henry hearing these things was not slacke to provide for his iust defence, greatly careful vpon what coast this wandering cloud would at length disfolde in life, in what effects loeuer; and therefore obserued all his waies with as much curiosity as was possible.

(42) I am the fourth, a yong Prince of great hope was at that time King of Scots, to whom this bold counterfeite (being specially recommended, for the title, *Richard Duke of Yorke*, by the King of France, and vndoubtedly much more by the Dutcheffe of *Burgundy*,) repaies; and had most courteous entertainment, and audience, the effect whereof *Andreas* thus coucheth: *I that the King was finally deceived by error, as most of other though most prudent Princes, had bene before.* But the rare impudency of the

St. S. S. S. S.

Perkin's father in Ireland.

Perkin's father in Ireland.

Perkin's father in Ireland.

Perkin's father in Ireland.

Perkin's father in Ireland.

Perkin's father in Ireland.

* Sir Tho. More in 2nd. 1.

Perkin upon the Kentish Sea.

Perkin's father in Ireland.

* Bernard. And. in about 1000.

* Bern. And. Acts

The Kings prayer and speech to God.

holding from them their rightfull inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might & power, to aid and assist us at our need after the date of their treasons. He hath also married by compulsion certaine of our Sisters, and also the Sister of our forefai'd Cofin the Earle of Warwicke, and diuers other Ladies of the blood royal, vnto certaine his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree, putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, he hath none to favour, and trust about his person but Bishop Fox, Smith, Gray, Laue, Oliver King, Sir Charles Sommerfet, Danie Owen, Knylle, Sir John Trebutaile, Tyler, Chaucley, James Hobert, John Cuth, Garth, Henry Wynt, and such other Cautiues, and collages of birth which by subtilie inuention, and pelling of the people haue been the principall fonder, occassions, and counsailers of the misrule, and mischance new raising in England, &c. We remembering these peccates, with the great, and execrable offences daily committed and done by our forefai'd great emper, and his Adherents, in breaking the liberties, and franchises of our mother the holy church; to the high displeasure of Almighty God: besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, man-slaughters, robberies, extortion, the daily pillage of the people by disloyal, traitors, traitors, beneuolences and other villainous impieties, and greuous exactions, with many other heinous offences, to the liberty destruction and defolation of the whole Realme, &c. shall by Gods grace, and the helpe, and assistance of the great Lords of our blood, with the Counsaile of other sad persons, &c. see that the commodities of our Realme be coupled to the most advantage of the same, the entrechaunge of merchandise betwixt Realme and Realme, to be misruled and handled, as shall more be to the Common weale, and profit of our subjects: and all such disloyal, traitors, pillages, beneuolences, villainous impieties, and greuous exactions, as be as be abhorred, to be foredone, and laid apart, and neuer from henceforth to be called upon, but to such causes as our Noble Princes, Kings of England haue of old time bene accustomed to haue the aide, succour, and helpe of their subjects, and true liegemen.

(40) The tide of people being thus vp: Flammeack and the Blacke Smyth (hauing firme promise of the Lord Audley personal helpe) led them forth tow and Kent, where they doubted not prently to encrease their numbers; and had in likelihood so done, but that the singular diligence and wisdom of the King, frustrated their hopes by fundry Princely Arts. Yet they flow on and to flow what they durst doe, they flew in their way at Tansford the Prouost of Perin, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidie; and marching forward without offering other violence, James Tanchet Lord Audley ioines himselfe at the City of Wels vnto them, according to secret agreement, and becomes their Generall. From Wels they proceeded to Salisbury, thence to Tanchester, and so toward Kent, where the Countrey was letled and provided. But the King further doubting that the Scots would take fresh occasion by these seditious vproores, to invade the borders of his Realme, dispatched Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey (a Peere of excellent vertue) to defend those parts, with the helpe of the Bishopricke of Durham, and the Marches, till these commotions were appeased, that then the Lord Denbigh might with a full and full Army prosecute the warre against the Scots. But James their King, perceiving the end of the English intestine warres, would be the beginning of his troubles, thought it best by way of anticipation to weaken his enemy before hand as much as hee could, and thereupon fiercely invaded Northumberland againe, and besieged Norham Castell belonging to Richard Fox, whom the King for his noble seruices and desert, had now advanced from Exeter, and Bath and Wels, vnto the Bishopricke of Durham. But the Scottish King, hopelesse to winne the Castell, though hauing done much hurt both to it and to the countrey, withdrew his people before the Earle of Surrey could approach with his Army, wherein was the Earle of Westmerland, the Lords Darcy, Strange, Nevill, Latimer, Lumley, Scrope, Clifford, Camper,

Darcy, the Baron of Hiltone, and many Knights, as Percie, Bulmer, Guesaigne, Penington, Bygel, Berres, Elarker, Parr, Wharton, Strongworth, Constable, Ratcliffe, Somle, Gower, Mufgrave, Mallesie, Loder, Boweringham, Stapleton, Worsley, Pickering, Heron, Gray, Kilday, Griffith, Fowneiche, Ward, Strypeand, Blomgham, Carver, Worsop, Tompoff, Maltolfe, and others; who misting the enemy, marched after into Scotland, and took such reuenge as the thornesse of their lodaine promitions would enable.

(47) The Rebels on the other side, (whom King Henry thought not good to encounter in their first heats; but suffered them to tire their fury, and subuate themselves with a long march, the countreies as they past being forsake from ioyning with them) coming neere to Kent, found few, or no partakers there; but the Countrey strongly defended against them by the Earle thereof, the Lords Abergenie and Cobham, with other principall men and their followers; which made diuers of the Rebels secretly shrinke and abandon the enterprise. But the Lord Audley, Flammeack, Michael Ioffe, and the rest, kept on their way, and encamped vpon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham, from thence whereof they might behold the Citie of London, & the whole beauty of that Horizon. Here they resolved to abide the King, or to assaile London. The King on the other side, by the diligence of the Lord Maior, and other the Magistrates secured the City, which was full of feare and businesse himselfe enured with his Nobles, & the choice of the South, hearing where the Rebell was encamped, resolved by dint of sword to deliuer his people from tiring expectations, and for that purpose marcheth out of London, and encamps in S. Georges field, where be

lay that night. The next day when he understood that the Enemy had drawe forth his People, and set them in Battell-ray, he sends out Henry Tanchet Earle of Essex, Edmond de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Sir Rics ap Thomas, and others, with certaine Cornets of horie, and Companies of Archers, to beset the hill, and the descent thereof, while Giles Lord Denbigh with the strength of his Army, chargeth the Enemy in front, whom with some slaughter they drawe from the Bridgiate Dersfere it and so then mounting the hill, he and the Earles charge the maine squadrons on all sides, and without much labour breake and defeat them. The number of the Rebels slaine is vncertainly reported, the odds being betwixt two thousand and three hundredth. The Kings army returned fewer by three hundredth. Fifteen hundred rebels were taken Prisoners, & the takers had their Prisoners goods granted them. James Lord Audley, Flammeack, and the Smith were taken and executed. To all the rest mercy was seasonably extended. The Lord Audley led from Newgate to Towerhill in a coat of his owne Armouries painted on a paper, reuerst and torne, there paid his head, for being a Head to that heady Route: Flammeack and the Smith were quartered. Memorably strange was the comfort, with which this Blacksmith is said to haue cheered vp himselfe at his being drawne to execution, saying, That yet he hoped thereby, that his name and memorie should be everlasting. Who could beleue, that the desire of a long-lasting name howsoever should take the affections of so meane a person? Such therefore was the end of this infurrection; but the times being queasy, the King wiselie forbore to take any seuerer reuenge vpon more then once vpon the chief Leaders, for he was trulle informed that this calamitie had not broken the willes of the Cornishmen, who remained ready for any desperate sudden occasion, and therefore he abstained from needlesse exasperations, in so much as charthe quarters of Flammeack, and the Smith being once appointed to haue beche set vp in Cornwal for terror, were only fixed about London, the King thinking good to temper his iustice euen in such a circumstance.

The King would against the Rebell.
* 7. Nov. and A.D. 1497. In.
An Reg. 12.

Blackheath field.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 1.
* 14. Nov. 1497.

* Polyd. Virg.

The Blacke Smithes execution on his death.

Popular Informations by Trium.

* Polyd. Virg. trium. p. 100. lib. 1. 11. p. 100.

The Scots invade and seize.
* Polyd. Virg. lib. 1.

(48) His next care was so to order the warre against Scotland, that the Peace whose foundations he had laid a far off, might be made to his more honor: & because the injuries sustained by the youthful stout of King James, were too publike to be altogether forgotten; hee sent the Earle of Surrey, the Lord Howell, and others, to invade the Scottish borders with an Army, who purified the revenge with great vehemency. Meane while there arriveth in Scotland Peter Hyalun an Ambassador from Ferdinando and Elizabeth, King and Queene of Spaine, as from friends equally well affected to both parties, to mediate a peace betweene the two Kings of England and Scotland, which perhaps in their owne persons would not easily have beene brought about, the point of honour might thereto have given such empeachment. But this was the way to a peace which King Henry foresaw, there being not onely a strict bond of love betweene him and Ferdinando, but an overture, if not a secret conclusion, to match his eldest Sonne Prince Arthur with the young Lady Katherine daughter of Spaine, who for her excellent vertues was well worthy to be the happy wife of any Prince then breathing. Hyalun so handled the point of his employment, that an honourable truce followed. This Ambassador was a practicke man of much experience, and knew the better how to deale on the behalfe of King Henry against Perkin Warbeck, *"an imaginary and Stage-play Prince"* for that his Sovereigne Queene had also beene exceedingly molested by a Counterfeite. For Henry the fourth, King of Castile, and brother to Elizabeth, being unable to begette children, Joan (daughter of Edward king of Portugal) his wife found means notwithstanding to beare one, by occasion whereof, after King Henries death, for that it was borne in marriage, a dangerous warre was undertaken by *"Alonso King of Portugal"*, on behalfe of Isabella the supposed inheritor but Troth, partly by force, and partly by mediation, was in the end victorious; and Elizabeth, or Isabella sister of Henry succeeded to her brother, and brought the inheritance of the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon, with her to Ferdinando King of Arragon. The chiefe point of this truce with Scotland was, That Perkin Warbeck should leave that Kingdom, seeing King James, standing upon his honour, would not detur him up to King Henry. Perkin having now no remedie, did accordingly, taking with him his wife, the Lady Katherine Gordon; and with such few as remained to him, past into Ireland, where hee had not continued long, but the Cornishmen offer to rise at his arrival, and to aduocate their fortunes, and lives in his quarrell: Which motion Perkin gladly entertained, as perceiving yet some little hope left to maintaine himselfe, by the troubles, and hazards of others: but the policie and fortune of King Henry were growne so venerable with the Princes his Neighbours, that Ambassadors came from France, and from the Arch-Duke of Burgundy, the one to treate amity, the other to request the restitution thereof; both which K. Henry (who repoyed his whole trust next under God, upon the amity of his neighbours) granted, and the English Merchants (who had been somewhat long forbidden by their Sovereigne to trade in the Arch-Dukes dominions) returning to Antwerp were received into the same with procession: so that Perkin could scarce cast his eye upon any place, not onely where to raise aides, but not where to rest his head, unless perchapp in the Court of the Dutchesse of Burgundy, neither in all his fortunes did any thing seeme miserable or unworthy, but the great infelicity of his wife, whose beauty, birth, and honourable qualities ought not to have bene so betrayed by her friends temerity. Perkin hereupon landing at Whyland Bay in Cornwall in September, found means afterward at Bodmin to raise some thousands of people, whom with multitude pro-

mises, inettive proclamations, and strong impudency, he held together under the Title of Richard the fourth King of England, whose face was none of the happiest, while the maicesty of her name might so be played with by impostors. Perkin thus accompanied, marcheth toward the City of Exeter, purposing if hee could winne it by force, to entrich his Souldiers with the spoiles thereof, and to intice all other loole or lost people to his service by the hope of like booties, and by taking into his possession such places of strength as lay in his way to secure his retreat, if (according to the ordinary fortune of warre) any thing should happen to him unluckily.

(50) But the King (hearing that the varlet was landed, and againe made head against him in Armes upon trull of the Cornishmens assistance) is fild to "have smiled, vnto these words: *"Loe, wee are againe provoked by this Prince of Rabelles, but lest my people should through ignorance bee drawne into destruction, as let vs seeke to take this Perkin by the easiest wayes we can."* Reason hee had to smile, for now hee seemed to see the bottom of his perill, and as it were to hold his enemy compounded within the English Ocean, it being a perpetuall and noble wish of his, that he might looke his dangers in the face and deale with them hand to hand, as the necesse cut over to a full conclusion. Hee therefore provides accordingly, assembling his forces, and his wits (no lesse to be dreaded then his forces) sending forth his espials into all parts to observe the tracks, and hopes of this empty cloud, which is now fene before Exeter, a principall strength and ornament of the Western parts of the Kingdome. Parke, and the alluements of wordes under the guile title of King Edwards Sonne, prouing vnauailable with those resolute and faithful Citizens: Perkin forthwith betakes himselfe to violence, sets fire on the gates, mounts his scaling ladders against the walls, and with his vtmost fury labours to force a suddaine entrance, for that as hee suspected, succours could not long be wanting. The Citizens on the other side, and such of the Country, as came in, prepare, and make a very valiant defence against the Rebell, and in stead of quenching the fires kindled by the enemy at the gates, to open a passage (for they had not Canon or any other Ordinance) the Citizens threw on great store of fagots and faell, and so with flame did shutt up the way, when the gates themselves were now consumed, and in the mean while they cast up trenches, and man their walles, from whence, with the slaughter of about two hundred Rebels at this assault they valiantly deafe them. Such messengers as by cords slippe downe the walles, to signify their perill, sped toward the King; but the loyal diligence of *"Edward Courtney Earle of Devonshire"*, the Lord William his sonne, with many principall Gentlemen of those parts, as *Trenchard, Curry, Fulford, Halwell, Creker, Edgewood, Semar*, followed with great store of Souldiers, flued him the labour of a personall rescue by timely approach.

(51) Perkin hearing thereof, riseth from before Exeter, and marcheth to Taunton (a goodly town not far off) thereto take the mullers of his Armie, and to provide for encounter, where he found very many blanks in the list of his numbers, for that they had secretly shrunke away, as misdouing the sequel, the Earle of Devonshire being so neere at hand with the power of the Country, and the King upon his way against them, with the maicesty and terror of a roiall name and Armie, none of the Nobilitie (which was chiefly hoped) comming to their aide. Perkin nevertheless makes shew of standing, with such as were left vnto him. The Earle of Devonshire marching towards Taunton, in the way there came vnto him Edward Duke of Buckingham, a young Lord full of great honour and courage, followed by a goodly troupe of Knights, and others excellent well appointed, both for their owne persons, and their

"Bera. Audo. Ml.

The City of Exeter attended by Priests,

The Ecclesiastical policy in determining fire by fire,

"Folys. Forg.

Perkin at Taunton,

"Folys. Dig.

Henry
Surrey Arrive.

"Jadeto Path,
A Spanish Amba-
ssador pro-
cures a truce be-
tweene England
and Scotland.

"Could in Dry
weather, Imagin-
tion of Services
penetrates.
The Queene of
Portugal raised
by a counterfeite.

"From Tarragona
in Hen. 4.
the Marston
look.

Perkin Warbeck
purified call of
Scotland.

The Cornish call
in Perkin Warbeck

King Henry forth-
with peace with
neighbour Princes.

"Edw. Hal.

Perkin Bites the
Circumference.

The King and his people a ch
toward him.

their peoples. These wee finde named as principall;
Bridget, Bainham, Barkley, Tame, Wyke, Paynt, Vernon,
Mortimer, Tremail, Sutton, Paulet, Bricknell, Sapcott,
Latterell, Wallham, Speck, Beauchamp, Cheney, Toker,
Long, Latimer, Turbervill, Steuart, Newbrough, Mar-
tin, Lynde, Rogers, Hungerford, Somer, Darrell, Bar-
row, Norrey, Langford, Corbet, Blunt, Laton, Cornwall,
and many other prime and valiant men of Armes.

The King left all (to permit as litle to fortune as
was possible) first Robert Lord Brooke, Giles Lord
Dunbarney, and that renowned and trusty Wellshman
Sir Rice ap Thomas, with the marrow and strength of
his Army before, himselfe following in person with
such as hee thought good. Neither was his care
cautellese, for the Cornishmen were come to that
height of desperate obduracy and malice, "as not one
of them but refused to surrender, or to leave his carcase in
the place. But God loved him and them better then
to suffer it to come so farre; for Perkins, whether fea-
ring treason in his owne Army, or otherwise toucht
with the confidence of his quality, and damnable
estate of the quarrell, whereto it was horrible to die,
having in his troupe but three score horse, secretly
fled from the seduced Commonwe. Which when the
King heard, hee presently lett out five hundred
horse to pursue and apprehend him, before hee
should get to the sea, and so escape. Perkins and his
remaines thus frightened, tooke Sanctuary at Beau-
lieu, a religious house within New Forest, (not farre
from Hampton) where the Kings Co. se

*Pepyl. Wry.

Perkins first from
his house.

Perkins while cold
and honorably
visited by the King.

*Appl. Ref.

The King at
Exeter.

Pepyl Wry. for
the same time
for some.

Perkins would
himselfe to the
King.

found them already regitred; but a
structions they beset the place, and maintai-
ing watch about it day and night. The other Rebels
the while without stroke stricken, humbled them-
selves to their Sovereignes mercy, and found it in
undeserved measure. Other strong troupes of
horse are at the same instant dispatched to S. Cath-
erine Mount in Cornwall, where the beautiful Lady
Katherine Gordon had been left by her lewde hus-
band. Her without resistance they brought safely
to the King, whose beauty the whole Court prai-
sed, and pitied; but the King most graciously com-
forting her, sent her away well attended to the
Queene his wife, and for her birthes sake allowed
her maintenance, which in honourable manner
supported her during the Kings life & many yeeres
after. Her faireness was such, and her presence so
amiable, that shee desired to be commonly cal-
led *The white Rose*; whose fortunes (being so far va-
worthy either of her birth, her singular modicall,
or wisely faith, notwithstanding the so abject con-
dition of her husband) as they moved iust commi-
seration toward her, so they doubled the lustre of
her graces.

(52) In the meane while the King makes a reioice-
full entrance into Exeter, to relieve his princely loue
to the Citizens, whom he highly commended and
graced, both for their courage and loyalty; com-
manding some of the Cornish Rebels to be execu-
ted there, which did the better set-off the others
contrary condition. There also hee gave dire-
ctions, to offer life, and obliuion of all crimes to Per-
kins, if he would voluntarily quie the Sanctuary and
submit himselfe. Perkins being now without hope,
without aide, without estate, most gladly came forth,
and did put himselfe into the Kings hands. Rascals
leading that wile Prince to extend this fauour, were
drawne out of the depth of true iudgement, cleared
from vulgar perturbations: firstly, it was not altoge-
ther impossible, but that Perkins might escape him,
(though by offering selfe-violence) and so the world
should seeke the light of satisfaction in so profound
and perhaps a matchlesse impotence; then againe
his youth might merite some compassion; but the
infinite desire which Henry had, from the mouth
of the party himselfe, to learne all the secrets of the
plot, and who they were that lay undiscovered, and
yet had finger in the mystical practise, moued him to
affect the possession of his perill alone, which now

hee had. Thus was this so dreaded a blaze of re-
bellion suddainly and finally quenched; but not
without the teares of many in *Drum* and *Sunder-
sfire*, whose estates the Kings officers seized and
drained, in reuenge of their partaking, and support-
ing the Cornish Rebels, either in the field, or
flight. Henry hauing Perkins in his power, gave way
to all such scornes and scoffes, which his Courtiers
or others were pleased to passe vpon him, the more
to make his perion contemptible, who weill watch-
ed followed the King to London, whither as he pro-
gressed, multitudes flockt about to behold the Cai-
tiffe, "who being a stranger gone any way (whatsoever hee
thought to the contrary) descended of Nobles, had dared
in trouble to great a Kingdome, and by his crafty conni-
uences had induced so many Princes and Nations (not with-
out mischief and ruine vnto diuers) to beleue of him, that
which hee neuer was. And that he might in no part
bee vnknewnt, hee is leasurly conieured on horse-
backe from the farthest part of London, through
Cheshide and Cornhill to the Tower, & backe from
thence through *Canwick-streets* to *Westminster*, in the
society of wonderment, and of all reproach and infam-
ies. The King hauing in this sort taken reuenge of
his so strange an enemy, and by curious and often
examination comming to the full knowledge of
that his soule desired, did see such to attend, as ne-
uer went an inch from Perkins sight, (though hee
seemed to goe at liberty) left through the slipperie
Arts of his tempting speech and behaviour, hee
might vanish into fainthearts, and raise fresh troubles
in England, & bring new comfort to the Lady Mar-
garet Dutchesse of Burgundie, the sinfull con-
comence of all this cursed Scragame, whose heart
was now almost tinen in funder with the newes of her
Perkins most hideous shame and misery, the whole
blushing tenor whereof might easily come to her
handes at once; for Henry caused so much of the
principall matter, as Perkins had confessed, to bee
committed to the Printing Presse, (an Art then first
appearing among vs, and published. None can iustly
wonder, that wee haue dwelt so long in this won-
derfull storie, but rather perhaps with that more
particularities (though with more prolixity) had been
vied. And though some other Actions as * *Schys-
m* Cabots discovery, and ouertures of marriages with
Spain and *Scotland*, came betwene this apprehen-
sion, & the execution of Perkins, yet haue we thought
it best, (the looser & at once to rid our handes of a
* *knave*, as *K. Henry* iustly called him) to touch all that
which concerns him, here together, not fearing to
incur among the learned, the taxation of commit-
ting therein contradiction, and confusion of
times.

(53) Perkins being thus guarded, could not with-
standing attempt to escape. And, if it were lawfull to
inferre particular coniectures, drawn out of the con-
siderations of circumstances, we should perhaps not
spare to say, that his attempt for escape, was not with-
out the Kings priuacy; vizing such instruments to
persuade, or furnish his flight, as might withall be-
tray him, that so by degrees (occasion taken to cutte
him off) the Realme might bee ridde from such per-
petuall matter of trouble. For the depraued wile
and will of man might find or faine reason to abuse
the world still, if Perkins were at liberty; as that the
confessions were extorted by force, or forged by Henry to
ferre his turme, and the like. Therfore Perkins in-
tention and escape (for hee was escaped) being discou-
ered to the King, all this wayes were beleue, and hee so
close pursued, that in the end betaking himselfe to a
religious house of Carthousian Monkes, hee declared
what hee was, and besought their Prior in the humblest
manner he could, for Gods sake to keepe his life, which
at the Priors suite was granted; but the Kings wrath
being kindled, or the passage of his suppressed wrath
opened thereby, hee banished all former respects, com-
manding him to be fettered, and set (for an whole
day) in a paire of Stockes, mounted on a Scaffold
before

The King returns
to London with
Perkins.
*Pepyl. Wry.

*1st. New death.
11. November.

*New death.

*English voyage
by Rich. Knell.

*New death.

* King, Warwick, &c.

* In some copies.

Perkins openly
in the Church, &c.
* He says.

Perkins maketh
an answer of
his descent or
lineage.

Perkins answers
on the lineage
&c.

Perkins a notable
land-lop.

The Irish would
have Perkins
upon him where
the Duke of
Clarence is.

They were
you down with
oathes, that be
in King Richards
ballad.

before the Gate of *Westminster Hall*, and the next day to be alike expoled in *Golden Chape*, to the benefit of all contempt and scorn, so fettered, stockt, & scaffolded as before, to the great wonderment (saith *Stow*) of many, as either insinuating that all were not persuaded of the imposture, or that it seemed strange that one lately of so great Prowesse, should vndergoe so despicable a punishment. But for a scale and total summe of all ignominy and shame (such as no face did euer beare greater) he read his owne confession, written with his owne hand * as followeth.

(54) It is first to be knowing, that I was borne in the Towne of *Turney* in *Flanders*, and my fathers name is *Iohn Osbecke*, which said *Iohn Osbecke* was controller of the said Towne of *Turney*, and my mothers name is *Katherin de Fore*. And one of my Grandfathers vpon my fathers side was named *Dorick Osbecke* which died. After whose death my grandmother was married vnto *Peter Fleming*, that was receiver of the forenamed Towne of *Turney*, & Dean of the Botemere, that row vpon the water, or river called *Le Seheld*. And my Grandfater vpon my mothers side was *Peter de Fore*, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of *Saint Iohn* within the same Towne of *Turney*. Also I had an vnckle called *M. Iohn Stalen*, dwelling in the Parish of *S. Paul*, within the same Towne, which had married my fathers sister, whose name was *Iane de Iane*, with whom I dwelt a certaine season.

(55) And after I was led by my mother to *Amwerp* to learne Flemish, in a house of a cofin of mine, an officer of the said town, called *Iohn Stunbeke*, with whom I was the space of halfe a yeere, and after that I returned againe to *Turney*, by reason of warres that were in *Flanders*: and within a yeere following, I was first with a Merchant of the said Towne of *Turney* named *Berle*, to the Mart of *Amwerp*, where I fell sicke, which sicknesse continued vpon mee nine moneths. And the said *Berle* let mee to boord in a Skinners house, that dwelled beside the house of the English Nation. And by him I was from thence carried to *Bruis Mart*, and I lodged in the signe of the old man, where I abode for the space of two moneths.

(56) After this, the said *Berle* let mee with a Merchant of *Antwerp* to seaferre, for to learne the language, whose name was *Iohn Streu*, with whom I dwelt from Christmas to Easter, and then I went into *Portingall* in company of *Sir Edward Brampton* wife, in a shippes was called the *Queenes shippe*. And when I was come thither, then was I put in seruice to a Knight that dwelled in *Lisborne*, which was called *Peter Pares de Coyne*, with whom I dwelled an whole yeere, which said Knight had but one eye. And because I desired to see other countries, I tooke licence of him, and then I put my selfe in seruice with a Britaine, called *Pregent Iken*, which brought mee with him into *Ireland*. Now when we were there arrived in the town of *Corke*, they of the Towne (because I was arrayed with some clothes of silke of my said Masters) came vnto mee, and threatened vpon mee, that I should bee the Duke of *Clarence* Inne, that was before time at *Dublin*.

(57) But forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto mee the holy Euangelists, and the Crocife, by the Maior of the town, which was called *Iohn Lavelin*, and therein the presence of him and others, I tooke mine oath (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaid Dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto mee an Englishman, whose name was *Stephen Patre*, and one *Iohn Water*, and laud to me in swearing great oathes, that they knew well that I was King *Richards* bastard sonne; to whom I answered with like oathes, that I was not. Then they aduised me not to be afeard, but that I should take it vpon me holdly, and if I would so doe, they would aide and assist me with all their power against the King of *England*, and not onely they, but they were well assured, that the

Earle of *Desmond* and *Kildare* should doe the same.

(58) For they forced not what part they tooke, so that they might bee reuenged on the King of *England*: and so against my will made mee to learne English, and taught mee what I should doe and say: And after this they called me Duke of *Torke*, second sonne to King *Edward* the fourth, because King *Richards* bastard sonne was in the hands of the King of *England*. And vpon this the said *Water*, *Stephen Patre*, *Iohn Tiler*, *Hughbert Burgh*, with many others, as the foresaid Earles, carried into this false quarrell, and within short time others. The French King sent an Ambassidor into *Ireland*, whose name was *Lett Lucas*, and *M. Stephen Fribois*, to aduertise me to come into *France*: and thence I went into *France*, and from thence into *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* into *Ireland*, and from *Ireland* into *Scotland*, and so into *England*.

(59) From hauing thus bene made a publike spectacle, till all eyes were wearied with the view, and imaginations tired with thinking: hee continued to the Tower of *London*: where it had bene happy, if hee had onely wrought his owne destruction; but the bloody fate (so to speake of his disastrous birth) would not suffer him to perish single. In the same Tower was prisoner *Edward* the young Earle of *Warwick*, hauing lo bene from the first yeare of *Henry* to this present, for no fault of his, but for the neere Tiler to the Crowne, hee carried person inseparable master of danger &c.

Of his simplicity, by reason of his education in prison from his infancy, there is a report, that as one who liued out of the view of the world, hee knew not an * heane from a goole, or one fowle or Creature from another. To hasten the ruine of so innocent a danger, he beheld there brekes forth a counterfeit Earle of *Warwick*, as if all that which the world saw horrible in *Perkins* darings, had been but a document to instruct others in the like, and that nothing were to be feared therein, but want only of success, which who so euer could propound to himselfe all things else, were full of encouragement and reason. This counterfeit was a * Cordwainers son of *London*, aged about twenty yeeres, and called * *Ralph Willford*, who for falsely assuming the name & title of the said Earle, being thereunto taught, and suborned, a practise which well declared that the malicious Dutchesse of *Burgundie* did still liue) was hanged at *S. Thomas Waterings* by *Southwarke* vpon Shrovetide day.

(60) This new deuise to vncrowne King *Henry*, so wakened his owne feares, and the eies of the *Catholicks*, (who had secretly agreed to marry their Princess *Katherine* to our Prince *Arthur*) that there seemed no sure ground of succession, if that the Earle of *Warwick* were not made ayay. A fearefull case, where the false reason of State shall faile to it selfe an impossibility of well doing, without shedding innocent blood, and shall therefore resolute to found vpon so crying a sinne, the hope of perpetuity in succession; sith nothing is truer, then that sinne was not an vnseure basis to sith lasting works vpon. But o the narrow capacities of the most seeing men; the confidence whereof did vndoubtedly lead this King (herein not iustifiable, howsoever excusable in respect of humane frailty, which might propound to it selfe many feares, and respects both publike and priuate) to connise at the plotted death, or rather formal murder of this harmlesse Gentleman, whose wrong may yet moue the hardest to compassion, as it afterwarde stirred God in iustice to reuenge, prospering no part of that great worke which was thereupon thus corruptly fought to be perpetuated. That noble Lady *Katherine* herselfe was heretof so miserable, that when the diuorce was afterward prosecuted against her by King *Henry* the eighth, her second husband, shee is reported to haue said, That it was the hand of God,

They call him Duke of Torke.

A.D. 1498.
An.R. 63. 14.
Perkins in the
Tower, and the
Trecall
effeits.

* Feild, Pref.

A counterfeit
Earle of Warwick
executed.

* Adde to 2. 2. 2.
* Willford.

The true Earle
of Warwick de-
posed to die.

for that to cleere the way to her marriage that innocent Earle of Warwick was put to unworthy death. Neither let licentious Practises vouch the singular Act of *Salomon* in taking away the life of his elder brother *Adonias* to colour this homicide: for he that will argue from particular facts in Scripture, shall not onely leave no *Adonias* living, but perhaps no *Salomon*. To worke this young *Warwick* roine, the milchieinos and dumfall wretch *Perkin* becomes an occasion, if not an instrument, for he by his supple insinuations and blowing promises had corrupted his keepers, the servants of Sir *Iohn Digbie* Knight Lieutenant of the Tower; who (as * was affirmed) meant to haue murdered their maister, and then to haue set *Perkin*, and the Earle at large, to which practise of escape the poore Earle is said to haue consented. *Perkin* for this conspiracie had his trial at *Wylmington*, and hee together with one *Iohn d'Waters*, who had beene sometime Maior of *Corke* in *Ireland*, were condemned, and being drawne to *Ti-burne*, had the sentence of death executed vpon them. *Perkin* at the Gallows did reade his former confession, taking on his death that the same was true, and vnder-went his punishment with patience. *Walter Bletet*, and *Thomas Aswood* (being two of the conspirators, for the other two *Strangewaters* and *Long Rogers*, being the Lieutenants men also, were not executed, nor for so much as we haue read, arraigned) not long after receiued the reward of their offence at the same place.

(61) Iustice thus took hold at last of *Perkin Warbeck*, on whom the Proverbe which faith, that *Pride is the Sister of Shame*, was worthily verified. Neither could the world accuse King *Henric* for his death, vnlesse it were, for that he had not hanged him sooner, but suffered him to liue till hee had drawne after him a greater ruine in *Warwick* person, then in all the former tragedies. For this Earle being a chiefe Prince of the blood, and next heire Male of his hoole to the Crowne of *England*, (a crime of which his birth onely made him guilty and not any fact of his) being thus charged to haue giuen assent to *Perkins* plot of escape, he was publickly arraigned before the Earle of *Oxford* (then High Steward of *England*) by the name of *Edward Plantagenet* Earle of *Warwick*, and indicted for wilfully to haue escaped (as they said) out of the Tower, and consequently according to the dreadful licence of inferences among our *Englis*h pleadres in cases of death) to deprive King *Henric* of his royall Crowne and dignity, and to vspurie the Title and soueraigne office, prosecuting their bloody Poetry with the like sanguinary syllogismes, though vicerly without measure, or fashion. The Earle doubly betrayed, first by the letters of the inane, and then by their filly or deceitfull persuasions who were put about him, confessed the endiement, and submitteth himselfe to the Kings mercie; that is, offered vp his head to bea suppettie foudation of King *Henrics* farther pot-poles; for sentence of death was thereupon pronounced as against a Traitor. This one practise seemes sufficient, if not to call vpon *Henry* the Title of a *heretic* and *perilous* man, yet to raise a doubt, whether (* as one writes) hee was more sincere and entire then *Ferdinando King of Spaine*, upon whom (saith that Author) he did himselfe bestow the ename of the death of *Edward Plantagenet* Earle of *Warwick*.

The life therefore of this Prince (according to rigour of lawe) being thus in his power, the King gently pardoned all the paines, but the losse of his head, which was cut off vpon a scaffold at *Tower-hill*, and then (another grations fauour) his body was not buried in the Chappel of the Tower, or in any other common place, but at *Rygham* by his Ancestors. Jealous (saith * one) the King was ouer the greatness of his Nobilitie, as remembering how himselfe was set vp; and much more did this humour encrease in him after he had conflicted with such Idols and Conterfets as *Lambert Simond* and *Perkin Warbeck*. The

stranges of which dangers made him thinke nothing life. This Earle was the last heire male of the blood and furname of *Plantagenet*; whose race as it was a long time glorious for giuing Kings to *England*, (euen from King *Henry* the second) so in the end (chiefly for the house of *Turke*) it became hateful (as it seemes) to God and man, for the most horrible and inextinguible deadly feudes, murder, perjuries, and other horrors committed within it selfe, which (as then not fully expiated) lay heauiely vpon the head of this Earle, and finally threw open all those fences, which the possession of *Maitle* and numerousitie of issue had for sundry ages kept about it, letting in thereby the surname of *Tudor* being but two defectes *Englis*h, and which now after three defectes and five Princes is also vanished. Now, among those few great workes of peace which ensued their firebrands of warre, we must remember the marriage of Prince *Arthur*, with the Princess of *Spaine* Lady *Katherine*. The interion from *Warwick* death till then, brought forth a verie great plague, whereof in *London* there are said to haue died about thirtie thousand. The King and Queene remove to *Calais* in *May* and returned in *June*. The maine * busines was to reuiue and ratifie the state of famiely, and negociations, betwene the *Englis*h and the Duke of *Burgundies* sobasies. *Shine* also was born, and being new builded, called *Richmond*, for which and the like, it will be fittest to haue recourse to vulgar Annals.

(62.) The Coast of *Scate* now seeming cleare from all thickening weather, *Ferdinando* and *Isabelle* King & Queene of *Spaine*, according to the points of agreement betwene them and King *Henry*, concerning their fourth daughter the Lady *Katherine* (borne at *Alcala de Finari* or *Complutum*) sent her royally appointed in a goodly Fleet to *England*, there to fulfill in person, what hitherto had beene onely treated of, who after many difficulties took land at * *Plymouth* in *October*. *Ferdinando* her father was the sonne of *Iohn King of Arragon* and *Stieffe*, and although he was vnlawne, as being brought vp among armes and soldiours, yet by vsing the familiarity of wilsones he also became very wise and proued that great Prince which first in these latter times recalled the old glorie of *Spain*, and reared it to such an enuious magnitude, as that the iealousie thereof hath bred no small quarrels in *Christendome*. For by his marriage with *Isabelle*, (sole sister and heire to *Henry* the fourth King of *Castile* and *Leon*.) he reigned in right of his wife, and ioiuly with her, ouer those two Kingdomes and their appertanences, who together (saith * *Mercurius* of *Sicilia*) did admirable things and workes most holy. They * recovered the hope Cay and Kingdoms of *Granada*, and part of *Andalusia* from the Moores, after they had bene in violent possession thereof tenen hundredth and fourescore yeeres, and hazing purged those places from the filth of *Mahometes* superstitions, built Churches to the honour of *Iesus Christ*, by occasion whereof *Ferdinando* was furnamed the Catholike King. The wailles of the Clute of *Granada* at the time of the surrender, which (after about tenne yeeres warres) was by *Ferdinando* King thereof made to *Ferdinando* and *Isabelle* half * twelve miles in compass, and in the tame twelve Gates, and a thousand towres enclosing seven Hillies coured with building, innumerable people, and inestimable riches, & the Spanish forces at this conquest were about 12000. Horse, & one hundred thousand foot. The said King and Queene, besides many other their mighty actions, did also first discover *America*, by *Christopher Columbus*, & thereby brought a whole new world to the notice of *Christendome*. *Isabelle* her selfe, defended of the blood roial of *England*, being daughter of *Iohn* the second King of *Castile* & *Leon*, son of *Henric* the third King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and of *Katherine* his wife (daughter of * *Iohn Duke of Lancaster*, third sonne of our *Edward* the third of triumphall and neuer-dying memorie) was a *Lan-*

* See the Annals.

Perkin condemned & executed.

A.D. 1499.
An.Reg. 15.

The Earle of Warwick rained by Perkins conspiracie.

* See the Annals.

The Earle confessed the endiement.

* See P. & M.

Edward Earle of Warwick left Male Plantagenet beheaded.

* See the Annals.
* See P. & M.A.D. 1501.
An.Reg. 17.The Lady Katherine of Spaine landed in England.
* See the Annals.
* See P. & M.* See the Annals.
* See the Annals.
* See the Annals.

The battle of Granada and Ferdinando and Isabelle great victors.

* See the Annals.
* See the Annals.Isabelle Queen of Spaine descended from our Edward the 1. King of England.
* See the Annals.
* See the Annals.

die.

die, whole * like the Christian world had seldom any of that wildome, grauity, chastity, and of so laborious a deuotion, that * *he did not onely day by day performe the Canonical and lawfull tasks of prayers vnto by Priests, but many other, and brought vp her children accordingly.*

(63) The Lady Katherine being about eightene yeeres old, and borne of so great, so noble, so victorious and vertuous parents, is with iustitiously and solemnity openly married in *Paules Church* to *Arthur Prince of Wales*, aged about fifteene yeeres, and eldest sonne to *Henry the seventh*, King of *England*, and of *Elizabeth* his wife. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* assisted with nineteene Bishops and Abbots, mixed, ioyning their hands, and performed all the other Church rites vpon that great day. The vulgar *Annals* can tell you the splendor and glorie thereof, in apparrell, iewels, Pageants, banquets, gifts, and other princely complements, the onely weighty booke of many weaker braines. A grace Lady (as for haue written) was laid in bed between the Bride and Bridegrome, to hinder actual consummation, in regard of the Princes greene estate of body; but others alledge many arguments to prooue that matrimonial performance was between them, howeouer her self, (when that afterward came in question) * appealed to the conscience of *K. Henry* the eighth (her second husband) if hee found her not a maide. But Prince *Arthur* enioyed his marriage a very thort while, for in *Aprill* following hee died at *Ludlow*, being vnder fixteene yeeres of age: being a Prince, in whose youth the lights of all noble vertues did cleerly beginne to shine. His aptnesse to lears was almost incredible, for (by the report of his * *Master*) hee had either learned without booke, or otherwise studiously turned and reuolued with his own hands & eyes these authors following. In *Grammar*, *Germ*, *Perot*, *Salpizius*, *Gellius* and *Pallas*: In *Poetic*, *Horace*, *Virgil*, *Lucret*, *Ouid*, *Silue*, *Plautus*, and *Terence*: In *Oratorie*: *Tullius Offit*, *Epistiles*, *Paradoxes* and *Quintilian*. In *Histories*, *Thucydides*, *Lince*, *Caesars Commentaries*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Plinius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Sallust*, *Enchirion*. Wherein were haue bene particular, to signifye what Authors were then thought fite to bee elementary and rudimentall vnto Princes; and by their example, so all of Noble or gentle birth, whole so periciall boldnes in booke in these frothy dayes, is become most scandalous and inturious to the honour, and vie of learning.

(64) But before the vnicely expiration of this great hope of *England*, King *Henry* weary of warres and tumults, and desirous to lay the beginnings of a long peace by most inward friendship with all his great neighbours, had concluded a match between *Margaret* his eldest daughter, and *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*, the * *alliance* whereof was published in the February next before Prince *Arthurs* death at *Paules Crosse*: in reioycement whereof, * *Te Deum* was sung, and other figures of publike ioy declared. The * *Bishoppe of Basse* said, that the Earle of *Bathwell* did openly bandfast, or espouse the said faire Lady, in the name of King *James* at *Paules Crosse*, being *Saint Pauls day*. This contract was brought about in manner following. After that the flame of warthead (by mediation as before said) became thoroughly laid between the two sister Nations, it chanced certaine of the Scots by their suspicious behauiour, and rough Phraesto prouoke the Garrison of *Norham Castle* to issue, who in the bickering slew and hurt some of them, and droue the rest away. King * *James* expostulates this violence very sharply by letters with King *Henry*, who returned most iustitiously answers. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* (whose the men and *Caillwell*) wrote also many deprecatory letters, humbly praying the Scottish King to accept amends, whereunto hee in the end inclined, and having some matters of farre greater moment to impart, desired the Bishops presence

in *Scotland*, knowing his deepe wildome and great grace with his Soueraigne, which King *Henry* gladly assented vnto. The meeting was at *Mebeffe*, an Abbey of Cisterrian Monkes, wherethe King abode, who hauing roundly vetered to the Bishoppe his offence conceiaed for the breach of good termes at *Norham Castle*, and yet being finally pleased to receive satisfaction, hee then secretly disclosed his whole mind, the summe whereof was, *That the king of England would be pleased to give to him in marriage the Lady Margaret his eldest daughter, as a pledge of indissoluble amitie*. The Bishoppe promised his best diligence, and accordingly after his returne, laboured therewith with King *Henry*, who most gladly hearkened thereunto. Whereupon the Scottish King sent the Archbishoppe of *Glasgow*, the Earle of *Bathwell*, and others to demand the Lady in marriage. Their entertainment was hearty and princely. But when the proposition came to scanning at the Councell table, it had not current passage at first: for there were who objected as an inconueniency, *That by this marriage the Crowne of England might come to the Scottish line, by the issue of Lady Margaret*. Whereunto it is said, King *Henry* made this answer: *What if it should? for if any such thing should happen, which Owen God forbid, I see it will come to passe, that our Kingdome shall lose nothing thereby, because there will not be an accession of England to Scotland, but contrariwise of Scotland to England, as to that which is farre above the most noble head of the whole Island, seeing that which is lesse usefulh is accesse to the ornament and honour of that which is much the greater, as Normandy heretofore came to be under the dominion and power of the English our forefathers*. When this was said, the whole boord of counsell received it as an Oracle, & it went cleare about, *That Margaret should be married to the King of Scotland*. With this answer and other instructions the Scottish Ambassadors were sent home, who afterward returned into England with full authority & satisfaction to all *Henrys* propositions, whereupon ensued the before said publication of assurances at *Paules Crosse*. It was a principall Article in this agreement: *That no Englishman should enter Scotland, nor Scot into England without commendatory letters from their Soueraigne*. Which Article was reputed a speciall meane to preserve the peace inuoluble.

(65) But ere the young Lady her self was conuozed into *Scotland*, her brother Prince *Arthur* died, and in * *February* next ensuing, their mother also Queene *Elizabeth*, as there lay in Child-bed within the Tower of *London*. The King to repaire his mind with fresh consolations, in aduancing his onely remaining sonne, *Henry Duke of York*, created him suddainly Prince of *Wales*, Earle of *Chester* & *Plantagenet* within few dayes after his mothers decaile. Thus was *Arthurs* losse supplied, howeouer *Henry* made Prince, espoused loone after * (though with much relictation) the Lady *Katherine* his elder brothers widow, a vpon the five and twentieth of *June*, as the Bishoppe of *Salisbury* house in *Fleetstreet*. And in this wise, by providing so worthy a wife for him, (though to say truth, her great Dower was the chiefe mooue) the king thought, that the estate of *England* was sufficiently settled, wherefore conuerting his cares to the accomplishment of affinity with *Scotland*, hee most suspiciously furnished his dearest eldest daughter for her journey, & himself in person travelled thro *Richmond* as farre with her as *Cherlesford* betwixt *Norhampton*, where his mother the Countesse lay: after certaine dayes spent in solace, the King gaue her his blessing, with fatherly counsell and exhortation, and committed the guard and conduct of her person principally to the Earles of *Surrey* and *Norhamberland*, and to such Ladies and Gentlewomen as were appointed to that seruice: a great company of Lords, Knights, Esquires, & men of Marke attending them as farre as *Berwick*, At *S. Lamberts Church* in *Lanes* *Moor* within *Scotland*, the King attended by the

Bishoppe of Basse
proceede desire
by the Scottish
King.

King Henries abode
before an on ob-
struction against
the match with
Scotland.

* *Epist. of St. Paul*
King.

A.D. 1502
An. Reg. 13.
King Henry 8.
Widow, and
Henry her sonne
espoused Prince
of Wales.

* See in the life
of Henry the 8.
* *J. Stow annals*

K. Henry brings
his daughter
Lady Margaret
on the way to
Scotland.
* *Epist. of St. Paul*

The Earle of
Norhamberland
delivered her
King James
within
Scotland.

A.D. 1501.
An. Reg. 17.

* The contract
between James
King of Scots
and
Lady Margaret
published.

* *J. Stow annals*
in l. c. 4.

* *Epist. of St. Paul*
King.

principall of his Nobles, received her from the hands of the Earle of Northumberland, and the next yeere after, married her at Edinborough, in the presence of all his Nobility. The King gave great entertainment to the English, and shewed them insisting and other pastimes after the Scottish fashion. The Scottishmen (such as the Bishoppe of Ross) were not behind, but farr above the Englishmen, both in apparrell, rich Jewels, and maslie chaines, many Ladies having their habiliments set with Goldsmith worke, garnish'd with Pearle and Stone of price, with gallant and well trapped horses. Divers Ladies also and young Gentlemen of England, attending Queene Margaret, remained there, and were well married to certaine Noblemen of Scotland, whose progenie lives honourably there even at these dayes. The effect of this marriage is gravely described by the same Bishop in these words. *There was perfect peace and sincere amity betwene the two Realmes of England and Scotland a long time after. And worthily, during the life of King Henry the seventh, no cause of breach was manifested by either of the Princes, but they continued in great love and friendship, and mutually sweeten'd contracting of marriages, continuall interchange of Merchandize betwene the Subjects of both the Realmes, as they had beene AL under the obedience of ONE PRINCE; where through, Justice, Policy and Riches did flourish, and abound throughout the whole Isle of Albion.* And of this marriage is James the sixth descended, being that ONE PRINCE under whose obedience AL are now govern'd, as under the sole and lawfull lineall Monarch of great Brittain: for this James the fourth had Issue James the fifth, hee had Issue Queene Mary, shee had Issue our present Soueraigne, the great grandchild of the said Queene Margaret eldest daughter of K. Henrie the seventh.

(66) Which effects of peace and riches, as they could not but be comfortable to so wife a King as Henry, they being the fruit as it were of his owne iust labours; so let vs now observe the last worldly cares of his raigne, and vpon what objects hee fixed his mind, freed from the awe of open challenges of the Crowne, and from throwes at his maine, which with what art, valour and felicity, hee at first achiev'd, and with how great hazards, troubles, and bloudie businesse, he brought it to such passe, that neighbour Kinges required it safe to entermarry with his family, wee have already heard: Two principall points tooke up the last Scenes of his life, for the rest of his time hee wholly employed, either in the service of Almighty God (wherein hee was so diligent that every day hee was present, after the deuotions of those times, at two or three Masses, oftentimes hearing godly Sermons, yet in building, wherewith hee kept his senses buled. The one of the two chiefe points, was to watch over the waies of his wives kindred (the remaining branches of the turbulent and unfortunate house of Turke) whose growth and greatness hee supposed might at some time or other overtoppe his owne; the other was, vnder opinion of iustice, to encrease his treasure out of the common puries, whereby hee seemed oncruous to many, & so much obscured the brightness of his former glory, at leastwise diminished his opinion with the generality. Concerning his counsell holden with his wives kindred, (the laterall issues and faddles of the Plantagenets) it fell out thus; which (by occasion of the accidental landing of Philip King of Spaw at this time, whereby the Earle of Suffolke taking was procured) we thought it best to handle here together. *Edmond de la Pale* Earle of Suffolke (Sonne to John Duke of Suffolke, and of Elizabeth sister to King Edward the fourth) in the sixteenth yeere of King Henrie raigne, wilfully slew a common person in his furie. Henry not sorry to have occasion of encreasing his popularity, by presenting to great a person to exemplary iustice, and in the same act to blemish the honour of a man,

whose quality was to him suspected, caused him for the same to be arraigned. The fact hee was perswaded to confesse, and therupon had pardon. The Earle neuertheless, as a Prince of the blood, holding himselfe disgraced, by having beene seen a Prisoner at the Kings Bench Barre, fled the land discontented, and went to his Aunt the Dutchesse Dowager of Burgundie; but within a while after, being fairly reconciled, hee returned. After which, notwithstanding, whether it were by reason of debet (the certaine attendant of vaine-spirited and base-brained Courtiers) wherinto he had deeply thrown himself for his furniture, at the celebration of his cosen Prince Arthurs marriage, or for that the restless spirit of ennie in the Dutchesse had preailed, hee taking his brother with him, fledde againe the next yeere after. The King who had pardoned his life, seemed now to repent his clemency, though it is plaine, hee spared him of purpose, till hee might discover more of a conspiracy which hee knew was in hammering; but his flight troubled him not a little, knowing the violent humor of that Lord, and remembering to what a dangerous & bloudy issue his brother the Earle of Lennox had once already brought things at the hattell of Sabrin in the beginning of his raigne.

(67) For remedy, hee betakes himselfe to his wonted arts, and therefore to learne the secrets of the enemy, Sir Robert Curson Knight (Capitaine of the Castell of Hamour by Calais) takes himselfe a friend to the Earle, and flies from his charge unto him. An office unworthy of Knighthood; neither can any good spirit in the world stoop it selfe to such double faced employment, which besides the treacherous dissimulations thereof, cannot but bee accompanied with wilfull impieties. For who is admitted to trust vpon a contrary side, without invocations of Gods holy name, protestations, adurations, oathes, the utmost assurances which man can give to man, to beget a convenient assistance in his sincerity? but by this stratagem the king rankles the bolomes and cabinets of his adversaries, discovering their designs and hopes. Whereupon, William Courtney Earle of Devonshire (being most nobly descended, and having to his wife the Lady Katherine, one of the daughters of K. Edward the fourth, and sister to Queene Elizabeth wife of King Henry) William de la Pale brother to the said Edmond Earle of Suffolke, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir John Widdowall Knights, who other, were attached, and committed to custodie, and afterward also George Nene Lord Abegny, and Sir Thomas Greene Knight, were likewise apprehended, but were soon delivred. The Earle of Devonshire, though innocent (for it is the misery of such great men, that their owne innocency cannot always procure their owne safety) but their birth-right many times, and often other mens designations without their least priuie, is enough to hazard them, yet it is in the power of any conspirator by bare nomination, to doe as much, so that it concerns them to haue an eye not to their owne safety, but to the betterance also of their whole Alliances and dependencies) this Earle (I say) though innocent, remained Prisoner during this Kings life, and some yeeres of his sonnes raigne, who set him at liberty. The other, William the Earle of Suffolkes brother, had not so strict hand holden over him. But Sir James Tyrrel, Lieutenant of Guines Castell, and Sir John Widdowall, Widdowall, servant to Sir James Tyrrel, Curson Pursuivant, Matthew Jones yeoman, and a Shipman were condemn'd of treason for aiding the Earle of Suffolke. The two Knights were beheaded at Towerhill. The Shipman quartered at Tyburne. Curson and Jones suffered death at Guines.

(68) This so round and quick dealing with the Earles complices and fauourers, startled his Gallow and raw inuentions, and made their whole bolke to swarve and splinter; but the King rested not so; for vpon the Sunday before the feast of St. Simeon and

The Earle of Suffolke causeth trouble.

Feud. V. 9. Edm. Mel. Henrich 1. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Feud. V. 9.

Apprehensions of persons in the title of Suffolke capt.

Feud. V. 9.

The misery of great (nobles) and a lesson in it.

Executiones in the Earle of Suffolke capt.

Stevens. Ann. Add. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

The immediate happy effects of this marriage.

A. D. 1506 A. R. 21.

Add. to Pub. cat. Jan. Duic.

A Prince of the blood (nobles) assigned for most clear of a private person.

* Addition Fab-
The Duke of Suffolk,
and his Son
Cousin to the
accused.

Antiquit. Britan.
in various life
times, and not
Alexander.
* Paid. Vry.
Antiquit. Brit. in
note Marten.

Antiquit. Britan.
Marten.

Philip the first,
King of Spain
and his Queen
driven by tem-
pest into En-
gland.

A. D. 1506.
An. Reg. 21.

* John Stow. Annal.
Polydore Vetch
in Henry 8.

1 mile, in the same yeere, of the said executions, there was published at Pauls Crosse, by the Kings proceement from Pope Alexander the sixth, a Bull of * Excommunication and curse against the said Earle of Suffolke, Sir Robert Curlew, and five other persons by speciall name, and generally all other which aided the Earle against the King to the disturbance of the Kingdome. Thus did the most prudent Henrie pursue his enemies, not onely with secret countermines and open weapons of Law, before they could assemble to make any shew, but also with spirituall lightning; which doubtlesse, had they beene vpon iust cause, and by lawfull authoritie fulminated, ought infinitely to be dreaded of good Christians, because (as Saint Paul saith) they deliver over to Satan. Sir Robert Curlew was named, of purpose, to make the Earle secure of him; which may well be called a perillous, if not a prophane deuile, though his Holinesse were made the instrument thereof. Neither did the King leave here, for by his letters and messengers he so prevailed with Pope * Alexander, as hee decreed by his Bull, That no person should offer to a house privilege of Sanctuary, who had once taken the same, and come forth againe: and that, * of any Sanctuary-man should afterwards commit any murder, robbery, sacrilege, treason, or be should by law force be deuyne thence to suffer due punishment.

This was of great vie to the King, and preserved many subjects from precipitation, for the whole of Sanctuaries had beene an efficient of many troubles. But the same Pope (having sent John Gylst his Recorder, to gather money in England) shewed himselfe much more favourable to such as perpetrated those sad hainous offences, as also, * Vary, simony, rapines, adulteries, or whatsoever offences (excepting certaine offences against the Pope and Clergy, &c.) when he lent a * Bull of pardons (for money) to all such offenders in England; dispensing also thereby, with such, as kept away, or by any fraud had gotten the goods of other men, which they should now retaine still without scruple of conscience, so as they paid a ratable portion thereof, unto his Holinesse Recorders. Sir Robert Curlew (though before awarded by the Pope) retournes, when he saw fit time, into England, and withall into wonted fauour with his Soueraigne. The Earle, seeing himselfe thus dript of all hope to doe much harme, wandred about Germany and France to finde repose, but in the end quite tyred, he put himselfe into the grace and protection of Philip then in Flanders who by the death of Isabelle was King of Spaine, in right of Iean his wife, eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabelle; where he remained in banishment, till King Philip was driven by tempest in the moneth of January into England, as hee meant to have passed through the Straits, or English Ocean, into Spaine, there to take possession of that Kingdome and other the appurtenances.

(70) The chiefe Ship of the *Nauie Reiall*, where in the King was, and two other (all the rest being scattered by the fury of the weather into several places and other Ports of England) thrust into Harbour at * Folkestone. Himselfe weary and sicke with the violent tossings of the Sea (whereunto hee had neuer as it seemes, bene viced,) would needes come on shore, and refresh his spirits, though the principal men about him dissuaded that course, as foreseeing it would procure a longer stay, then the nature of their occasions would perhaps well heare. And so indeed it selout, for being now in another Princes (though his friends) dominions, where hee had no power over himselfe, nor others, & the rumor of arruall stirring the men in authority thereabout, Sir Thomas Treuehard Knight with the luddé forces of the Countrey, not knowing what the matter might be, came thither, and vnderstanding the royall quality of the person, invited him with all humble humanity to his house, and forthwith dispatched postes to Court; not long after Sir Iohn Care Knight (with a great troupe of armed men) repaired also, pursuing the

like humble entreaties; which the King, fearing constraint, because they were but subjects and durst not let him passe without their Lord and Masters leave necessarily yielded vnto. Vpon notice of this mightie Princes casuall arruall, King Henry presently commanded the Earle of Arundell to entertaine him till himselfe could come, who very magnificently did so, with * three hundred Horfes by Torch-light; and in the meane while King Henry himselfe prepares. Philip perceiving, that whatsoever speed his affaires required, yet now there was no remedy but to stay, thought not good to expect his approach, but to prevent it, and came vpon the spurte to Windsor, that he might be gone againe the sooner, after whom Queene Iean his wife came lea-farely. The rest of this entertainment, because it hath matter of weight, and is well set downe by Polydore Vrygal, it shall suffice vs to follow his footsteps. At Windsor, the two Kings, after long and scurrill discourses, beganne to conferre about renewing their league. Henry required that Edmund Earle of Suffolke might be delivered up into his power, which Philip denied to be a thing that hee could doe, as holding it most vnreasonable to be the author of his death, whom hee had taken into Protection: but when at the last he found, that no excole nor teaton, could satisfie, for that, Henrie voluntarily offered to sue the Earles life, he promised to doe therein what hee desired, and presently took order for his sending over. According whereunto, King Henry (to draw out the time, till hee had the wished prey) couised King Philip to London, to shew him the head City of his Kingdome, out of which after a little stay hee recondued him. The Earle in the meane time, who concieued horror at the first newes of King Philips landing in England, as fatall to him, and resolved that no hope was longer to be reposed in the faith of forraigne Princes, came over not willingly, presuming that after padon of life, hee might also in time regaine his liberty; or if that hope failed, yet should be at leestwise obtaine to die, and be buried in his Country. But King Philip and his Queene, hauing feasted with her sister the Princess of Wales, departed England. The Earle was brought through Flanders to Calles vpon the sixteenth of March, and landed at Dover vpon the foure and twentieth of the same, conueighed thither by Sir Henrie West, and Sir Iohn Wylfare, with threecore men in armour of the Garrison of Calles; and at Dover Sir Iohn Laurl and others receiving him, guarded him safe to the Tower of London. King Philip, not long after his landing in Spaine deceased, being not thirtie yeeres old. This tempest which drane him into England was holden by the people as prodigious, for it blew down the golden Eagle from the famous Spire of Pauls Steeple (being of Copper richly ouergilt, of fourey pounds weight, in length foure foote, and in breadth three,) which also in the fall thereof, brake and battered the signe of the Blacke Eagle, in Pauls Church-yard, in the place where now the School-busse stands. This accident euen then made some coniecture, that the Emperor Maximilian (whose Imperiall Ensigne the Eagle is) should suffer some ill accordingly (saith Polydore) as indeed hee did by the death of King Philippe his sonne. Which (if any superliciously delight in Calculations of that blind nature) we may well parallel with that * lightning which stroke the letter C out of Caesar in the inscription of Caesar Augustus his statue; whereupon it was gathered, that Augustus should liue but one hundred daies after, and then bee called a God, (as for the remaining syllables so signifying in the old Hebrew tongue,) which accordingly hapned.

(69) Thus was the Earle of Suffolke brought backe, and the King anchored his quiet at the safe custody of his person within the Tower. The other wordly point wherein he chiefly bestowed his ages care, was to gather money, though by courtes seem- ing very grieuous and full of hiterneffe; the too

* Firste time.

The Kings of
England and
Spaine at Wind-
sor.

Polyd. Vryg.

The Earle of
Suffolke deliuer-
ed up and kept
in the Tower.

The ominous
fall of the wea-
ther-vane of
Pauls.

* See. in Arg.
cap. 17.

King Henrie
gather-
ing of trea-
sore.

gripping

gripping greedinesse, and too profuse launtyesse of money in Princes, being both alike offensive to a well fed estate. Some excuse his doings herein (amongst whom *Polydor* is chiefe) as not proceeding from any depravation or vncorrected affection of his nature, but from an opinion and forecast of generall profite: because a Princes humor of gathering, tendeth, though with distrust of particular men, to the good publike, whereas his profusenes, though with some particular mens profite, endeth in the empoverishment of the whole. And *Henry* himselfe protested (saith *Polydor*) hee did it not for love of money, but with a purpose to bridle the fierce minds of a nation bred up among factions: though they (saith the same author) who felt the smart, and were wounded by his Instruments,* cried out they were not so much the darts of severity, which did hit them, as of avarice. Yet *Polydors* Apologie may be current: for it is not to be doubted, but that such vice the King might propound himselfe; and yet withall, we can hardly find any commendable root thereof, the wayes being so impotent and harsh, by which beiraied money. Let vs heerein this point the obsequiue * Knight. Of nature (saith hee) *Henry* coveted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused, for the preservation of Monarchies, a naturall desire to discharge their Princes, though it bee with the onely charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute unto *Cardinall Morton*, and *Sir Reynold Bray*, who (as it afterward appeared) as Counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humor, as nevertheless they tempered it. Where it is truly said, it afterward appeared: for till they were gone to account to God, and his feare for the maine quite banished, the king did not let loose the reins to his immoderate desire of hating, which yet was not more sinfull, then the meanes vnder him practised, were odious. For * *Empton* and *Dudley* that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise then the servile following of his worse humors, gave him way, and shaped him meanes to their extremities, whereby himselfe was touched with remorse at his death, and which has since for disanured. And this we take to be a true judgement. To be particular in the recital of things worthy to die in forgetfulness, is not onely to reke, but in a sort to teach them also, as some, who by broad lectures, have as it were read a lecture of those vices, against which they have pretended to teach. But publike and shamefull Arts may more safely be delinere. The instruments whome the King set on worke (or who perhaps set the King on worke) were * two Lawyers, *Richard Empton* (afterward knighted) and *Edmund Dudley* Esquier, their employment was to cal the richer subiect into question for breach of old penall lawes, long before discontinued and forgotten, whereby they brake in vpon the people, as it were at vnaware, like a kind of authorized robbers, masked vnder the pretence of seruice for the King, and the names of *Delators* or *Promoters*, a * familiar sickness in the times of ancient Tyrannies. But the courses to execute their employment, were void of all conscience and colour. For one of them was to * outlaw persons secretly, and then to seize their estates, drating them to chargefull compositions with the King, and heauy bribes to the Authors of their trouble. More detestable was another practise of theirs. For there were false Monis and ring leaders of false Tutors, who would neuer give any reward against the will of their patrons, the said *Empton* and *Dudley*; so that if any durst stand out vpon triall, the destiny of their cause was squared forth by the leade rule of those fellowes consciences; which to be a truth, the expiatory punishment which *K. Henry* the eight tooke of them in the first yeare of his raigne, doth clearly conuince. By these meanes many honest and worthy subiects were rigorously fined, imprisoned, or otherwise afflicted, which filled the land with sorrow and reynings. Among very many others thus abused, *Sir*

William Capell Alderman of *London* was eminent, as from whom, in the tenth yeare of the kings raigne, had bene seized, vnder the colour of much-anted and vntried *Lamer*, above sixteen hundred pounds sterling, and was now againe plaide at a freeth, and another hand drawne vpon him for two thousand pounds, which because he would not pay, hee was by *Dudley* commanded prisoner to the Tower; but by the death of the King which ensued, all such prisoners were released. If any perhaps will slight the hard vsage extended to Citizens, and to the like, they are wawile therein, neither thinke as Patriots ought. For though it may so fall out that the personall vexation of some few, merits no great pity; yet the example is plentiful; and it is a part of the cunning, to chooke out at first such for patternes, as vpon whole persons least compassion may fall, which examples may afterward bee extended to whomsoever. These reuels and rages against the wealthiest sort continued, till it pleased God to sting the Kings heart with rust compunction, toward the horror of his death; who had the fauour from heauen, as to lie sicke of a consuming disease, which waisted him by such insensible degrees, as gave him the use of his whole selfe (as it were) till the last gaspe, whereby hee had meane to recollect himselfe, after those many soule-wounding assaults which attend regall greedinesse, and to submit his thoughts to such ghostly admonishments (touching another life) whereunto in dayes of health, the hearts or cares of great Princes are seldom attentive.

(71) About the yeere of his death, being vnderstood that *Lewis* King of *France*, despairing of issue male, had annulled the Contracts made betwene *Charles* King of *Spain* (sonne of the late King *Philip*, and afterward elected Emperour by the name of *Charles* the fifth) and the Lady *Claudia* his eldest daughter, whom he newly betrothed to *Francis* of *Palme* Dolphin of *France*, and Duke of *Angoulesme*. King *Henry* (whose care for preservation of the common quiet, and good of his Country, by forrain alliances, was euer holy in him and awake) thought it a faire occasion for him to match his younger daughter the Lady *Mary*. The French King to haue the aduise of *James* the fourth King of *Scots*, in the bestowing the said Madam *Claudia* his eldest daughter, had before sent *Bernard Stewart* Lord *Delegue*, and the President of *Toulous*, Ambassadors for that purpose, who finally in effect receiued this answer: * That the said King *James* thought it best that his eldest daughter should be married within his owne Realme of *France*, for if she were married vpon any forraigne Prince, it might give colour to claime titles in the said Realme afterward. And if he did marrie her at home, rather to him the said *Francis*, whom he had appointed to succeed then any other. Which resolution was very acceptable to *K. Lewis*, because it lumped with his owne purpose, and it was followed accordingly. King *Henry* therefore hearing that King *Charles* might be obtained, so pursued the point * by the prudent managing of *Recherd Fere* (now Bishoppe of *Winchester*) his Ambassador, that King *Charles* his Ambassadors coming out of *Flanders*, where hee was educated, and meeting him at *Calis*, the affaire was opened, disputed, concluded, and the Lady *Mary* then about ten yeeres of age (as King *Charles* himselfe) was by solenne contract assured to him for wife.

(72) Now therefore his Sonne *Humie* Prince of *Wales*, being heire of the Crowne, and married to his eldest daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, Queene of *Scotland*; the Lady *Mary* his youngest, provided for so highly (though in the end it came to nothing) all likelihood of perill by competitors, or base Factionists, buried in the Tower, by the imprisonment of *Edmund Earle of Suffolke*; his people tractable and calme; his coffers full, and the state of things ripe for a succellour: death (the executioner of the Almightyes sentence,) was ready to discharge him

A.D. 1508.
A.R. 23.

The King laboured sicke.

Pol. Fre.

King Henry took no aduise but daughter Mary to Charles King of Naples.

The French King sent for aduise to the King of Scots.

* Epist. 1.

* Polyd. 102.

The Lady Mary promised to King Charles.

A.D. 1508.
A.R. 24.

K. Henry 8. dies.

2601 1000
General por-
tion granted by
the King.

216 Pr. 3. MS.
in Star. Amal.
The year of his
age, and reign.

A Saint left his
wants of pay.
Comden, in
Survey.
See more Sayre
in Edward 6.
6. 75. 10. 10.
Add. 70. 10. 10.
King Henry saluted
Deviser of
Christ Church
by these Popes.

of the prison of his flesh. Before he departed, "we'll
despised persons rendering the health of his soule, did both
in sermons, and otherwise, informe him of the excommuni-
cations against sinners; Wherefore he of his blessed
disposition granted to all men generall pardons, cer-
taine only excepted. In his life time hee founded
the goodly Hospitall of the *Sauy*, built fixe religi-
ous Houses for *Franciscan Friars*, three of them for
observants, and the other three for *Conventuals*. Of
his building also was *Richmond Pallace*, and that
most beautifull peece, the Chappell at *Westminster*,
the one the place of his death, and the other of his
buriall: which formes of more curious and exqui-
site building, he and *Bishoppes Fate*, first (as is re-
ported) learned in *France*, and thence brought with
them into *England*. He died about the age of fiftie
two yeeres, vpon the two and twentieth of "April
having reigned twenty three yeeres and eight
months. A right noble, wise, victorious and re-
nowned King, and one whose peety would haue
bene farre more eminent, then all his other ver-
tues, if from the beginning the malignant quality
of the times, would haue permitted him to live in
quiet. He specially honoured the remembrance of
that Saint-like Man, *Henry* the sixth, the founder
of his Family, and Prophetical fore-teller of that
fortune which now hee died felled off, whom also
he laboured to haue "Canonized for a Saint, but
that Pope *Julius* held that honour at too high a rate.
It is reckoned by some writers "of that age among
his principall glories, that three Popes, *Alexander*
the sixth, *Pius* the third, and *Julius* the second, did
in their severall times, with authority and consuet
of the Cardinals, elect and chose him for chiefe de-
fender of *Christs Church*, before all other Christian
Princes. In his last will and Testament, after the
disposition of his soule and body, hee desired and
willed *Refutation should be made of all such monies,*
as had vnclesse bene leuied by his Officers. A most po-
tious and truly Christian care, whereby also appeareth,
that hee hoped the wrongs done vnder him were
not so enormous nor innumerable, but that they
might fall within the possibility of redresse. The
description of his whole man, is had in the begin-
ning of his life, and the course thereof described in
his Actions. There remaine of his wisdom many
effects, and those as his famelike to continue for
euer.

His Wife.

(71) *Elizabeth* the first Child Legitimate, and
eldest daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, was at
the age of nineteene vpon the eighteenth of Ianu-
arie and yeere of *Christ* Iesus, 1485. married vn-
to King *Henry* the seventh, whereby was united the
long contending Families of *Lancaster* and *Turke*,
and the Roses red and White joined into one, to the
great ioy of the English Subjects. Shee was crown-
ed at *Westminster* vpon the five and twentieth of
November, the third of her husbands Raigne, and
of Grace 1487. Shee was his wife eighteene
yeeres and twenty foure daies, and died in child-
bed in the Tower of *London*, the eleventh of Fe-
bruary, euen the day of her owne Nativity, the
eighteenth of her husbands Raigne, and yeere of
our Salvation, 1503. and is buried at *Westmin-
ster* in the most magnificent Chappell and rich Ma-
nument of Copper and gilt where shee with her
husband lie entombed.

His Issue.

(72) *Arthur* the eldest sonne of King *Henry*
the seventh and of Queene *Elizabeth* his wife was

borne at *Winchester* the twentieth day of Septem-
ber, the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hun-
dred eighty fixe, and the second of his Fathers
raigne. In whole fifth yeere hee was created Prince
of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earle of *Chesster*,
and at the age of fifteene yeeres, one month and
twenty five daies, vpon the fourteenth of No-
uember, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand
five hundred and one, espoused the Lady *Katherine*
daughter to *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*, thee being
then about eighteene yeeres of age, in the Cathe-
drall Church of *Saint Paul, London*; and presen-
tly sent into *Wales* the better to governe that prin-
cipality by his owne Presence, enjoyed his marriage
bed onely foure months and nineteene daies, de-
parting this life at *Ludlow* the second of Aprill, the
yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and
two, of his Fathers raigne founteneene, and of his
owne age fifteene yeeres, fixe months and thir-
teene daies. His body with all due funeral so-
lemnities, was buried in the Cathedrall Church
of *Saint Maries* in *Winchester*, where, in the South
side of the Quire here maineth encombed in Touch,
or lette, without any remembrance of him by
picture.

(73) *Henrie* the second sonne of King *Henry*
the seventh and of Queene *Elizabeth* was borne at
Greenwich in the Countie of *Kent*, the two and
twentieth of Iune, in the yeere of Grace, one thou-
sand foure hundred ninety and one, being the se-
uenth of his Fathers raigne. In his Infancy he was
created Duke of *Turke* and Marshall of *England*,
and fortrained vp in his youth to literature as hee
was rightly accounted the best learned Prince in
Europe, and by the death of his brother succee-
ded his Father in all his Dominions; whose Raigne
and Acts are presently to be related.

(74) *Edmond* the third sonne of King *Henry*
and of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne in the yeere
of *Christ*, one thousand foure hundred ninete
five, and in his young yeeres was created Duke of
Sommerfet, which Title hee so long time enjoyed,
being taken away by death at *Bishops Hatfield* be-
fore hee attained fully to five yeeres of age, the
yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred nine-
tie and five, and fiftenth of his Fathers Raigne,
and his body lieth interred at *Saint Peters* in *West-
minster*.

(75) *Margaret* the eldest daughter of King
Henry and of Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene, was born
the nine and twentieth day of November the yeere
of *Christ* 1489. and fifth of her fathers raigne; shee
at the age of foureteeene was married vnto *James* the
fourth King of *Scotland*, the yeere of our Lord
one thousand five hundred and three, vnto whom
shee bare *James* the fifth, *Arthur* and *Alexander*
and a Daughter: which last three, died all of
them young; and after the death of King *James*
(being slaine at *Flodden Field* in fight against the *Eng-
lish*,) shee was remarried vnto *Archebald Douglas*
Earle of *Angus*, in the yeere of our Lord, one
thousand five hundred and foureteeene, vnto whom
shee bare *Margaret*, afterward espoused vnto *Mat-
thew* Earle of *Lennox*, Father by her of the Lord
Henry, who died at the age of nine months, and
lyeth interred in the vpper ende of the Chancell
in the Parish Church of *Stepney* neere *London*, vpon
whose Graue is engrauen in brasse, as followeth:

Here lieth *Henry* Steward Lord Darle of the
age of three quarters of a yeere, late Sonne and
Heire of *Matthew* Steward Earle of *Lennox*
and Lady *Margaret* his wife, which *Henrie*
deceased the xlviii. day of November in
the yeere of our Lord God. 1545. whose Soule
Iesus pardon.

Her second sonne was *Henrie* Lord *Dersley* a Noble
Prince, and reputed for person one of the goodliest
T E E 2 Gentle

Gentlemen of Europe, who married *Marie* Queene of Scotland, the royall Parents of the most roiall Monarch *James* the first King of great Britaine, and of the Britaine World. And her third sonne was *Charles* Earle of Lennox father unto Lady *Arbella*.

(76) *Elizabeth* the second daughter of King *Henry* and Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene was borne the second day of *July*, one thousand foure hundred ninetytwo, and died the fourteenth of *September* and yeere of Christ, one thousand foure hundred ninety five, and is interred at *Westminster*.

(77) *Mary* the third blossome of the Imperiall

Rois-tree of England, was first wife to *Lewis* King of France, who lived not long after, and died without issue by her. Her second husband was that Martiall and pompos Gentleman, *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*.

(78) *Katherine* fourth daughter of this seventh *Henry* and of *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne vpon Candlemas day, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and three, and in the eighteenth yeere of her fathers raigoe, who was called to her part in a far better Kingdome within a short while after.



HENRY



Henry VIII.

**HENRIE THE EIGHT OF THAT
NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE,
AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c,
THE FIFTIE EIGHT MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS,
WIVES, AND ISSUE**

Monarch 58



CHAPTER XXI.

A.D. 1509.



He rich and wise King
(Henry the seventh) gone
(as is said) the way of all
rich, his sonne bearing
the same name, a most
magnanimous & heroi-
cal Prince, succeeded in his
Throne ouer all his domi-
nions, as the only true heir
vnto the Crowne, by both

the houses of Lancaster and Yorke. His birth was at
Greenwich in the yeere of Grace, 1491, the twentieth
two of Iune: and his youth is trained vp in litera-
ture, that he was accounted the most learned Prince
of all Christendome, indued with parts most befit-
ting a King, both in lineaments of body, and libera-

lity of minde, besides his ripe knowledge in poli-
ticke affaires, and was made the more agreeable to
the affections of men, by the consideration of his
flourishing age, as hauing not attained vnto nineteen
at his fathers death. In his infancy hee was created
Duke of Yorke; at twelue yeeres (his brother deces-
sed) Prince of Wales, and at eightene became sole
Monarch of the land, when at Westmynster vpon
Sunday the twenty fifth of Iune, even the festiual of
Saint Iohn Baptist, and yeere of Christ Iesus, 1509.
hee with his beauteous Queene Katherine receiued
their Crowns at the hands of William Warham Arch-
bishoppe of Canterbury, no Prince giuing better
hopes vnto iustice, or seeking the wealth of his sub-
iects more then himselfe.

(1) His Counsailes he chose of the grauest di-
gines

The most lea-
ned King of
Christendome.

King Henry and
Queene Kath-
erine receiued
the Crowns
at the Altar.

King Henry
his birth
place.
Folger.

King Henry fled
to Leiden
Council him
in a person.

Dudley,
Empire.
John Str.

William, p. 75.

John Hall.

In Tower
Northamptonshire

Edward Dudley
condemned.

John, a man.

K. Henry in his
and charity com-
mended.

William.

Henry is kindly
man of his age
and nature.

mince, and the wisest Nobility, with whom hee not
only often late, to the great increase of his politike
experience; but would also yeeld his authority to
their grasse and iarte miserie widomes: Of whom
the plaints of Petitioners were so movingly regar-
ded, that Proclamations went forth, with promise
of restitution, to them that had bene wronged by
Dudley or Empson, two persons that had abused the
authority of K. Henric his Father, by enriching their
owne coffers, with the viter vndoing of many better
subjects. These men, King Henry the seventh had
made his Instruments for the finding out of offend-
ers in his penall Statutes, themselves being learned in
the lawes, and apt enough to execute their Com-
missions to the full: for, by their dally informations
and recurning of fines, they digged and brought a
silver Mine into the Kings Exchequer, some veines
whereof by the way, ranne also into their owne
coffers, to the great vexation of all, and viter vndo-
ing of many: whereas the Noblemen grudged, the
Gentry repined, the Commons lamented, and all of
them felt the teeth of these ravening Wolves:
But the father King departed, and his sonne set on
his throne; the complaints of the oppressed so
oppressed the King and his Council, that Dudley
and Empson were first prisoners to the Tower, and
both of them by Parliament attainted of Treason.

(1) *Edmund Dudley* by descent was a Gentleman,
and by profession a Lawyer, having both wit and
wordes at will, had hee not abused both to his own
destruction. *Richard Empson* his inferior by birth,
was the sonne of a poor Scur-maker, but yet had
hee stepped before him to the degree of a Knight:
These night-sprung Mulburms that sucked the
earthes fatnesse, from far better plumes themselves,
saw not the many hands ready to plucke vp them
by the rootes, when the season should serue
to cleare the land of such weeds: for albeit they had
their discharge vnder the Kings owne hand to doe
what they did, and their service knowne Crowne
service, a matter impugnable, yet no sooner were
they left to stand vpon their owne basis, but that
they felt the weight of their done wrongs too im-
portunabie for them any longer to beare; for so
importune were all degrees against them, that *Dud-
ley* forth with in *Gold-hill London* was arraigned and
condemned to die: and King Henry in progresse,
(through the cry of the people) could take no pleasure,
till he had sent for *Empson* into *Northamptonshire*,
where among them hee was arraigned, and received
sentence of death, which was so desired and follow-
ed, as to satisfie his Subjects, the King sent a speciall
writ for their executions, which with gravity of
all was performed vpon Tower hill, by taking
from them their heades, when they left their riches
to be spent by others, and their names to remaine
vpon Record for the Caterpillers of those times:
whose like if any such liue, shall leaue their heartfull
remembrance to the like faines of reprochfull infamy,
how pleasing foure the promotion to gotten
in their owne eyes shall seeme, or the employments
in their selfe conceits accounted profitable to the
State.

(4) This iustice of King Henry wanne him great
praise of his people, and his charity extended to-
wards London, when that City was sore distressed
with famine, by lending fise hundred quarters of
corne, great lease, so that neuer any King entered his
raigne with better hopes then himselfe. That
his person was tall, is not to be doubted, though
not like vnto *Saul*, as some haue alledged, whose
report is, that at the siege of *Bellaguard*, he was higher
by the head then any in his Campe, and every ioint
proportionable to so royall a stature: but that hee
was strong, his many Iuts and Tiles, and fights at
Ternoy (most dangerously performed) was mani-
fested vpon them that vnderwent his heauy hand: for
at Tilt hee bare downe a man at Armes both horse

and all, and threw Sir *William Knollys* a Knight of
great strength to the ground at *Barreys*, with bat-
tell-axe he combated againe one *Gist* a Germane ve-
ry strong and tall, and lent him better blowes then
he could againe repay.

(5) His glorie thus mounted the Trophee of
fame, and young Henry the onely morning starre in
this Welkinne Orbe, Pope *Julius* the second, fea-
ring the further increase of the French, who then had
entered into some part of Italy, thought this Prince
the strongest pillar whereunto to trust, and the fittest
Carde to trumpe the French King, well knowing the
fidele that the English Kings had vnto France, and the
readinesse of his Subjects to forward that way: where-
upon writing his letters vnto King Henry, complain-
ed against *Lewis* the French king, and twelfth of
that name, who neither (as hee alledged) offering
of God, good fauour, nor confidence, detoured the reuerences
of the Clergy, supported the Cardinal William to assert
the Papacy, aided in the siege of *Bonae*, a house of *Er-
rora*, and the Bretonnely, both traitors to the Papal See,
where hee intended to lay the foundation of his Empire,
to subvert all Italy, besought him for the pity of our Sa-
uour, and by the vertue of his famous ancestors, (as I vnder-
stand the words of the Popes briefe) that neuer forsake the
Church of God in distress, and by the fithfull obedience, the
strongest hand, so enter into the holy league, they hauing
elected him against *Lewis*, Caput fœderis Ita-
liæ.

(6) And indeed to speake as it was, *Lewis* much
emulated King Henrys greatnesse, fearing that for-
tune would giue him occasions to make his claime
by sword into the Kingdom of France; which the
sooner hee did by this holy fathers instigations, and
by his Herauld *Claremont* roughly demanded, the
Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Guyen*, *Aunis* and *Maine*,
and with them also the Crowne that king *Lewis*
wore. The Scottish king likewise, in case of *Andrew*
Barton slaine in his Piracies (as the English alledg-
ed) by the Admirall of England, accounted the
truce broken, and sought the reuenge vpon the
Scotts adjoining. Against these two nations young
Henry at once prepared, and happily obtained fau-
our victories against both: but the successe of the one,
(though not following precisely the time) we meane
to relate before we enter discouise of the other.

(7) The enterprise great which K. Henry meane
to vnderprise, hee thought it good wisdom to ioyne
amity with *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinando*
King of *Spain*, and many other Princes, holding
also correspondence with Pope *Julius* the second,
that basic Pontificall Prelate of *Rome*: then pro-
pounding his purposes in Parliament, sent ouer
certaine Nobles before him into France, and after-
ward followe of them himselfe, pitching downe his
Tens before the Towne of *Ternoy*, where hee raised
his royall Standard of the Red-dragon, and begirt
the Citie with a strait siege.

(8) To this place *Maximilian* the Emperour re-
paired, and to the great honour of Henry entered into
his pay, wearing the Croffe of Saint George, with a
rose (the Kings badge) as his faithfull Souldier, and
receined wages by day for every of his, according
to their degree: The French seeing the Towne in
distresse, sought the reliefe with victuals, and men,
but were so encountered by the king and his com-
pany, as that many of their chiefe Captaines were
taken, and fise of their Standards wonne, the rest
for safeguard of life so posted away, that this con-
flict was called the battell of Spurres.

(9) Then was the battery brought so neer their walls,
that many breaches were therein made, and the
Towne by composition yielded vnto the King:
whereupon the Earle of *Sherburne* was sent to see
all things safe, who stucke vpon the highest Turret
the Banner of Saint George, and tooke the oath of
allegiance of all the French Citizens, to acknowledge
King Henry their supreme Lord: This done, the
King as a Conquerour entered *Ternoy*, sent thence
their

K. Henrys
great strength.

The Popes
letters vnto King
Henry.

K. Henry de-
manded France.

John Erly Bishop
of York.

A.D. 1510.

K. Henry march-
ed against with mu-
ny Princes.
Guastard.

King Henry
slew both French.

An. R. G. 1.
John Hall.

Erasmus Can.
The Emperour
slew the King.

Angloren p. 10.

Paulus I. 10.

Erasmus of Sp.

A.D. 1513
August. 24

Ternoy was
and the French
slew the King.

their Ordinance, dismounted the Turrets, cast down the walls, filled vp the ditches, and fired the Towne, excepting onely the Cathedral Church and Bishops Pallace.

(10) Then when the siege remoued vnto *Turnay*: about which City King *Henry* commanded diuers Trenches to bee caft, and placed his Ordinance to such advantage, that none might enter in, or come out of the same. Into this Towne a great number of the French from the Countie adjoining had lately fled, relying much vpon the strength and safety of the place, which indeed had euer bene accounted for inuincible, that this sentence was engraued ouer one of the gates. *James sawe a perden too puerile, thus hee neuer left the maiden-head*: Notwithstanding, it was yielded vp vnto *Henry* with ten thousand pounds sterling for the Citizens redemption, who to the number of fourescore thousand, then took their oathes to become his true Subjects, and foure of their principall bare vp the Canopie vnder which the King in triumph-wile entered, having bene before him his sword, axe, speare, and other ornaments of warre, every Citizen holding a staffe-Torch for his light. The safe keeping of this City, the King committed to Sir *Edmund Tresham* Knight of the Order of the Garter, whom hee there made his Lieutenant, and ordained *Thomas Halsey* his Almoner the Bishoppe of *Turnay*. The yeere now spent, and season vsur for the field, a sursate from warre was determined vntill the next spring; whereupon all were shipped for England with full payment, and praise, but *Ternin* and *Turnay* stucke heauiely vpon the French mens hearts.

(11) King *Lewis* thus endamaged in his owne Dominions, thought it best policy to pay like for like, to which end at the first attempts against *Ternin* hee solicited *James* the fourth of that name, King of *Scotland* (though brother by marriage vnto King *Henry* of *England*) to disturbe the peace of his Subjects, that so hee might bee drawne out of *France*, which *James* for his part put presently in practise for writing his letters to *Henry* in the French Kings behaile, charged him with breach of Treue, both in the case of his Scots slaine at the sea, as also against his Confederates the Duke of *Gelder*, and King of *France*, against which last he desired him to desist, otherwise hee should bee forced to reuenge the *Frenches* wrongs vpon his English: and to giue letters of Mart to recouer the losses of his Subjects.

(12) King *Henry* a Prince of a Maiesticall spirit, most highly offended at these his brothers requests, and threats, was so farr ouergone with fury and rage, that *Lewis* King at Armes the bringer, was thereby somewhat daunted at his present answer, which he desired might be sent in writing, refusing to carry in words his reply to his Soueraigne. This *Heralds* wife and welghy request, was forthwith granted, and letters framed to King *James* demands, answering those importations with rough and round words, which notwithstanding hee neuer read or saw, being slaine in the battell of *Bladen*, before that *Lewis* could come to deliuer the same.

(13) For *James* King of *Scots* preparing for war, had in the meane while entered the borders, and with his Ordinance battered and wonne the Castell of *Norham*; making full forward vpon the English. Against whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* made the Kings Lieutenant of the North, at his going in to *France*, assembled an Army of twenty six thousand strong, vnto whom came his sonne the Lord Admirall of England, with a great supply of good souldiers well appointed for warre. The Earle from *Newcastle* came vnto the water of *Till*, and pitched his battell besides a little Towne called *Brankfen*, vnder *Fladen* hill, a mountain lying in the North of *Northumberland*, betwix the riuers of *Till* and *Tweed*, where vpon a rising banke, the Scottish

hoast had taken the advantage of the ground: vnto King *James*, *Thomas Earle of Surrey* sent *Kenzie Croft* a Portenant at Armes, with proffer of battell to bee done vpon Friday the ninth of *September*, if so it pleased his Highnesse, who withall carried this message from the Lord Admirall, that hee was come in perion to intifie his A^t against *Andrew Barton*, and would abide the last drop of his blood in the Vant-gard of the field.

(14) King *James* most readily accepted the offer, and by his Herald *Hay* sent the Earle word, that if he were as then in *Edinburgh*, yet would hee most gladly come to fulfill his desire; and withall sent his letters for the instant occasions giuen him to invade England as hee did. The day approached, and the Scots keeping the higher ground, the Earle marched vpward along the riuer, and by two Bridges passed ouer with his hoast, making full forward, as though he ment either to haue taken into *Scotland*, or else to circumcut K. *James* his returne, which hee perceiving, halied downe the hill, putting from him his horie, raised his roiall Standard, and as a most valiant Chieftaine encouraged his Souldiers to the fight.

(15) The Scottish Ordinance discharged from above, overshot the English with very small damage, and the ground of so difficult ascent, gave them the easier access, so that Sir *Edmund Howard*, who lead a wing to the Vant-gard (whereof his brother the Admirall was Captain) got almost to the height; against whom the Earles of *Lennox* and *Argyle*, with their Battels of Speares on foot so violently encountered, that they beat downe, and brake the wing of the English, wherein many were slaine, and the horsemen disbanded, and put to flight; but presently recalled, ioyned themselves againe to the great battell, which by this time had attained to the toppe of the hill. King *James* that saw this first brunt performed, made full account that the day was his owne, supposing verily the English had fled, and therefore most valiantly hee aduanced forward, not staying for the regard to second his battell, and encountering the Earles Battalion, a bloody fight was performed, with the losse and life of many a man: but strength neere spent, and the Scottish somewhat disioyned, through force of a great shoure of arrows falling among them; Sir *Edward Stanley* having three bands recruited for the like purpose, with a fresh onfet invaded the open sides of the enemy, whose force was so violent, that the Scots no longer were able to stand, but tooke downe the hill vnto flight, which the Earles of *Lennox* and *Argyle* perceiving, did their best to stay them, and fighting most valiantly, themselves were slaine in the same place.

(16) King *James* then perceiving the wings of his Battell distressed and gone, and that the enemy began to enclose him about, with a stout resolution encouraged his men, willing the to regard the person of their King, their own honor, their valiant Ancestors, and now their present imploiments; that their blood might bee boughte deare to the English, and the Scottish valours recorded for euer in the volumes of fame for this their one daies work; & thereupon rushing among the thickest began a most eager & bloody battell, and piercing through with a strong hand went so far, that hee had almost ouerthrowne the Earles Standard: thus baffled in doubtfull chance, the Lord *Howard* and Sir *Edward Stanley* having discomfited the enemy in either wing, returned in the face of the maine battell, and the Lord *Dueris* with his Horie-men came vpon their backs, so that the Scottish were forced to fight in a round compass, hat being ouer-laid, the Kings Standard was stricken downe, and himselfe most valiantly fighting slaine in the middell of his enemies: with whom died three Bishops, whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of *Saint Andrews* the Kings base sonne, two Abbots, twelue Earles, and leuenteene Lords,

X x x x x Knights

Lord Howard
portenant
vice K. James.

King James
approach to battell

John Leslie.

The fight begins.

Prince James.

The Scots at the
first encounter
beat the English
backe.

The battell join.

The Scots put to
flight.

The valiant com-
paign of K. James.

James off
Surrey slaine
with
17. Leuch.

John Leslie.
Terny besieged
by K. Henry.

The strength of
Turnay.

A.D. 1513.
Ochober.
King Henry in
campaign, entered
Turnay.

John Leslie.

K. James of Scot-
land moved by
the French
King.
Edw. Hal.
Herald.
See the contents
of this letter in
John Leslie's
History, dated
in 1513, and
the treaty bet
of July in A.D.
1513.

Lewis retired at
Kilburne
military.

See the contents
of this letter in
John Leslie's
History, dated
in 1513, and
the treaty bet
of July in A.D.
1513.

James King of
Scotland
England.

Thomas Earle of
Surrey King.
Newcastle
military
military
military

Knights and Gentlemen a great number in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners. *Paulus Lucius.*

(17) The next day when the Scots had found the field cleared of enemies, and the English buied to burie their dead : the body of King *James* was found flaine among the rest, having received many bloody wounds, and most of them deadly : for his sides were sticke thicke with sharpe arrowes, his necke cut into the middell, and his left hand in two places all milt cut quite off. These wounds notwithstanding he was deciered, and knowne by the Lord *Dacres* and others to bee the King; and thereupon his body bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was solemnly brought vnto the Monastery of *Shine* in *Surry*, where no doubt it was honourably entred : but at the dissolution of that Houle, in the daies of King *Edward* the sixth, it was (as almost all other Moumements were) disturbed of rest, and throwne into a waste roome among old timber, stone and lead, which *John Stowe* the Relater saith, himselfe so low : and further declareth (let him bee the Author) that the seruants of *Lanercus Young* Glacier to the late *Querne*, being at *Shine* in new glasing the windowes, either vpon foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest : but fanciling the sweet perfumes of the balmes, gaue it to their Master, who opening the lead found therein the Head of a man retaining fauour, though the moisture were cleane dried vp, whole haire both of Head and Beard was redde, which after he had well viewed, and a while kept, he caused to bee buried in *Saint Michaels* at *Woodstreet London*, the Church of the Parsh wherein himselfe dwelled.

(18) Notwithstanding this faire tale of *John Stowe*, *John Lesly* Bishop of *Ross* affirmeth, that it was held for certaine, the body thus found, was the body of the Laird *Bonbrad* then slain in the battell, and that *R. James* was seene alive the same night at *Kells*, whence hee passed vnto *Ierusalem* and there spent the rest of his daies in holie contemplation : but howsoever it is (which hee neuer was seene any more in *Scotland*, no more then *Charles Duke of Burgundy* was in this Country after the Battell of *Nantes* : howbeit his people held a vaine opinion that hee escaped, and would at some shortly returne. This battell was fought vpon the ninth of September, the yeere 1513. and is commonly called the battell of *Flodden* or *Flodden Field* : whence with victory, the Earle Generall departed, with the embalmed Body of King *James*, whom hee presented vnto *Querne Katherine*, who with the Gaucier of the liaine King, sent the newes of the victorie vnto her Lord King *Henrie*, then lying in his siege before the Towne *Terrine*.

(19) But as these his proceedings went prosperously forward, and his fame daily spread in further parts, for the *Flemmings* (who hitherto had held side with his sades) began to fall off suddenly, & vpon the occasion as followeth. It had becom concluded betwixt King *Henrie* the seventh, and *Philip* King of *Spaine*, that *Charles* his eldest sonne should marry *Marie* the younger daughter of the English King, with a Princely Dowry agreed vpon, but shee being young, and not tenne yeeres of age, and the *Castilian* vnable to giue assurance of her person assigned, that match went not forward during the life of her father, howbeit King *Henrie* her brother regarding greatly her honour, provided for the marriage, and signified so much to the Counsell of *Flanders* : who dailied him off with many excuses, & lastly sent him word they could not receive her that yeare.

(20) This therefore gaue *Lewis* King of *France* occasion to hammer at a peace, and making Pope *Leo* his, they both together put it in practise, the reader was *Henry* to listen thereto, both for the loue he bore to his sister, and for the great regard hee held of the *Apollolike* See, whence *Inulius* the second, and this Pope *Predecessor* had lately sent him a Cappe of maintenance and sword, and by decree

of Council giuen him the Title *Chryssianissimus*; which were received with great thanks and solemnities. The French Kings desire was to marry the said Lady *Marie*, whose dowrie hee assigned to bee thirty two thousand Crownes by yeere, during her natural life, countenancing further to pay vnto King *Henry* her brother, the summe of one hundred thousand Crownes annually for five yeeres continuance.

(21) Peace thus concluded, the Lady *Marie* with an honourable Company was shipped at *Dance*, the Duke of *Neufake*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, and the Earle of *Salisbury* being her chief conductors, whose fleet had not passed two leagues at Seas, but that sudden tempest arose, and so violently raised the waues, as their Ships were scoured each from others, some into *Flanders*, some into *Calis*, and hers with great difficulty stricke in at *Bullen*, where by Boates her traine was landed, and herselfe borne to the shore in the armes of a Knight. Thence with thirty six Ladies all their Palfeires trapped in crimson Velvet, embroidered with gold, her selfe all in Cloth of siluer, her horses and Chariots in Tiffincloth of Gold, and Crimson velvet set with Goldsmiths worke, morelike an Angell then a humane Creature, mette with King *Lewis* at *Abbe*, and there the ninth of October the marriage was solemnized ; where the French so gazed at the newe *Queenes* beauty, as they could not call their eyes from her attractive raies, nor the iustime King her satisfied with any other obiect which shee was in presence, for (so saith *Gaucherardus*) hee gaue him selfe ouer to much to behold her most excellent beauty, not considering her young yeeres, being not yett eightene, with the unequalty of his owne expired ; nor the confusion of her weak deuced body. For hauing bene sicke before this his marriage, and not well recovered of his lingering distemp, (though hee set the fairest hew outward) liued with this his faire *Querne* onely eighty two daies, and then by his death left her to choose another husband to her best liking, which shee thorowly did in her second match.

(22) For thus left a stranger in the French Court, and desirous to returne againe into England, King *Henrie* her brother, sent *Charles Brandon* the new made Duke of *Suffolke*, to conduct the young *Querne* out of *France*. This Duke a gallant, and of a goodly presence, so courted his Charge, and carried himselfe in the cle of her melting affections, as his loue entred deeply into her tender heart : which thing indeed King *Henrie* perceived before, for which cause, as was thought, hee raised him to the grace of a Duke ; howsooner the Gemme thus got, and too precious to bee lost, hee made her his owne, by celebration of marriage, before her past *Calis*, and thence sent to intreate his Soeraignes consent, who seeing it was bootlesse to refuse what was done, with a light touch of reproofe allowed their nuptials. But her dowrie kept backe by the French, and other grieuances complained of, caused no little troubles betwene the two Realmes as shall be related in place conuenient. In the meane while let it not seeme our tedious if we briefly runne ouer the rising and height of *Thomas Wolsey*, that possibill Priest, seeing that many dependences of *Storie* had their eues in the Acts of this man, who with the King reigned together as King, if not before him in managing the State.

(23) His birth was at *Ipswich* in the County of *Suffolke*, his parents poore, but of an honest report, and himselfe a good Philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit : his education in youth was at *Oxford* in *Maudlin Colledge*, and his first preferment from the Lord Marquise *Dorset*, who bestowed vpon him a benefice in his gift, in regard that hee was prior vnto his ffonnes, which Sir *Amias Paulet* so crosse him in, that hee died *Wolsey* by the feete in the Stockes though afterward hee put this his Act among other his deedes, whereof hee had iust cause to repent : for

in Conf. Later.

A marriage concluded betweene King *Lewis* and Lady *Marie*.

Lady *Marie* sent into France.

Lady *Marie* landed at *Bullen*.

Lady *Marie* met King *Lewis*.

Gain hard.

When the French King died.

Querne Marie liued with *Charles Duke of Burgundy*.

King *Leo*.

Thomas Wolsey his rising.

Marquesse *Dorset* Paulet and protestor.

King *James* body embalmed and buried at *Shine*.

John Stowe Secretary of *London* in *Copley* Ward.

John Lesly, Bishop of *Ross*.

Edward Hall.

The *Flemmings* fell off from King *Henrie*.

Wolsey, pag. 750.

A. D. 1514.

Great favours bestowed on the Pope and King *Inulius*.

for the Schollers after no sooner was mounted into the Chancel Bishoppe of England, but that hee laid his command vpon *Pauler*, and retained him as Prisoner in the Middle Temple the space of 6. yeeres: but in the meane time *Marquesse Dorset* dying, left *Walseyes* pillar of hope altogether vnpolished, and the bafe thereof it self vnited vpon any firme ground: so that *Walsey* now fought his fortune in France: who coming to *Calais*, became seruant to Sir *Iohn Napheur* the Treacher of that Towne, where hee carried himselfe with so great discretion, as shortly his master preferred him to the King.

(24) This Scholler hauing thus cast Anchor at Court, the haue of hope, was more then double diligent in the Kings eye, and very seruicable also both to Doctor *Frax* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, Secretary, and Lord *Prize Seale*, as also to Sir *Thomas Lawd* Master of the Wardes, and Constable of the Treasurie: but most of all vnto Fortuoe, that now sisted occasion to make her selfe famous in this poore Butcherfonne. For King *Henry* hauing verger bulinelle with *Maximilian* the Emperour, sent this his Chaplen vnto him in Poll, who polled againe before hee was thought to bee gone, and withal concluded some points forgot in his directions, to the high content of his Soueraigne Lord the King: for the which hee bestowed vpon him the Decree of *Lincoller*, the worthiest promotion vnder the degree of a Bishoppe: then was hee made the Kings Almoner, and presently following one of the Pruy Counsell: wherein his aduise was so wise, and his persuasions so weighty, that hee was continually employed to berthe expolitor to the King, alwayes carrying a most speciall regard, to preferre his Maiesties will howe soeuer it went, so that his mouth was the onely Organ that euer sounded his pleasure, and freedome from troubles of all State affairs.

(25) But warres hauing beene commenced betwixt *England* and *France*, and *Turkey* loit from the obedience of *Lewes*, King *Henry* gaue his Almoner the Bishopricke thereof, and changed his Dranery of *Lincoller* into the Bishopricke of the same Diocesse, and not long after set also the Miter of *York* vpon *Walseyes* Wile-head: whereby hee became (as it were) three Bishopps at once, and now being *Primus Anglia*, carried himselfe accordingly, by erecting his Crosse in the Kings Court, albeit it were within the Iurisdiction of *Canterbury*, which seemed vnassurable, the dignity of the Church held then much by Precedency of place, and the giuing way to inferiours, accounted the infringing of all religious liberties: Wherefore *William* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* found himselfe fore agreed to hane the Crosse of *York* (which owed him obedience) adnanced with his, and that in his presence, for which hee greatly checked the presumption of this proud Prelate.

(26) But *Walsey* not wanting wherewithall to mate him by the inhabitations of the Kings, both of *England* and *France*, obtained to bee made Priest, Cardinal, and *Legatus de Latere*, vnto whom Pope *Lep* sent a Cardinals hatte, with bulles of authority in that behalfe, yet were these high Prefates brought in no better a case, then in a mean hudget, which seemeth somewhat distastefull in the new Cardinals eye: wherefore hee commanded a flay to bee made of the hingers approach; and for the greater honour to this honourable present, arrayed him in most costly silkes, becomming so great an Ambassador, who advancing forward, hee caused to be encountered by a number of gallant Gentle men, and a great assembly of Prelates vpon Blacke-heath, by whom hee was conducted with much honour through the City of *London*, and his Present delineated at *Wylminster*, attended by many mitred Bishopps and Abbots, with a rich shew of Copes, as if it had been a Kings Coronation.

(27) Thus got before *Canterbury* by his power Legatie, to weare now his hatte without controll

of an equall, hee obtained the parle with the broad Seale of *England*, which Archbishoppe *Warham* had enjoyed long before the death of King *Henry* the fourth, and was made Lord Chancelour in his roomes: so that besides the puric and mace of that honourable Office, hee had two Crosse and two Pillars, borne euer before him by the tallest Priells that were to bee found in the Realme. To the better maintenance of his chargeable estate, the King bestowed on him the Bishopricke of *Winchester*, and in Commendation the Abbey of *Saint Albans*, and with them hee held in Farme, the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hersford*, enioyed by Strangers incumbents, not residing in the Realme, so that now leeming a monster with tenen heads, and each of them crowned with the Miter of a Bishoppe, let vs thus leaue him dandled in Dame Fortunes cradle, till furnished with dalliance shee call him from thence.

(28) But the state of *Londons* Trade-men prospered vnder his greatnesse nothing so well, for such was the concourse of strangers, and so much were they borne with, by the superiors, that they abated the English, openly in the market, kept from a Citizens his owne wife with his place, yea, and paid with a small penance for killing an Englishman. Their first were complained of in a Sermon at *Saint Maries* Spittle, and afterwards assaulted, and much hurt done to their substaunce and hooules, for which riotous offence *Iohn Lincoller* the onely instigator was hanged; and foure hundred men, boyes, and e-leuen women led in topes along the City in their shirts, and balers about their neckes to the Kingtons Hall at *Wylminster*, where his Maieity sitting vnder a cloath of estate, pardoned the offences to the great reioycing of the Londoners.

(29) But the losse of *Turkey* sticking sore vpon the stomacke of the French King, hee sought to redeeme it againe with money, and to that end sent his Ambassadors into *England*, where it was concluded, that the City should bee deliuered vnto *Frances* *Valis* then King of *France*, paying for the same vnto *Henry* fixe hundred thousand Crowens in twelve yeeres continuance, that is to say, fifty thousand Crowens a yeere, that the Duke of *Alencon* should bee recalled out of *Scotland*, and that the Dauphin should marry the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* young daughter, which marriage if so it happened not to take effect at the yeeres of consent, then *Turkey* should be redeliuered to the English; neither was this forgotten, that the Cardinal should receiue a thousand markes yearly for the renewes of the said Bishopricke, and vpon these Coenants were hostages for further assurance deliuered.

(30) But peace much affected among Christian Princes, and daily increased of most proud Estates, was very much feared would worke alteration in the authority, abate, and great riches of the Clergy, if Kings might haue leasure to looke into their owne charges at home. To bulie their heads therefore from all suspiçon or iealousies, Pope *Leo* the tenth denied the meanes, by a preparation intended for the holy lands warres, a subiect in shew very religious, howe soeuer the former successes had proued it not pleasing to God, when to recouer the City once holy, and to build vpon that which Christ by prophesie had cast downe, as much Christian blood was spilt to raise those ruinous waile, as there was matter laid to fallen the stones of their first building.

(31) To this end therefore three Legates were sent from the holy See of *Rome*, one into *France*, another into *Germany*, and Cardinal *Campius* into *England*, with whom was ioyned *Walsey* in Commission, who hearing of the ragged reuaine of his fellow Cardinal, sent thore of red cloath vnto *Calles*, to make them meet followers of so great a Lord; and *Campius* landed at *Dauer*, *Walsey* caused the Townes throw which he should passe, to recieue him with procession: and so being brought by the Gentility of

Walsey made L. Chancelour of England.

Isle Star, 1 Turkey, 2 Lincoln, 3 York, 4 Winchester, 5 Bath, 6 Worcester, 7 Hersford.

A.D. 1517. 11 May day.

The English showed of Englishmen.

Link. Grafton.

A.D. 1519.

Turkey deliuered vnto commissioners.

Articles of agreement betwixt Henry and Lewis.

The Pope on way to Christian peace.

The warres for the recovery of the Holy Land.

Cardinal Campius came Legate into England.

Walsey intercalled in the Court

Stridens Cam'le

Walsey first to the Emperour.

Walsey a Pruy Counsellor.

Walsey made Bishoppe of Turkey, Lincoln, and York.

Strife becommen betwixt the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

R. Grafton.

Walsey made Cardinal.

The great solemnity in recieving of the Cardinals hat.

The Honourable
recreation of
small Campes.

March. 21. p.

The Cardinall
rich in
diamonds in
Chespe
side.

Charles the Em-
perour com-
eth into England.

John Dow.

Rich. Turpin.

King Henric go-
eth into France.

Rich. Grafton.

Edw. Hall.

A.D. 1531:
An. Reg. 13.

Variance be-
twixt England
and France.

John Dow.

R. Grafton.

*Went vnto Black-heth meete vnto Greenwich, was
there mette and receiued by the Duke of *Yorkshire*,
many Knights, but many more Prelates, where in a
Tent of Cloth of Gold, he stufte himselfe into his
Cardinall Robes, which was edged about with
most rich Ermine, and thence rode to *London*, in
more pompe and estate then *Chryll* did to *Ierusalem*
when *Hefanna* was sung.*

(32) Eight Mules hee had laden with necessa-
ries belonging, but those made no shew in proud
Walshes eyes, therefore twelue more hee sent him
to furnish his Pageants through the streets of
London, these either wanton, or ashamed to bee
wondered at, played the skittish ladies indeed: For
in Chespe-side, as this Triumph forth passed,
these beasts by breaking their Collers and escap-
ping their Leaders, cast their Carriages and Cofers
vpon the coldground; whose lids flying open
laide mozt of their riches to the sight of the people.
For, from some of them fell olde Breaches, Bootes
and broken shooes, from others torne stockings tot-
tered ragges, olde Iron and horie shooes, and for
fainting by the way therein was bestowed, and now
cast abroad, broken meate, many bones, roasted egges,
and crufts of bread, ywille worth the keeping: this
Shipwrack made vpon the Shelves of Chespe-side,
no need it was to bid the Mulsters to beslitter them,
who like good thrifty mariners saued from spoile as
much as they could; and trusting vpon their trinkets,
laded againe these wantons, with the wealth of the
Cardinall, who good many as logging on afore with
his Croffes, Pillars, Gilt-axe and Mace, vnto *Pauls*
Church, where hee was mette with many mitred
Bishops, and attended vpon to *Bath* place, where we
will leaue him, and returne to the place where wee
left.

(33) The vnity agreed vpon betwixt *England*
and *France*, a meeting was motioned for the two
Kings, and to that ende great preparatiou made af-
well of the one as of the other. But in the heate of
this businesse, King *Henry* had word that *Charles*, his
Queenes Nephew, and new made Emperour, would
visit him in England, which accordingly hee did, ac-
companied with the Queene of *Aragon*, and a most
Royall Trainee, and was as Royallie entertained by
King *Henry*: the cause of his coming was to hin-
der the peace concluded with *France*, for although,
this Emperour were young, and but newly establi-
shed; yet was hee wile and well foresewe the hurt
that this amity with *France*, would bring him, and
therefore came in person of purpose to disswade
the Kings mind and to stay his countance with the *French*
if he could, but finding *Henry* so forward in those
proceeds, hee baited his hooks with goldeu gifts to
the Cardinall, and wanne him wholly to his
deuotion.

(34) King *Henry* passing the Seas vnto *Calis*, met
with King *Francis* at a place appointed, and for that
purpose newly built betwixt the Townes of *Ginsnes*,
and *Arde*: where to describe the lusts, Banquets,
and Maskes were to fill vp (with *Hall*, *Grafton* and
Hensford) whole sides of excessive great Cost. At
Calis also the same time the Emperour, with his Aunt
the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheffe of *Sauoy* landed, whi-
ther King *Henry* and his Queene repaired, to the no
little grudge of the *French* King, though he kept it to
himselfe, and consented vnto the ancient league tri-
partite betwixt these three Monarches, which done
the Kings returned into their owne Realmes.

(35) Disputations shortly arising betwixt the Em-
perour and the *French* King, King *Henry* assaid to
bring the to peace, but that failing, fell himselfe from
the *French*, imputing the fault vnto *Francis* for sub-
orning the *Sens* against him, and King *Francis* againe
laid all the blame in the Cardinall, accusing him of
disimulation, abhorred practises and what not: but
wherefoer say the defect, the Duke of *Albany*
was sent into *Scotland*, the *French* followed a Span-
ish ship fraught with the goods of *English* Mer-

chants vnto *Morgate*, and tooke her euen in the
Kings Streams, in both which King *Francis* excusing
himselfe with ignorance, allured no breach of truce
broken by him.

(36) Then was it thought best by the Cardinalls
advice to repay like with like, and therefore coun-
selled his King, to reare *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* a-
gainst *France*, and to perswade him to invade the ve-
ry heart thereof, encouraging him with sufficient
pay, and making him his Champion generall of the
Field; whilst the Emperour likewise held him play
against *Millen*. And to that end was sent in way of
loane to the Emperour a great summe of money,
and forreine Princes solicited to take armes against
France, for effecting which, King *Henry* sent his Am-
bassadors to the States of *France* and *Switzerland* with
these instructions as followeth.

(36) That whereas in a treatie of peace it was
concluded betwixt the Emperour, King *Henry*, and
Francis the *French* King, that if any Controuersies
should arise betwixt any two, the Prince not in-
uading should giue aide and assistance against the in-
uader: but now the Emperour being inuaded by
the *French* Kings Captaines in the Realme of *Na-
uarre*, and in his owne Countrey by *Robert de la
March*, and others by his procurement, and our King
(said they) being often called vpon by the Emperour,
hath often entreated the *French* King to succurre,
but hath nothing obtained besides faire words and
detraction of promises. Complaining likewise that
in the intercourse of these busineses, the *French*
King contrary to his Oath had sent the Duke of
Albany into *Scotland* (in contempt of King *Henry*)
and to the great danger of the young Kings death or
deposition, he being the next in blood to succeed,
and to the dishonour of the Queene mother, had
caused a separation betwixt her and her lawfull hus-
band the Earle of *Angoulme*. That the *French* King
had detained the payment compounded for the de-
livery of *Turkey*, and kept backe the dowry of his
sister *Ragene Dowager of France*, that he had en-
treated the rebellious Subjects of King *Henry*, and
spoiled his Merchants both by Land and Sea. Nei-
ther was wremembered the danger that the *Francia*
stood in, if the Realmes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*, the Seig-
niories of *Teane*, and *Mellane* were lost from the Em-
pire. These therefore seemed faire proiects vnto
King *Henry* for him to warre against *France*, and to
that end, a generall Muster by Commission was ta-
ken of all able men from sixteen yeers old and upward,
of euery *Humber*, *Shire*, *Barron*, *Citie*, *Hundred*, and
Shire, throughout *England*, which seemed to many
another *Domesday Booke*: and yet was there nei-
ther peace nor warre against *France*.

(37) In this great and holly preparation, *Charles*
the Emperour as hee passed toward *Spain*, landed at
Douer, where King *Henry* mette him, and in great e-
state brought him to *London*; which was so pre-
pared with Ornamentes and Pageants, as if it had been
the Kings Coronation, and in the Blacke-frices the
Emperour was lodged in a most Princely Palace
new built by the King; then was hee feasted at *Winster*,
where hee ate in his state, in his Mantle and Garter,
and by receiving the Sacrament these two Potent
Monarches tooke their Corporal Oathes to observe
the Couenants concluded betwixt them: whereof
one was, that the Emperour *Charles* agreed to stay
for, and take to wife the young Princess *Lady Ma-
rie*, King *Henry* then onely daughter, and in such
golden bands of loue, *Charles* and *Henry*, seemed to
be linked, as in *London* this sentence was set vp in
the Guild-hall ouer the doore of the Councill Cham-
ber, where it still remaineth.

*Carrie, Henricus, Vincent, Arsenius, et ceteris
Henricus filius, Carolus Ecclesia.*

(38) Why the Titles defender of Church and
Faith, were attributed vnto these two Princes

is

Taken out of the
Cardinalls annals
letters dated Jan-
uary 14, anno.
1146.

Duke *Barboun*
made King *Hen-
ry* Capaine
General.
Indiction of
King *Henry* dated
in Anno 1146.
Rich. *Walsley*
1146.

The English Ex-
pedition into
Normandie.

The wrongs
done by the
French vnto the
English.

John *Lyf.*

The Queene
Dowry repaid.

A.D. 1531.
A general mu-
ster.

In June.

Charles the Em-
perour com-
eth into Eng-
land.

Marriage in June
15, anno. 13.

The Emperour
attends the Lady
Mary.

is no marvell, for Charles chosen Emperour, was scarcely confirmed, but to purchase the Popes favour, he directed forth a solemne Writ of Out-lawry against Martin Luther, who then had given a great blow to the Papall Crowne. And King Henry likewise was renowned in Rome, for writing a booke against the said Luther: vnderpropping the tottering or downe-fall countenance of the Popes pardons, which Luther shrewdly had shaken; the Pope therefore to shew himselfe a kind father vnto those his fowles, gaue them these Tales; which in truth were none other, then the faine which they sware vnto, when the Crownes of their Empires were first set vpon their heads. But with what acceptance his Holinesse received King Henrys booke, his owne Oracion solemely made at the deliuey thereof vnto M. Iohn Clarke the pfeester and Kings Ambassador, in his Consistory, and in presence of his Cardinals sufficiently doth shew, the translation whereof we haue inserted as we finde it in the Originall it selfe.

Wee doe receive this booke with all alacritie: it is iudged such as there could not bee anything finer vs, and our venerable brethern, more acceptable then it is. For the King himselfe, a most mighty, most prudent, and most truly Christian Prince, wee know not whether we may more prayse or admire, being the first that by warre with happy successe hath subdued the enemies of the Church of Christ, that seek to rend Christs coat, and at last overcoming the enemies, hath restored peace to the Church of God, and to this holy See. But now againe to loue a Monster, both to vnderstand, to beare, and willing to write this booke, hee hath shewed himselfe no more admirable to the whole world for his elegant style, then for his wit. We humbly giue thanks to our Creator for giuing such a Prince to defend his Church, and this holy See, desiring the same God to grant to this his King a happy life, and all his desires, and after this life in his heavenly Kingdome, to keepe for him an everlasting Crowne. And we do farre as we are able to entreat of God, will neuer bee wanting to the said most wise King in the faculties granted to vs of God.

(40) To manifest which his readinesse, himselfe among his Cardinals decreed an augmentation vnto King Henrys royall Seile to bee annexed vnto his others; confirming the same by his Bull, which that it perishe not by the deuouring teeth of Time, we haue here published from the originall Parchment, and leadeen faile it selfe, as followeth.

(41) *Leo Episcopus seruus seruus Dei, &c. Leo Bishop* servant of the seruants of God; to our most dearely beloued Sonne in Christ, Henry King of England defender of the Faith, health and Apostolicall Benediction. Wee by diuine permission, the chiefe ouerser for the government of the vniuersall Church, though vnassisted for so great a worke, doe proue forth the cogitations of our heart, that the Catholike faith without which no man can attaine to saluation, may receive continual increase, and that those good lawes and constitutions decreed by the wisdom and learning of such as are in authority, especially the faithfull in Christ, for restraining the attempts of all that labour to pervert the same, or by wicked heresies seek to pervert and obscure it, may prosper with perpetuall increase, doe bestow our paines and utmost endeuour in our office and Ministry. And like as the Roman Bishops our Predecessors, were wont to shew especiall fauour to Catholike Princes (according as the quality of matters and times required) especially to them that in troublesome times, when the madnesse and perfidious dealing of Schismatics and heretikes most of all abound, did abide constant and vnmoueable, not onely in humilitie of faith and pure deuotion to the holy Roman Church, but also as the most legitimate sounes and valiant Champions of the same, opposed themselves both with mind and body against the furious madnes of Schismatics and heretikes: so likewise also doe wee desire

to extoll your Maiesty with worthy and immortall praises, for your high and immortal desires and labours towards vs, and this holy See, wherein by Gods permission wee sit, to grant vnto it those things for which it ought to beate, and drinke away the Weales from the Lords flocke, and to cut off with the materiall sword rotten members, which infect the myssicall body of Christ, and to conuince the hearts of the faithfull in foundation of helasse. Now where of late our beloued Sonne Iohn Clarke your Maiesties Orator with vs, being to our Consistory before our venerable brethren of the holy Roman Church, the Cardinals and many other Prelates of the same, exhibited a booke vnto vs to bee examined and allowed of vs, which booke your Maiesties selfe (who doth all things with diligence and nothing vnprofitably) framed with charity and zeale to the Catholike faith, and with ardent deuotion toward vs and this holy See, hath composed, as a most worthy and seruicable Antidote against the errors of diuers heretikes, often condemned by this holy See, and of late stirred up and brought in by Martin Luther: And your said Orator hath also largely declared vnto vs, that your Maiesty is ready, and purposeth, like as you haue conuicted the notorious errors of the said Martin, by true reason and unquenchable authorities of sacred Scripture, and ancient fathers, so you will punish to the uttermost of your power, all those of your whole Kingdome, that shall presume to follow, or defend them: and we haue diligently and exactly perused, and we are the admirable doctrine of your said booke, watered with the dew of beaurate Grace, and doe heartily thanke Almighty God, from whom every good and perfect gift doth come, who hath vouchsafed to conuince your Noble mind, inclined to every good thing, and to exude you with secret Grace from heauen, as to vnto those things; whereby you are able to defend his holy faith, against such a new inuasion of damned errors, and also incite by your example all other Christian Kings and Princes, to be willing to fauour and further with all their best aid the Orthodoxall faith, and Evangelicall truth, whensoever it bee brought into danger or doubt. And wee thinke it also meete, that they who haue undertaken such costly labours for the defence of the faith of Christ, should haue all praise and honour of vs; and wee are desirous, that not onely the things themselves which your Maiesty hath written, being both of most sound doctrine, and no lesse eloquence, should bee extolled and magnified with empyent commendations, and alwaies and confirmed by our authority; but also that your Maiesty should bee graced with such an honour, and such a Title, as that both forer time and neuer increase all men might perceive how gratefull and acceptable this gift of your Maiesties hath been vnto vs, especially offered vnto vs now at this time. Wee, who be the true successors of Peter, who in Christ at his ascension into heauen left his Peter on earth, and to whom hee committed the care of his flocke: Wee say, who sit in this holy seate, from which all dignities and titles doe flow, upon mature deliberation had with our said brethren about these things, haue by the general agreement, and consent of them decreed, to bestow vpon your Maiesty this title, namely, THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. And accordingly by these Presents doe we giue you with such a title, commanding all faithfull Christians, that they name your Maiesty with this Title, and when they write to you, that after the Word KING, they adioine DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. And truly wee diligently considering and weighing your singular merits, were not able to bestow vnto a name more worthy and commendable for your Maiesty, then the excellencie and dignity of this Title, which so often as you shall heare and reade so often you may call to mind this your singular vertue and great desert, nor may you by this Title puffe up your selfe in pride, but according to your wonted prudence become more humble, and bee more valiant and constant in the faith of Christ, and in deuotion to this holy See, by which you haue beene exalted, relieving in the Lord the grief of all good things, leaving this as a perpetual immortall monument of your glory to your children, shewing them the way vnto the like, that if they shall desire to be graced

John Laiden.
Com.

R. Henry wrote
against Martin
Luther.

The Popes Oracion
at the deliuey
of R. Henrys
royall booke.
As Originall.

also with such a Title, they must labour to do such works, and to follow the excellent steps of your Majesty, whom according as you have well deserved of us, and thus said See, together with your wife, and all your children that shall be borne of you, or of them, we beseech with our Benediction, with a large and liberrall hand in the name of H I M, from whom the power of granting this blessing is given unto us, praying and beseeching that Almighty One, who saith, By mee Kings raigne, and Princes rule, and in whose hands are the hearts of Kinges, that hee will confirme your Majesty in your holy purpose, and increase your devotion, and by your worthy endeavours for the sacred faith, so to illustrate your reuerence, and make you glorious through all the world, that this our Testimony which wee have given of you, adorning you with this excellent a Title, may never be induged by any to be false or vaine. Lastly, wee desire God, that after this life ended, hee would make you partakers of his eternall glorie. Given at Rome at Saint Peters, in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord God, 1521. the fifth Ides October, the ninth yeere of our Papacy.

Thus subscribed,

Ego Leo X. Catholicae Fidei Episcopus Sanctiss.
With twenty five other Cardinals and Bishops, underwriting their severall names with their owne hands.

(42) But from these Priestly and Papall gratulations, let vs returne to leade our Story vnto temporall Princes affaires. How the Emperour Charles had bene entertained in King Henrie Court, wee have said, and now ready to depart with many rich gifts, wee repaired to Southampton, where hee tooke his shippes for Spaine, whose conductor through the narrow Seas was Thomas Earle of Surrey, Lord high Admirall of England, who having waited him vnto Biscay with a gallant crew of Gentlemen, made thence laie into France, and in Britaine belieged & wonne the strong Towne Morlaix, and with the Garrison Souldiers of the Marches dayly bickered with the heart-burning French, and dayly went away with the better, but new fires areared by the Scots, the Lord Admirall was recalled, and came to the Court, where hee declared to his Highnesse what hee had done in Britaine.

(43) King Henries businesse thus on foot in France, hee thought to pursue it with all the advantage hee could, and first to find the Scots play, who were euer fast friends to the French, hee sent the Lords Resse and Daeres to secure the North-borders, appointing for his Lieutenant in those partes the Earle of Shrewsbury, and sent the Lord Admirall of England againe into France, who diuided his Army into three Battalions, the first whereof, was led by Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwater: the Middle, the Earle conducted himselfe, with the assistance of his brother Lord Edmund Howard, and the Rearward was governed by Sir William Sande, and Sir Richard Wraye both of them Knights of the Order, the Coucennell of the horse was Sir Edward Gouffier.

(44) These in September entred into the French Pale, and made toward the Castell of Hesling, vnto whom ioined the Burgundians, sent from the Lady Margaret then Regent of Flanders, vnder whose colours serued many Spaniards; Surrey thus set forward, burned all things where he came, demolishing the Castles and Townes of Selhor, Brambridge, Senecker, Tuningham, Mauffier, Norbion, Daerac, Culmberge and Pringers the Townes and Churches fortified of Beards, Pass, and Saint Mary de Bois: but laying his siege against Hesling was forced for want of battering peeces, to breake vp againe and depart: In whole returne hee burnt the Townes and Castles of Durlew and Derrier, and comming to Calles, set saile for England with a wonderfull great Booty.

(45) In this while the Duke of Albanie being

made Gouernour of Scotland with an Armie of fourescore thousand drew vnto the Borders, whence hee sent into France for six thousand Almains, which were promised, and daily expected though in vain, for none came at all. The Earle of Shrewsbury with eight and twenty thousand strong, drew likewise towards the Borders, but the Scots lying still, without further insaution, an abstinence from warre was betwixt them concluded, which how the English kept, the sequell well sheweth for the King ordaining Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland, Lord Warden of the whole Marches, hee either refrained to impeach his honor by breach of truce, or else loth to be disquieted of his soft rest, made meanes to the King, to be discharged of the office, which was forthwith bestowed (and thankfully accepted) vpon Thomas Earle of Surrey lately returned out of France, who deliuered the charge of the East & Middle Marches vnto the Lord Marquisse Darsy, and the West vnto the Lord Daeres, who presently made a road into Scotland, and returned with booty.

(46) France and Scotland thus allayed at once, a Parliament was assembled at Blacke-Fryer in London, wherein Cardinall Wolsey moued, and with much adoe obtained, the halfe of the yeerly renewes of all spirituall livinges, to bee paid for five yeeres continuance, and the tenth part of all temporal substance to maintain this great charge of the King, for the exact collection whereof the Cardinall was so forward, as hee muned, and would haue had every man sworne for his wealth, had nor the Citizens of London vterly refused it, which when the King heard of, hee was highly displeased with Wolsey, and said, that ere long hee would looke to thages himselfe without any Substitute.

(47) Among other great esteeme of this magnanimous Monarch, it was not the least that the Emperour in person had twice come into England to visite him, and euen at this time Christian King of Denmarke with his Queene, vnto whom Queene Katherine was Aune, landed at Dover, and was honourably brought vnto London, where they were royally leached, and after two and twenty dayes intertainment, receiuing great gifts of the King and Queene, they returned to Flanders, where hee remained as a banished man out of his owne Country.

(48) King Henry purposing his further peruius, sent a great Army into France, vnder the leading of the Duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon, attended vpon by the Lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrers, Manners, Sande, Barkley and Ferris, nineteen Knights, six hundred demi-lances, two hundred Archers horsed, three thousand more of them on foot, five thousand Bil-men, and foureteene hundred Garrison Souldiers, with one thousand five hundred labourers and Pioners. These departing Calles, first belieged, and won Bell-Castell, and then entering Picardy, there ioyned vnto him three thousand foot, and five hundred horse of Almains and Spaniards, with these hee assailed, and tooke the Castell of Beauregard, whetein hee put Garrison, wame Braye, Reie, Libonne, Montedecier and Seghau: but the winter come on, the weather extrem in wetts and frosts, besides other wanes euer following the Winters Warriors, the Duke was enforced to breake vpe Campe; and from Calles came safely to the Court, where, vnto King Henry hee was very welcome, but much more vnto the French Queen his wife.

(49) The Sentiſſ (as we haue said) keeping the Borders, and the English making inroades, where the places were weakest, the stirres betwixt them began daily to increafe. In so much as the Duke of Albany sent a Herald vnto the Earle of Surrey the Kings Lieutenant of the North, to offer him Bartell, promising on his honour if hee tooke him Prisoner, his ranfome should be easie, and his person consecretly dealt with; who returned as rough an answer,

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The Duke of Albany came into the Borders.

A furore of warre.

Thomas Lord Admirall made Lord Lieutenant of the North.

A great tidings gathered.

Polyder.

The King and Queene of Denmarke came into England, a d. 1521, 1522.

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France was by the Duke of Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke came into England.

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Lord Admirall
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The hand yfinge
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Bishop Leslies

The Scottish Na-
bility expedita-
on is with the
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More soft by war
than gentle by
civility.

The Duke of
Albany's answer.

as the offer was kinde, saying *hee would abide Battell if he durst give it up of the Duke were taken either by him or us, hee would strike off his head and send it for a present to his Majestie the King of England.* So moved was the Earle againe the French, that had raised *Albany* thus against England, and King *Henry* (as Bishop *Lesly* reporteth)ooke from the Scots inhabiting England all their goods, sending them into their Countrey on foot, with white Croffes sewed upon their uppermost Garments by which they were knowne and suffered to passe. The Scots vpon the Earles answer were wonderfully enraged, and seeking the revenge, some of them passed ower the water, and hotly besieged the Cattle of *Warke*, which the Englishmen as valiantly defended, and in their resistance slew almost three hundred of their French Souldiers, the Scots retrying againe to their Campe.

(50) The Regent not able to digest the Earles pill, commanded his Armie to march forward into the English Marches, wherewith the common Souldiers much rejoiced, but the wiser of the Nobility vrged this in their Counsell, that having displayed in warlike manner, their Banners vpon the Verge of the Borders, and defended their Countrey from the spoile, they saw no great reason further to proceed, no necessity or cause moving, besides the Quarrell of the French: and therupon repaying to the Regent, they demanded why they should proceed farther, alleading that at his commandment (yea and their willing) they had so farre passed, for the defence of their Countrey, which was sufficient without further invasion of the others, the time to consent in the marriage of their young King, and the action so dangerous, wherein all the Peerey of Scotland were assembled, to attend and suffer the doubtfull issue of warre, which ever is vncertaine, and more losse in one battell many times suffered, then gaine can be gotten in manie: whereof too too lamentable experience (saide they) we have had by King *James*, that by peace and life, brought Scotland to her bell, but by his warre and death almost to the worst, therefore would we know (saide the Nobilitie) whether this your intent stands with the weale of the King and vs, or else is prosecuted in the cause of your selfe and the French.

(51) The Duke making some pause, lastly replied and said; "This question would have bene demanded ere now: for well you know, that from Scotland I beare my name, honour and linage, have passed the Seas from the noble Realme of France, for the love of my Countrey, to set you in amity which were at disension, by whose division your Realm lay prostrate to destruction and Conquest, for whole aid you see I have procured the French to joine with you against the English. Againe, when these warres were determined by Parliament, you made me your Capitaine, authorizing me to invade England with Banner displayed, thou was no question or demand of the cause; neither have I entered the quarrell without your agreement; and therefore may I iustifie my present doing, and yet to me it seemeth there is cause sufficient, with fire, sword and blood, to enger England, if we be not too forgetfull, and will submit our selves to dishonour and reproach: for we all know that the Realme of Scotland is ours by inheritance, and that portion of the world allowed to our Nation to enjoy; how can we warre better, then to maintain our naturall inheritance, against which the English give daily attempts, with manslaughter, murders, thefts and spoiles: have we not then, (thinke you) iust cause to make warre? The defence of a kingdome, is the office of a king, the honour of the Noble, the service of the Souldier, and the duty of a naturall Subject. But be it as you will, yet hauing lo payntaine an armie to avoide our owne reproach, and encouragement of the Enemye, let vs campe here still on the Borders till we

see what the English men intend.

(52) But *Margaret* Queene of Scots soliciting her brother for a peace, the shirres brake up for a time, as *Archbishop Francis* did thence after, by the working wit of *Cardinal Wolsey*, who in the State affaires was ever one, which made him the more emulated, and the grievances of the common: ever call vpon him; in so much that it was commonly spoken he was the cause of the heavy imposition granted to maintaine the kings warres, which was so importable to the poorer sort of Subjects, as the payment thereof was vterly denied to the appointed Collectors, with weepings, Cries and great exclamations, yea and almost grew to an open rebellion: for *Kent* denied it to the Lord *Cobham*: *Essex* refused to commune with the commissioners: *Huntingdonshire* refused, and would not heare them; *London* would be taxed by none but their *Aldermen*: and *Suffolke* rose vp in Armes, making poverty their Capitaine. Of these shirres when King *Henry* heard, he had great indignation, blaming the Counsellors, and wrote his letters vnto every County, that no such demands should be paid: and the Cardinal to carry fauours with the Commons gave it forth foolishly, that at his intercession the Offenders were pardoned, and the money remitted.

(53) And now more to shew his owne power, then any great cause; hee beganne to aminate the heart of King *Henry* against his Nephew the Emperour, and caused him to withhold pay from the Duke of *Barboun* his late made Generall: which was the cause of the French Kings Captivity. For *Barboun* incamped within the Towne of *Paula*, and besieged by the French in most warlike manner, was for want of his said pay so desperate of life, that he attempted almost dangerous escape. In the dead of the night he set a part of his Company to affilie the enemy on that side of the Towne which was left strong, himselfe sliding secretly out of a Posterne on the contrary side: The watch but slender and the Souldiers asleepe, a great terror arose, in which the besieger turned their Ordinance to the place of the cry, when as suddenly *Barboun* was at their backs, and winning their Ordinance discharged them against their owners, flew their souldiers, cut downe their Tent, and by the Vice-roy of *Naples* was the French King taken prisoner in the Field.

(54) This fortunate successe made these *Almaines* more bolde, who presently with the Imperiall Ensignes marched towards *Flourance*, and thence to *Rome*, vnto whose walls in one day they gave three assaults, in the last whereof *Charles* Duke of *Barboun* their Generall was slaine; notwithstanding the City was taken and sacked; Pope *Clement* in the meane while, to make all sure as he thought, thundered out his Curfew, and with Boll, Beake and Candle, committed those *Lutherans* to Hell, who neuerthelesse broke down that windy *Balkwarke*, and with great slaughter forced him with twentie three Cardinals, into the Cattle of *Saint Angelle*, where they kept them besieged from the first of May, vnto the tenth of December: in which time, in mocking of the Pope the souldiers made folace, would apparell one in Pontifical attire, who sometime should blesse them, and sometime accurse them, and riding on Horse-backe with a Whore sit behind him should so passe the streets, that the Pope and Cardinals might see him. Their contumelies and Papall Captivities were grievously taken by many Christian Princes, informent that *Cesar* in *Spain* forbade all Enterludes to be plaid, and Pageants prepared forioy of the birth of his sounge, Prince *Philip*, to be pallad downe. In France by the Court of Parliament the Duke of *Barboun* was condemned of Treason, his name and memoriall accursed, his Armes paid downe, and his Lands and goods confiscated; neither would King *Henric* of England answer the Emperours letters, wherein hee excused himselfe from hauing any hand in the action.

(55) Which

Margaret
Queene of Scots
laid out much
a piece.

Cardinal Wolsey
laid out the
common.

The Subsidy did
not to be paid.

A. D. 1557.
K. Henry's death
from the Kings
tomb.

Guards.

when desperate
attempts.

The King of
France taken
prisoner.

Barboun marcheth
towards Rome.

Barboun slaine

Pope Clement and
his Cardinals
imprisoned.

Slaine. Cam. 16.

Charles the Em-
perour fore grie-
ved at the Papes
captivity.

Troubles in Ire-
land.

(55) Whilst these things were in working at Rome, arose great troubles in Ireland, the *Keris* casting off all obedience, and killing the Kings subjects where they found them: against whom *Thomas Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, made forth his power, and followed them himselfe with such danger of life, that the valor of his Helmet was shot off, as hee pursued the enemy through the desert woods: but these Rebels cut off by his high valour, and warres proclaimed as one time against *Scotland* and *France*, the Lord Lieutenant was recalled into *England*; and *Piers Butler* Earle of *Ormy* made Depuie of Ireland in his stead; betwixt whom, and *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*, whose sister hee had married, arose no little strife and debate, which grew to that height as King *Henry* sent Commissioners to trie and examine the differences, which was so cleared on *Kildare's* behalfe, that *Ormy* was discharged of his Office, and the Lord *Fitz-Gerald* swore depuie in his place; whereas *Cardinal Wolsey*, whose hand chiefly directed all states affaires, a deadly enemy to the Earle of *Kildare* was highly offended, and to undermine the foundations of this his new Government, gave care unto *Ormy*, who accused the new depuie of many mild manners, among which these were the principall; that he winked at *Desmonds* escape whom he should have attached by order from the King: that he grew oer familiar with the native Irish; and that hee pot to death the Kings best subjects: for these the Lord Depuie was commanded into *England*, in whole absente *Ormy* his enemie was againe chosen Lord Depuie by the Kings Council, but himselfe none of the wisest for politticke Government, was altogether therein ruled by his wife, and shee made it no courttesie to abole her husbands honour against her natural brothers folly: who now in *England* must answer his demerits before the Lords of the Councell, and to their Table was hee brought, where the Cardinall Lord Chanceller made his faults nothing lesse, and thus addressed himselfe against the Earle of *Kildare*.

The Cardinall
speaks at the
Councill Table
against *Kildare*.

(56) "I wot well (my Lord) that I am not the meekest at this boord to charge you with these treasons, because it hath pleased some of your Pew-fellowes to report, that I am a professed enemy to all Nobilitie, and namely to the *Giraldines*: but seeing every shrewd boy can say as much when he is controuled, and they points to weighty, that they should not be dissembled of vs, and so apparant, that they cannot be denied of you: I must haue leave (notwithstanding your false slander) to be the mouth of these honourable Lords at this present, and to trumpe your treasons in your way, howsoever you take me first you remember, how the lewde Earle of *Desmond* your kinsman (who passeth not whom hee leueth might hee change his Master) sent his Confederates with letters of credence unto *Francis* the French King: and having but cold comfort there, went to *Charles* the Emperour proffering the helpe of *Monsieur*, and *Cambray*, towards the Conquest of Ireland, if either of them would helpe to win it from our King *Henry*: many letters, what precepts, what messages, what threats, haue beene sent you to apprehend him, and yet not done! Why so? Forsooth I could not catch him! Nay, say Earle, forsooth you would not watch him: If hee bee iustly suspected, why are you partiall so to great a charge! If not, why are you fearful to haue him tried? Yea, for it will bee sworn and depoued to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfully, flattered his sight, altered your counsell, warned your friends, stopped both eares and eyes, against his detectors, and whensoever you took vpon you to hunt him out, then was hee sure afore hand to be out of your walke. Surely, this mingling and false play, little became either an honest man called to such honour, or a Noble man put in so great trust:

"had you lost but a Cow or a Horse of your own, two hundred of your retainers would haue come at your Whille to rescue the prey from the vitermost edge of *Wylster*: all the Irish in Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But in pursuing to needfull a matter as this was; mercifull God, how nice, how dangerous, bow wayward haue you bene? One while hee is from home, and another while hee keepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the Borders, where you dare not venture. Y wisse, my Lord, thee bee strowed bogges in the borders, for the Earle of *Kildare* nor feare; the Earle, say the King of *Kildare*: for when you are disposed, you raighe more like them rule in the land: where you are pleased the Irish for standeth for a just Subject: beards and hands, liues and lands are all at your courttesie: who fawneeth not thereon, cannot rest within your liueland, and your smell so rancke, that you tricke them out at pleasure. Whilst the Cardinall was speaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour & at last brake out, and interrupted him thus.

(57) "My Lord Chanceller I beseech you pardon me, I am short witted, and you I perceive intend a long tale. If you proceed in this order, half my purgation will be lost for lack of carriage: I haue no Schoole tricks, nor art of memory: except you heare me while I remember your words, your second proccesse will hammer out the former. The Lords associate, who for the most part tenderly looe *Kildare*, and knew the Cardinall his manner of taunts to ready being inured therewith many yeeres together, humble besought hit graue to charge him directlie with particulars, and to dwell in some one matter vntill it were examined thoroughly.

(58) That granted: It is good reason (quoth the Earle) that your Grace beare the mouth of this boord: but my Lord, those mouths that put these things into your mouth, are very wide mouths: such iocodes as haue gaped long for my wracke: and now at length for want of better Busse, are faine to fill their mouths with smoke: what my Cousen *Desmond* hath compassed, as I know not, so I bestrew his naked heart for holding out so long. I beleeue hee is taken by mine agents that presently wait for him, then haue mine aduersaries bewailed their malice: and this heape of beinuous wordes shall resemble a Scarre-Crow, or a man of straw that seemeth at a blush to carry some proportion, but when it is felt and peized, discouereth a vanity serving oonly to feare Crows: and I verily trust your honours shall see the prooff by the thing it selfe, within these few daies. But goe to suppose he neuer be had? What is *Kildare* to blame for it more then my good brother of *Ormy*, who, notwithstanding his high promises, hauing also the Kings power, is yet content to bing him in at leisure? Cannot the Earle of *Desmond* shift but I must be of Councell? Cannot hee hide him except I wink? If he be close am I his master? If he be friend am I a traitor? This is a double kind of accusation which they vye against me, wherein they are shelled and mired at my first denall. You would not see him (say they) who made them so familiar with mine eie-sight? Or when was the Earle within my view? Or who stood by when I let him slip? Or where are the tokens of my wilfull hodgepodge? But you sent him word to beware of you: who was the messenger? Where are the letters? Concoine my neglige, see how loose this idle geare haegeth together. *Desmond* is not taken: well, you are in fault: why? Because you are: who propheth it? No body: What Conscience? So it seemeth: To whom? To your enemies. Who rold it them? They will sweare it. What other ground? None: Will they sweare it my Lord? why then of like they know it, either they haue mine hand to shew, or can bring forth the messenger, or were present at a Conference, or pri-

Kildare interrupts the Cardinall's tale.

The Lords take notice *Kildare*.

He answers the Cardinall's accusation.

"use to *Defend*, as I come body bewraide it to them,
 "or they themselves were my Carriers or vicege-
 "rents therein: which of these parts will they choofe,
 "for I know them too well. To reckon my life
 "consult by their bare wordes, or beadlelike sayings,
 "or feutricake oathes, were but mere mockerie. My
 "letters were soone read, were any such writing ca-
 "sant, my seruants, and friends are ready to be list-
 "ned: of my Cosen of *Defmond* they may lie
 "loudly, since no man here can well contrary
 "them. Touching my selfe I neuer noted in
 "them much wit, or so fall faith, that I would haue
 "gaged on their silence the life of a good bound,
 "much lesse mine owne: I doubt not, may it please
 "your honors to appose them, how they came to
 "the knowledge of those matters which they are so
 "ready to depose: but you shall find their tongues
 "chained to another mans trencher, and as it were
 "Knights of the Post, suborned to say, *swear* and
 "stare the vitermost they can, as those that passe not
 "what they say, nor with what face they say it, so
 "they say no truth: but on the other side, it grieueth
 "mee, that your good Grace, whom I take to bee
 "wise and sharpe, and who of your blessed disposi-
 "tion witheth mee well, should bee so farre gone in
 "crediting these corrupt Informers that abuse the
 "ignorance of your state and Country to my peril.
 "Little know you (my Lord) how necessary it is,
 "not only for the Governour, but also for eury
 "Nobleman in *Ireland*, to hamper the vniuall
 "neighbours at discretion, wherein if they waited
 "for proceffe of law, & had not those liues and lands
 "you speak of within their reach, they might hap-
 "pily looke their own liues & lands without law. You
 "hear of a case as it were in a dream, & feele not the
 "man that vereth vs. In *England* there is not a man
 "so subiect that dare lend his hand to fillip a Peere
 "of arealm: In *Ireland* except the Lord haue cunning
 "to his strength, and strength to face his Crowne,
 "and sufficient authority to take theues and varlets
 "when they stir, he shall find them (warre so fall
 "that it will bee too late to call for iustice. If you
 "will haue our seruice take effect, you must not
 "tie vs alwayes to these iudiciall proceedings wher-
 "with your Realme (thanked be God) is iured.
 "Touching my kingdom, I know not what your
 "Lordshippe should mean thereby. If your Grace
 "imagine that a Kingdome consisteth in seruing
 "God, in obeying the Prince, in governing with
 "loue the common wealth, in supporting subiects,
 "in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in brid-
 "ling blind affections, I would bee willing to bee
 "inuested with so vertuous and roiall a name: but if
 "therefore you team me a King, in that you are per-
 "suaded that I repine at the government of my loue-
 "raign, or wink at malefactors, or oppress ciuill li-
 "uers: I verily disclaime that odious term, maruelling
 "greatly that one of your Graces profound wisdom
 "would seepe to appropriate so sacred a name to so
 "wicked a thing: but howsoever it bee (my Lord)
 "I would you and I had changed Kingdome, but
 "for one month. I would truit to gather vpp
 "more crummes in that space, then twice the reue-
 "nues of my poore Earldome: but you are well
 "and warre, and so hold you, and vpbraide not
 "mee with such an odious terme. I flumber in a
 "hard Cabine, when you sleepe in a soft bedde of
 "Downe: I herue vnder the Kings Cope of bea-
 "uen, when you are serued vnder a Canopie: I
 "drinke water out of my skull when you drinke
 "wine out of golden cups: my Courier is trained
 "to the field, when your Gennet is taught to am-
 "ble: when you are graced & belorded, & crouched
 "and kneeled vnto, then find I small grace with our
 "Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.
 "At these girde the Lord Chancellor most fretted,
 "and finding *Kildare* to bee no base deferred the hea-
 "ring of his cause, till more proofes were produced
 "from *Ireland*; then in a great fume hee arose from

the Councell board, and committed the Earle vn-
 to prison, against the minds of most at the Table,
 who knew well, that this his accusation was more
 of haured borne by the Cardinall, then any occa-
 sion given by the accused late Deputy. Whereupon
Thomas Duke of Norfolk shropt to the King, and cra-
 ued that *Kildare* might bee his prisoner, offering to
 bee bound in goods and body for his forth com-
 ming, whom hee obtained, though with no great
 liking of the L. Chancellor, who daily entertained new
 plaines against him, till at last hee pressed him fore
 with letters sent to *Oswald* and *Desaur*, to encourage
 their rebellions against *Oswald* the Lord Deputy;
 which letters were brought them by his own daugh-
 ter and their sisters, the Lady *Elise Fitzgould* wife to
 the Baron of *Slane*.

(19) This presumption being vehement, the
 King suspicious, the Cardinall eager, and his friends
 faint, *Kildare* was sent to the Tower, where hee com-
 mitted himselfe to God, and expected daily his
 death, but with such couragious resolution, as hee
 being in play with the Lieutenant as slide-groat,
 when the mandate was brought for his execution
 on the next morning, and seeing the Lieutenant
 stracke into a suddaine fadnesse; by *Saint Brule*,
 Lieutenant (quoth the Earle) there is some madde
 game in that crowle; but fall how it will, this throw
 is for a huddle: and when the worst was told him,
 now I pray thee (quoth hee) doe no more but learne
 assuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his
 Highnesse be witting thereto or no; the Lieute-
 nant louing his prisoner well, repaired to the King,
 and shewed him the Cardinalls warrants, who then
 controuled the shewies of the Priests (for those were
 his earmes) and gaue the Lieutenant his Signer for
 a countermand, wherat the Cardinall fumed, but
Kildare delivered from his eminent death, and not
 long after from his imprisonment also, was sent in-
 to *Ireland*, where at his entrance into *Dublin*, he was
 met with a solemne procession, and so brought into
 the City; so wellbeloued was this Earle abroad, and
 at home.

(60) But the French Kings fortunes were nothing
 so good, who was straitly imprisoned at *Madrid* in
Spain, and great sure made for his deliuerance,
 which notwithstanding would not be heard. The
 Queene mother then Regent of *France*, wife of her
 selfe, and forwarded by others, saw no better means
 to free her sonne the King, then to enter amity with
England, which to accomplish, she solicited King
Henry working vpon the occasions then ministred,
 which was some vnkindnesse growne betwixt the
 English King, and the Emperour, the one of them
 more strange by the greatness of his fortunes, and
 the other in iacobulie of lessening renowne. The
 sparks of which Cinders were flied to flame, by
Wesley that cuer was in the care of the King: allend-
 ing his potency, so much esteemed of all Christian
 Princes (a sound very true in *Henries* wide care)
 would bee lesse regarded by the Emperours late vic-
 tory; who now beganne to carry himselfe with
 another respect, and neuer after that victory goun-
 ten subscribed his letters to King *Henry*, according
 to his accustomed manner, *your Sonnet and Cosen*;
 but to the draught of his Secretaries, infused his hand
 with the word *Charles* and no more.

(61) These dislikes and other intercourses of
 State, drew *Henry* shortly to a peace with *France*.
 In the exemplification of which league the Veneti-
 ans, and other Princes were left to their choise,
 wherof himselfe notwithstanding would bee filed
 the Protector. And to his leaguer Ambassadors
 sent these instructions to moue the Sentes to con-
 sider the Emperours aspired greaxnelle, who now
 commanded the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*;
 the Duchie of *Millan*, the Seigniorie of *Tenn*, the
 Countie of *Asti*, and other possessions in *Italy*, the
 whole Country of *Germany*, being the greatest
 part of Christendome, already either totally in his

Kildare consid-
 red so prison.

Kildare needed
 no shewing of
 Tenthers.

Kildare contin-
 ued to the
 Tempt.

Kildare noble
 courage,
 which was
 not in *Ireland*.

Kildare returned
 into Cabine with
 peace of flowe;

The French
 King imprisoned
 at *Madrid*,
 Gathers.

Queene mother
 solicited King
Henry.

Diffike betwixt
 the Emperour
 and *Kildare*.

Peace betwixt
 England and
 France.

Signed with his
 own hand, in
 Anno 1564.

The great Do-
 minion of the
 Emperour.

In what case
 should the Nobles
 of *Ireland*
 with *Kildare*.

I neither will nor intend to consent vnto the said Contract, or vnto the said Lady Katherine as my elipouill and wife, by any word, deede, act, or gesture to be spoken, done, performed, or acted by me, or in my name, by any whomsoever, whensoever, or howsoever for the time to come. In witness whereof I desire, require, cōtestre, and adize you all to giue testimonye hereunto.

By me Henry Prince of Wales.

The above written Protestation was read and made by the aforesaid Noble Prince Lord Henry, in the presence of the reverend Father and Lord in Christlike Lord Richard by divine permission Bishop of Winchester sitting iudicially in his Court; and I the Notary under-written, at that time present, the writer of his Acts in this behalfe appointed, and in the presence of the under-named witness for the years of our Lord God, 1505 the eight Indiction of the most holy See, of our father and Lord in Christ, by divine providence Pope I thus the second, in his second year, and 27. of the month of June, in which day the said worthy Prince was of perfect years of marriage, as then he did there affirm: in a certain outward Court within the wall Palace of Richmond, situate in the West-part of the said Palace: Concerning all and singular which things, the aforesaid most noble Prince instantly required and entreated me the aforesaid Notary to frame an instrument, and likewise the witness for underwritten to give testimonye. In satisfaction of all and singular the premises, the aforesaid Noble Prince hath subscribed his names and the witness for as aforesaid entreated and required have subscribed their names, with their own hands.

Miles Dabney.

C. Summer set.

Thomas Knythale.

Nicolas Wyll.

Harry Mury.

So it is as aboue said which I John Read doe witness by my hand and Seale.

The second protestation when he came to yeeres of marriage.

Notwithstanding this prescription foure yeeres after, and the first of his raigne, hee tooke the said Lady Katherine to wife; and without all exception enioied her nuptial society the space almost of twenty yeeres; in which time shee had borne him two sonnes, both of them in their infancy taken away by death, and one daughter Lady Mary growne now vnto tenne yeeres of age. But the scruple of Conscience increasing more tender in the Kings breaſt, he first refused the Queenes bed; and then mousing the doubt vnto his owne Diuines, sent for the opinions of the most Vniuersities in Europe, as to Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Amou, Padua, Tolous, Vincennes, Ausis, Ferrara, and others, which howsoever they then stood for the Pope, and hee allowing (by his Predecessors dispensation whose doing could not erre) the Maximisme lawfull, yet these Academics concluded against it, and signified the contrary vnder most of their common Seales as the relation of the Kings Agent imploied vpon the same purpose for that of Padua doth import, which writing vnder his owne hand I haue scene, and heere will insert his words, as followeth.

Please it your Highnesse to bee advertised, that at this day I obtained the Common Seale of the vniuersity of Padua in substantiall and good forme, for all the Doctors were assembled vpon Sunday, and the case was a-mongst them solemnly and earnestly disputed all Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and this present Friday in the morning. And thereupon they concluded with your Highnesse, and desired a Notary to set his signe and hand vnto an instrument by Leuicams and Simonemus devised in Corroboration of your cause, and thereby to testify that this instrument was their deed, desire, act and

conclusion. And more credite to be giuen to the said instrument they caused the Chancellor of the Vniuersitye here to set his hand and seale for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Copy of all the which things I send vnto your Highnesse by this Bearer, in most humble wise beseeching the same to be advertised that the Generall of the Blacke Friers hath giuen commendement that no Blacke-friar dispute the Popes Power: Notwithstanding From Thomas Omibonus preaceth daily new superscriptions, and will doe till the briefe of contrary commendement shall come vnto his hands. My selfe thus bindeth me to advertise your Highnesse that all Lutherans bee utterly against your Highnesse in this cause, and hath leaped as much with their wretched poore souls without reason or authority, as they could and might, as well here as in Padua and Ferrara, where heere small company of them: I doubt not but all Christian Vniuersities if they bee well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highnesse. And to obtaine their assent as well through Italie, France, Alicant, Austria, Hungary and Scotland, I think it marvellous expedient for the perfectment of this your most honorable and high cause.

At Venice the first of Iuly at night, Anno 50.

And in another letter dated from Prouer the xiii. of Iuly the said Ageot thus writeth, I haue procured vnto your Highnesse as appeareth by the Original being in my hand alone, the Subscriptions of an hundred Diuines, before the conclusion Collegij Theologorum Pacinorum, vnder their common Seale, whereof I haue sent your Highnesse a Copy, &c.

Now as touching their determinations, these are the abstractions taken out of larger discourses, whereof you may reade, if you please more in Holbois.

The decree of the Lawiers in the Vniuersity of Paris.

We the Deane and Colledge of the Vniuersity of Paris, after many disputations and reasons, made vpon both sides, turning and searching of Bookes, both by the Law of God, the Popes Law and the Civil Law, we say, that the Pope hath no Power to dispense in this case of Matrimony. Yeeres vnder the Seale of their faculty at Saint Iohn Lateranense in Paris, May 2. 1530.

The Iudgement of the Diuines in the Vniuersity of Paris.

The Deane and the faculty of holy Diuinity in the Vniuersity of Paris to all them to whom this present writing shall come, wisheth safety in Christ; For the Question proposed we came together in the Church of Saint Martin, and there for the same cause had a solempne Masse of the Holy Ghost, and vpon our owne determination, that the aforesaid Marriage with the Brothers wife departing without children is so forbad by the Lawes of God and Nature, that the Pope hath no power to dispense with such Marriage, whether they be contracted or to be contracted, to which this our assertion we haue caused the Seale of our faculty, with our Notaries signe to be put to this present writing. Dated in our General Congregation July 2. Anno 1530.

The determination of the Ciouilians of the Vniuersity of Anio.

After we the Doctors and Rector had discussed and examined many places aforesaid of the Law of God as of mans Law, vpon sufficient deliberation taken, we define and determine that neither by the Law of God nor of Nature, it is permitted for any Christian man, no act with the authority of the See Apostolike, or with any dispensation granted by the Pope to marry the wife that his brother hath left. In witness whereof we haue commanded the Scribe of our Vniuersity to signe this present publicke instrument with the great Seale of our said Vniuersity. Enacted

The Cardinals signed to. Bonnot Caues.

The King refused the Queenes bed.

Ex Marisripe.

Enacted in the Church of Saint Peter in Avony. May 7th
Anne 1530.

The Determination of the Vniversity of Burges.

We the Deane and facultie of Diuinity in the Vniuersity
of Burges, after the example of Sanni Paul the Doctor
of the Gentiles, begin with prayer to the quiting of the
conference to whom this our writing shall come; the Ques-
tion moued is whether the brother taking the wife of
his dead brother, the marriage consummated, and perfect,
be a thing lawfull or no. we by much labour and turning
of Brakes, eury one of vs a part by himselfe, free from
corruption, the better to obey the truth, finde it forbidden
by the Leviticall law which is Gods, and that such marri-
age is an abominable defouering of his brothers flame,
which cannot be allowed by the authority of any man;
which our determination we haue caused to be signed with
the seale of our faculty the tenth day of Iune, and yere of
our Lord, 1530.

The opinions of the Diuines in the Vniuersity of Banny.

All wee Doctors of Diuinity in this Vniuersity, vnto
whom this Question was propounded, whether it was for-
bidden only by the Ordinance of the Church, or left by the
Law of God, that a man might and marry the wife of
his brother departed without children, and having exam-
ined the matter eury one of vs alone, lastly came alterge-
ther, and as it were line by line, and rule by rule, brought
forth their reasons for the contrary part, with those of the
most Reverend Father Cardinall Casterne and of the
disputation for raising up seed to his brother, spoken of in
Deuteronomie; thus we determine, give iudgement, and
say, and confidently doe hold and wintend that such marri-
age is horrible, execrable, and to be crined out oppen, and
utterly abominable, not only for a Christian man but for an
Infidel; unlawfull or heathen: and that it is prohibited con-
sider greivous paines and punishments by the Law of God,
of Nature, and of men, and that the Pope, though he may
doe much, vnto whom Christ gave the keys of the King-
dome of Heauen, hath no power to a dispensation to ouer-
come to contract such marriage: In witness whereof we con-
firm this our iudgement, both vnder the Seale of our V-
niuersity, as also with the Seale of our Colledge of Do-
ctors of Diuinity and haue subscribed it in the Cathedrall
Church of Banny the tenth of Iune, the yere of our
Lord, 1530.

The determination of the Vniuersity of Padua.

Seeing that certaine great Orators and Ambassadors
did humbly require of vs, that wee would vouchsafe to
search out with all diligence this question following, whe-
ther to marry the wife of our brother departed without
children is forbidden only by the Law of the Church, or
by the Law of God also: and if forbid by both the Lawes,
whether the Pope may dispence with any man for such
Matrimony or no? which Question we haue discussed
and as farre as we can, haue made it cleere, both private
eury man by himselfe and after altogether openly we say,
iudge, decree, wintend, and for truth assure, that such
marriage is no marriage: yea and that it is abhorred and
cursed of eury Christian man, and to be abominable as a
greivous sinne, and that it is cleerely forbidden vnder cru-
ell penalty by the Lawes of nature, of God, and of men,
and that the Pope vnto whom the keys of the Kingdome
of Heauen are committed by Christ the Sonne of God, hath
no power to dispense by the right of Law for any cause,
suggestion, or excuse, that any such Matrimony should
be contraited. In witness whereof we haue made this
writing, and haue authorized it, with the accustomed
Seale of our Vniuersity, dated at Padua in the Church of
the Hieronimes of Saint Augustine the first of Iuly, and
yere of our Lord, 1530.

The determination of the Vniuersity of Tholouze.

It was treated in our Vniuersity of Tholouze: whe-
ther it were lawfull for a brother to marry her which had
beene wife to his brother now departed, and without chil-
dren: as also whether the Pope might bath the cure of
Christi flocke allowing it by his dispensation, it be lawfull
therefore which, the best Doctors of Diuinity, and the
Law, did sweare that they would obey the sacred Canons
sets, and would follow the holy Decrees of the Fathers,
and falling to conclusion stuck fast upon this point, that it is
lawfull for no man, neither by the Law of God, nor by the
Law of nature, to take her to wife to his brother bath
left: neither can the Pope dispence with this Law of God,
as touching the commandment in Deuteronomie that the
brother should marry his wife to raise up seed vnto him,
that his name should not perish among the Tribes of Isra-
el, we answered that that Law was but a shadow and figure
of things to come, which vanished away as soon as the sub-
stance of the Gospell appeared. Thus haue we given our
sentence, which wee haue signed with our Antient
Seale of this Vniuersity. Tenues at Tholouze, the Calends
or first day of October, the yere of our Lord, 1530.

These and many more were read by the Lord
Chancellor vnto the lower house of Parliament
that they might report in their countries; the Kings
iust cause of disorde. To forward which (as was
thought) Cardinall Wolsey the said Lord Chancellor
was sent Ambassadour into France, laden with
Crownes, as Guichebardin faith, and with surpassing
Pompe as London behelde, who with good Horie
passed the Bridge toward Dener, and so into France.

But rumors in England full spreading of the good
Queens disorde about a yere after, K. Henry to satis-
fie all sent for his Nobles, his Councellers, Iudges,
and many wise Commoners vnto whom he made
a most pithy Oration, shewing them with what
care he had ruled almost twenty yeres with ho-
nour and victory, which as he said, would shortly
be clouded, if he should die and leave them a lit-
igious Heire, example he shewed of the wooll ex-
perience of *Leuegher and Zerk*, in whose dissenti-
ons the Realme was like to haue beene vterly de-
stroyed; and although (saith he) we haue a daugh-
ter to the great comfort of her mother and me,
yet it is told vs by great Clearkes, our marriage is
not lawfull, but that the stande in case of illegitima-
tion; and we both, afraid to lye in abomin-
able Adultery; I thinke you (my Lords) that these
words doe not touch my very soule, the perill
whereof we venture, as you doe also your inheri-
tance, for which cause I haue asked counsell of the
greatest Clearkes in Christendome, and haue like-
wise heard the opinion of mine owne. But as tou-
ching the Queene, if it bee iudged by the Law of
God that she is my lawfull wife, there shall be no-
thing more acceptable vnto mee, whose noble
conditions, I assure you, (besides her great
Parentage) is most gentle, louing and obedient;
whereof I haue had a true experience almost these
twenty yeres: and were I to choise a wife (if the
marriage might stand with Gods Law) my Choise
should be of her, before any other woman in the
world, and if it shall otherwise be proued, I shall
not onely be most sorrowfull for parting with so
louing a companion, but much more haue occasi-
on to lament my chance and life in so foule a sin;
these then are the sores that torment my minde,
for the losing of my soule, and for which cause I
haue heere assembled you, that you may declare
to our louing Subjects this our true meaning, and
to stay if it may be the rumors of vnfaired reports;
and this being said, he let them to depart, each man
bewraying in countenance the affection of his mind,
some pitying the King to fee him so perplexed, some
fauouring the Queene forwarde her case, and some
fighged

Galehard.
Rich. Turpin.
G. Cogan.

A. D. 1532.

The Kings Ora-
tion to his No-
bility.

Edward Hall.

The Kings ex-
position.

The commenda-
tion of Queen
Katherine.

fighed deeply at this strange speech and sudden alteration.

(68) But the *Cardinal of Turke* fearefull to wade too farre alone in this troubled waters, desired the assistance of the learned in the Realme, and thereto got the Kings licence, which with his Legatine authority, commanded many learned men both Divines & Lawyers, from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, with the presence of many Bishoppes besides. These assembled at *London*, were shewed the Instruments and Seales of many foraine universities, all of them disallowing the marriage, and holding the dispensation (allowing it) unlawfull: but because that King could not bee touched without sound of reproch to the Pope, as also to clear the King from calumnious reports; it was thought fittest to send the said Instruments to *Rome*, whereunto theie so appointed for their owne seales, with a humble request to his Holinesse, that an indifferent Iudge might be sent thence, to determine this great and strange cause of the King; which was so followed by his Ambassadors in the Pope Court, that *Laurance Campian* a Cardinal of great credite and wisdom, from their Consistory was sent into *England*, vnto whom, *Willelmy* Cardinal of *Turke* was ioined in commission, with power to erect a Court, to heare the cause pleaded, & to give sentence definitive, as they found the equity of law.

(69) To that end therefore a place was ordained at the Blacke-fryers in *London* and the King with the Queene removed themselves vnto his palace of *Brickwell* nere adioining, whence ere long they were summoned by *Proccelle* personally to appeare in Court, which accordingly they did, having funeralle seates ordained vnder clothes of estate, mounted somewhat higher then the two Cardinals, the Presidents, vnder whose feet sat the Scribes and other Officers; the Court being framed Consistory-wise, was furnished with Bishoppes, Doctors, Lawyers, and learned Counsellors, in most solemne wise: the Doctors for the King, were *Simpson* and *Bell*, and his Proctors *Peter* and *Tregonell*; for the Queene were *Fisher*, *Standish*, and *Ridley*, a very little man but a great Diuine, the Court thus set, and Commission read, the Crier called the King, by the name of King *Henry* to come into the Court, who forthwith answered and said, Here. Then was the Queene called by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court, who made no answer at all, but presently rose vp, and going about the Court to the King, fell down on her knees before his feet, and in the hearing of the people spake thus in effect.

"Sir, I desire you to take some pity vpon mee, and doe mee Iustice and Right: I am a poore woman, a stranger borne out of your Dominions, hauing here no indifferent Councell, and lesse assurance of friendship. Alas, wherein haue I offended, or what cause of displeasure haue I given, that you intend thus to put mee away? I take God to my Iudge, I haue bene to you a true and humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, neuer gaine-saying any thing wherein you tooke delight, without all grudge or discontented countenance; I haue loved all them that loved you, howeuer their affections haue bene to mee ward, I haue borne you children, and bin your wife now this twenty yeeres, of my virginity and marriage bed, I make God and your own conscience the Iudge, and if it otherwise bee proved, I am content to bee put from you with shame. The King your Father in his time for wisdom was knowne to bee a second *Salomon*, and *Ferdinando* of *Spain* my Father, accounted the wisest among their Kings; could they in this match bee so farre offencere, or are there now wiser and more learned men, then at that time were? Surely, it seemeth wonderfull to mee that my marriage after twenty yeeres should bee thus called in question with new inuention against me

"who neuer intended but honestly. Alas, Sir, I see I am wronged, hauing no Councill to speake for me, but such as are your Subiects, and cannot bee indifferent vpon my part. Therefore I most humbly beseech you, euen in Charity to say this course, vntill I may haue aduise and counsel from *Spain*; if not, your Graces pleasure be done. And therewithall rising, and making lowly obeysance to the King, departed thence, leaning vpon the Arme of her receiuer, each man expecting thee had returned to her seat, when as she tooke directiue out of the place, which being perceiued, the Crier againe called her by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court; Madam quoth her guide, you are againe called, on, on, said shee, it maketh no matter, this is no indifferent Court for mee, therefore goe forward.

(70) The King perceiving that she was departed, presently spake thus vnto the assembly. "I will (quoth hee) in her absence declare before you, I, that she hath bene to mee a most true, obedient and comfortable wife, endured with all vertuous qualities and conditions, according to her birth; and in lowlinesse equals any of baier estate. With that Cardinal *Willy* made vnto the King an humble request, that his Maiesty would bee pleased to declare before that honourable audience, whether hee had bene the cause of this his intended dishonour, wherewith hee was charged in the opinions of the people.

"My Lord Cardinal quoth the King, I can well excuse you in this, and rather asseure that you haue bene against mee, in attempting it thus far; but the chiefest motive for this matter, was the scruple of conscience, conceived vpon certaine words spoken by the Bishop of *Bayne*, the French Ambassador, sent from the King to conclude a marriage betwixt Prince *Henry* his second sonne, Duke of *Orleanes*, and our onely daughter Lady *Mary*, which Bishoppe made doubt, and desired respite to be satisfied for the legitimacion of our said daughter, in respect of our marriage with this woman, being my owne brothers wife, which presently engendered such scruples and doubts in mee, that my conscience hath bene continually vexed, lest by continuing in that saine after knowledge, I draw Gods indignacion against mee, which I feare wee haue already done in that he hath sent vs no Issue male, and them that were begot in this nuptiall bed, no sooner came into the world, but were taken againe thence, and hopelesse now of more issue by her, it behoueth me to consider the state of this Realme, and the danger that may follow for lacke of a lawfull Prince to succeed. This burden too weighty for my weakke conscience (not in any dislike of the Queenes age, or person, with whom I desire onely to continue, if our marriage may stand with the law of God) I haue in this place assembled vnto our grace Prelates, and learned Diuines, to determine of, and will God willing submit my selfe to your Iudgements. My doubts in this case I moned in confession to you my Lord of *Lincolne*, and ghostly father, whereof your selfe being somewhat troubled, said you would aske counsell of you all my Lords. Then of you my Lord of *Canterbury* being Metropolitan, I got licence to put the matter in question, to which I grant you all put your seales, as here in this Court the same is to bee done. True it is, said the Lord of *Canterbury*, and I doubt not but that all my brethren here present will acknowledge the same. Not so my Lord said the Bishoppe of *Beche*, your neuer had my hand to that Instrument, nor neuer shall. Indeed said *Canterbury* you did it not your selfe, but admitted mee to subscribe your name, and allowed mee your Seale; vnder your correction said *Beche*, that is not so; Well, well, (quoth the King) you are but one man, against whom at this time we will not dispute, and so rose vp, and the Court adioined

George Chene, learned men assembled to decide the Kings marriage.

The solemnities of many Vniuersities were done. John Struw, pag 713.

Cardinal Campian cometh into England.

The King and Queene summoned to appeare personally in the Court at Blacke Fryers.

Queene Katherine departs from the King.

Queene Katherine departed the Court.

The King reports of his Queene.

The King excuses the Cardinals.

King Henrys conscience and case.

The Bishoppe of Beche is considered by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The second fe-
to-g of the
Comen Black
Tyrus.

For the 9. 11. 14

Mallesp. p. 113

Barlowe to dis-
pense the mar-
riage.

Edward Bull.

Great prefen-
tion that Op.
Katherine had
been carnally
known by Prince
Arthur.

Ex. 14. by the
King's Agent.

The Emperor
ought to reu-
ert the sentence
of Pado.

The two Cardi-
nals went to
the Queen.

My first speech
to the Queen.

The Queen's
answer.

vntill another day. Which was vpon the next fol-
lowing, and twenty of May, the two Cardinals be-
ing let, the Lawyers were ready vpon either parts.
Against the lawfulness of the marriage was allead-
ged the other formerly solemnized with Prince Ar-
thur, the Kings elder brother, and the special know-
ledge of Lady Katherine's body, which was vehe-
mently proleated by the Kings learned Council,
by many reasons and likelihood of truth: one was,
that Prince Henry had bene deferred from crea-
tion and title of Prince of Wales, the space of fixe mo-
nethes after Arthurs decease, as doubtfull whether
Lady Katherine had bene by him concieued with
child; for which cause as was alleadged the said
Lady had procured a second Bull from the Pope,
with this tuleration, *vel forsan cognitam, et per-
sonarum carnally knowne*: which Bull was onely pur-
chased to dispence with this marriage. Thus the
carnally knowe, was vrged the report of his
Chamberlaine, vpon certain wordes spoken by
Prince Arthur the first morning that hee rose from
her bed.

(71) The Negatives denied all the presumptions,
and this last, too farre vnto the contrary that reuerent
assembly and honorable Court. But by these Au-
thenticall Records which M. Fox had in his custody,
the matter is past all contradiction for her carnall
knowledge, where it is affirmed that the Ambassa-
dors of *Ferdinand*, being in England to see the same
marriage consummated, returned their knowledge
of their mutual coniunction, as that nothing was
left vpperformed of any natiual right, and they
being of yeeres able to explete the Act, hee about
fifteen, and shee about seenteene, liued both in
one bed almost five monethes together, doe assure
the certainty of that, which they made their
greatest doubt, vntill the Papes dispensation was
a Core to the cause. But that shee was carnally
knowne the Vniuersity of Padua had concluded in
their sentence, whom the Emperors Ambassadors
carnally solicited, either to retract their said grant,
or to give forth a new sentence vpon the case that the
Queene was not *carnaliter cognita ab illiusdem Prin-
cipe Arthuro*, or to determine that this Matrimony
was not *deridendum*, which in no wise they could
obtaine though they offered very largely to haue it
done. Thus from day to day the pleas proceeded,
but nothing concluded touching the disoore; where-
vpon the King sent the two Cardinals to perswade
with the Queene to put the whole matter onely to
himselfe, which would bee farre better, and more
honourable for her, then to stand to the tryall of
law.

(72) These Legates accordingly repaired to
Bridewell, and in presence staied for the Queene, who
presently from among her maides at worke came
forth vnto them, hauing a skene of white therade
about her necke, at whose sight the said, alacke my
Lords, I am very sorry to make you attend vpon
me; what is your will? ife please your Grace (quoth
Cardinal *Wolsey*) to go into your priuy Chamber,
we will deliuer the cause of our coming: my Lord
(quoth she) this place is most fit, I pray you there-
fore declare here your minds. With that hee began
his speech in Latine which she presently interrupted,
saying, that shee vnderstoode the English very
well.

(73) Madam (quoth the Cardinal) wee are
come in good will, to know your Graces mind, in
this great matter of your marriage, and to giue
you our aduise with the best seruice wee can. My
Lords (said she) I thank you, but for answer of
my resolution, I cannot so suddenly make the cause
is great, and toucheth mee very neere; I am here
a stranger, a poore woman lacking witte, not able
to answer such noble and wise personages as yee
be, I haue need of counsell, and they be in Spain;
for thinke you my Lords, that any English subjects,
will bee for me against the King? forsooth I know

"they will not, I pray your Lordships be good vnto
me, a forrainger and destitute of friends, and aduise
mee with your Counsell, which I will bee glad to
heare. And thereupon taking them by the hands,
led them into her Chamber, where they staid
somewhat long, which done they departed, and
made relation of her answer vnto the King. Who
nothing pleased at the answer shee made them, first
againe certain Lords vnto her, to shew her the de-
terminations of those Christian Vniuersities, who
had prescribed the marriage vnlawfull, and to wish
her to remit the matter for the quieting of the kings
conscience vnto foure Prelates, and foure temporall
Lords: vnto whom shee answered saying, "the King
my Father which concluded my marriage, I am
sure was not so ignorant, but he asked counsell of
Clerkes and well learned men, before hee married
me the second time: for if he had had any doubt in
my marriage, hee would haue doubted in
great treacheries hee did, and then all the Doctors
agreed my marriage to be good: in so much that
the Pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be
done, did both dispense and ratifie the second ma-
riage, against whose doings I maruaile that a-
ny person will speake or write. But as touching the
determinations of the Vniuersities, I am a woman
and lacke witte and learning to answer to them,
but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whe-
ther they haue done fully or partially: for this I
am sure, that neither the Kings father, nor my fa-
ther would haue condempned our marriage, if it
had bene declared to bee vnlawfull: and where
you say, I should put the cause to eight persons
of this Realme for quietness of the Kings conscience,
I pray God send his Grace a quiet conscience: and
this shall bee your answer, that I say I am his
lawfull wife, and to him lawfully married, and by
the order of the holy Church, I was to him espou-
sed as his true wife (although I was so worthy and
in that point I will abide till the Court of Rome
which was priuy to the beginning, haue made cher-
of a determination and final end.

(74) The King then hopefull of his Queenes
consent hastned his Lawyers to forward their disoore,
which daily they did, and the Confistory at Black-
Friars daily frequented, all points in Law were o-
pened to the full, so that nothing now remained but
the sentence of the Iudges: for which a solemn day
was assigned when the King in person came to heare
it himselfe. His seat taken, and the Court set, after
a Erie for silence the proceedings were openly read,
and all doubts cleared, the learned Counsell at Barre
called for Iudgement, whereunto *Campeius* the Papes
floure Champlion, vpon his blisse gourly legges stood
vp, all men expecting the sentence of Disoore, but
the Cardinal now not to leaue what hee had fur-
merly determined, said flatly, I will not giue iudge-
ment in this matter, too high for vs, considering
the effects of the Persons, and the doubtfullnesse
of the occasions alleged, vntill I haue made a full
relation to the Papes holiness of all our proce-
dings, whose counsell and commandement in this
case I will obserue and follow, vnder whose autho-
rity we sit and are commissioners, therefore I will
adiourne the Court for this time according to the
order of the Court of Rome from whence our irre-
missible iurisdiction is deriued. Which how it dis-
pleased the King, the Sequell will shew, and how
then taken the words of the Duke of *Suffolke* did wel
declare, who stepping forth with a firme counte-
nance vfed these words, It was neuer merry in Eng-
land since we haue had any Cardinals among vs.

The lodgement thus staied, the King sent his Se-
cretary *Stephen Gardiner* to Rome, to follow that
Court, whether Queene Katherine had made her
appeale: and Cardinal *Campeius* admitted to de-
part, went away in no such estate, as was held fit for
a man of his place, but rather as one suspected to
carry with him more then his owne, had all his
Chests

King Henry pro-
ceedeth his
disoore.

Cardinal Cam-
peius releaseth
the cause of Di-
uorce to the
iudgement of
the Pape.

The Dying of
the Duke of
Suffolke.

The Cardinall

Chairs searched at

John Stileman,

Cam. Lib. 9.

The cause why

Campanio should

be so.

Wolfe's greatness

Wolfe's pag. 84

St. Paul's, 4th

Fishes.

Edna, Campanio

Edna, Mal.

Campanio's a

good subject.

Wolfe's declina-

tion.

Wolfe's Cam. Lib.

St. Paul's, 4th

Wolfe's 4.

Wolfe's 4th

Edna, Mal.

The cause of

gratitude against

the Cardinall.

Chairs searched at *Calixtus*, eaten to the *Chokes* and *Males*. The cause of this *Stay* (saith *Stileman*) was, that the *French King*, an entire friend unto *Rome*, had no better sincere in *Naples*, against the *Emperour*, whom the *Pope* durst not dislike, the *Lady Katherine* being his Aunt, for whom the *Emperour* was so earnest, as in her behalfe he laboured *Millions* and many other places, that their learned men should not determine against the said *Queene*. But whatsoever the cause was, that *Campanio* denied his sentence for the *Diocese*, certain it is, that *Cardinall Wolsey*, fell likewise in great displeasure of the *King*, though hee sought to excuse himselfe with want of sufficient authority: but now his *Sonne* having passed the *Mendian* of his greatness, began by degrees againe to decline, till lastly it let vnder the cloud of his fatalle eclipse.

(71) Formerly we have spoken of the rising of this man, who now being swolne so bigge by the blasts of promotion, as the bladder not able to containe more greatness, suddenly burst, and vented forth the wind of all former favours. Vaine glorious he was, in state in diet, and in rich furniture for house, and in prodigall intertainments, more like to a Prince than a Prelate, attended with so many officers, and seruants as is almost incredible, were not his *Check-roll* yet to be seene. At his masse he was served by *Dukes*, and *Earles*, who took the affaie of his wine on their knees, and held him his *Balen* at the *Lauatorie*. And being *Ambassador* vnto the *Emperour* at *Brussels*, was there waited vpon by many noble men of *England*, and seated at Table by his seruitors vpon their knees, to the great admiration of the *Germanes* which beheld it: and indeed so much oerstopped the *Pompe* of a spirituall function, as hee seemed to the more humble, to be mad for ioy, and him doth *Campanio* iudge, rather to be a *Ballard* of some Prince, then the sonne of a *Burgher*, so moulded for the one, and so farre mounting from the other: exceedingly wife he was and very well spoken, but full of reuenge and vicious of body, thrall to affection, and lulled asleepe with flattery, miserable to get, but princely in bestowing, loy to his enemies, and neuertheles reconciled, which hastened his fall, when he first began for to slippe. *Queene Katherine* in her castle, did graciously accuse him, the *Counsell* for their parts, did arise against him, the *Law* found him to be a premanie vnto the *King*, and *St. Thomas Moore* in the high Court of *Parliament* inueighed bitterly against him.

(72) The first steppe of his descent was his dislike of the *Kings* affection vnto *Anne Bullen*, a Gentlewoman nothing fauourable to his *Pontificall* *Pompe*, nor no good follower of the *Rites* of those times, which moued the *Cardinall* (the *Pope* having affirmed the sentence of *Queene Katherine's* cause vnto himselfe) to write vnto his holinesse to deferre the iudgement of *Diocese*, till he had wrought the *Kings* mind in another mould. This was not done so secretly, but that it came to the *Kings* eare, and lastly cost the proud *Cardinall* his life. For the broad *Scale* first taken from him, and his other *Bishopricks* elsewhere bestowed, his House and furniture leased vpon, and himselfe removed into the North, at *Caesars* Castle fuen miles from *York*, was suddenly arreſted (for arrogant words importing a desire of reuengement, saith *Stileman*) by the *Earle of Northumberland*, whence he was conuoyed toward *London* by the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, in which iourney at *Leicester Abbey* he ended his life, whose death himselfe had hastened by taking an ouermuch quantity of a confection to bracke wine from off his stomacke, and in that Church was there entured.

(77) The grudges against this *Cardinall* were many and great, not onely for the especial fauour he stood in with the *King*, and great stroke he bare at *Counsell Board*, (both which commonly breed emulation vnto the man so elevated) but for his intolerable pillings, who to patch vp his pride in the

raising of his new Colledges, erected at *Oxford* and *Windsor*, by the licence of *Pope Clement 7*. suppressed some *Monasteries* of good fame, and bountifull *Hospitallitie*, converting all their goods and mouables into his owne *Colers*; which were so stuffed with treasure, that twelue *Barrels* full of gold and silver were laid aside, so farre the *Pope* in his warres. As also that he emptied the *Land* of twelue score thousand pound, enforced by him from the *King*: All which he converted to relieve, and ransom the *Pope* then in *Prison*, to the great impoverishing of his *Mairties* *Coffers*. That his owne reuenues by his faculties, licences, and other legitimate exactions did equalize the *Kings* yearly Reuenues, and lastly his pride so intolerable, as no lesse then twelue hundred horie for his retinue, fourscore Wagons for his carriage, and threecore Males for sumpter-horſes attended him into *France*. But *ſeu* *traſti gloria mundi*, and the highest *Boud* is subiect to an ebbe.

(78) But whilst the matter of the *Kings* marriage hung thus in suspense the space of two yeeres, and other *Ambassadors* intended to bee sent vnto *Rome*: it chanced *Doctor Cramer*, *Doctor Stephens*, and *Doctor Fox* to meet at *Walham* at one Table, where the two last, great Agents for the *King*, fell in discourse of his cause by termes, and strength of the *Ciail Law*. Well said *Doctor Cramer*, if might be heard, I thinke much better it might be tried by Gods Law: whereby the *King* should bee firstelected in the case of his Conscience, then thus to be posſed off with delays from yeere to yeere. This speech *Doctor Fox* made known to his Maieſtie, which founded very tannably in his eare, then was *Cramer* sent for, conferred with by the *King*, and commanded to write his minde in the matter, but with this caution prefixed, not to respect the persons but the cause; who to him commended the veruous perfections of his *Queene*, with whom about all others he most desired to continue, if Gods marriage could bee made warrantable by *Cow Lawes*: to which end he commended the care of *Bookes*, and of his other *Prouisions* vnto the *Earle of Wiltſhire* at *Darken* Place. The *Doctor* thus firste on worke, when he least looked to be so imploied, proued by *Scriptures*, *General Councils*, *Auncient Writers*, besides the present, and his owne opinion, that the *Bishop of Rome* had no authority to dispense with the word of God, nor the *Scriptures*.

(79) The treatise thus finished, he presented it to the *King*, which when he had well read, and weighed the substance therein concerned; Will you (quoth he) Master *Doctor* abide by what you haue writ? that will I by Gods grace find *Cramer*, euen before the *Pope* himselfe, if you Maieſty will so assigne it; Marry quoth the *King* to him shall you goe. Whereupon *Thomas Bullen Earle of Wiltſhire*, *Doctor Stokesley*, *Elſt of London*, *Doctor Leetie* the *King's* *Almoner*, the *Doctors* *Craut*, *Brower*, and *Cramer*, were sent to the *Pope* then at *Rome* in *Italy*. The day approached for audience of their *Ambosſſage*, and the high *Prelate* sat vpon his Throne of *Elate*, the *Doctor* prepared to make his *Oration* in defence of what he had writ, when on the *ſoudaine* he was interrupted by an vnmannely spurrill of the *Earles*, who seeing the *Pope* put forth his foot to be kist, caught in his teeth the *Pontificall* great Toe, so that these *Ambassadors* disdainig to kisse where the dogge had taken an assly, let the *Pope* draw backe his foot, and so lost that especial fauour offered vnto them. The Proposition then made, that no man here durſe could or ought to marry his brothers wife, and that the *Bishop of Rome* by no means could dispence to the contrary, was replied vnto, that it should be answered at more leisure, when his holinesse returned to *Rome*; in the meane while, so grace *Cramer* the more, he gratified him with the office of the *Penitentiarius*, and so dismissed the *Ambassadors*: who all, being *Cramer* returned

Mr. Fox in Acts and Monasteries. Forty Monasteries suppressed by Cardinal Wolsey.

Edna. Mal.

Doctor Cramer's opinion of the cause.

Doctor Cramer sent for to the King.

Cramer's collection against the Pope.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Pope.

Fox Acts and Monasteries, pag. 409.

Answer to the proposition put off.

ned to England, but he took his way towards the
Emperour (to whom the cause somewhat ap-
peained being then at Vienna in his expedition against
the Turke, vnto whose learned men he offered dis-
putation, and in private conference to satiate *Cornelius Agrippa*, the most respected for learning in the
Emperours Court, as he held the Proposition most
true. Whereupon others learned were discouraged
to dispute, and suffered *Cramer* to depart without a
ny further proceedings.

(30) The matter thus manifested in most parts of *Christendome*, this *Gerardus* knote was fully vntolced by King *Henric* himselfe, who now breides this his marriage, beganne to call in question, where as thorie the Pope had in his dominions, which being afterwards debated in Parliament, an Act passed against his vltured *Hierarchy*, and all persons forbidden to appeale, or to make any paymentes vnto *Rome*. The Kings marriage with Lady *Katherine*, was by the same Parliament dissolved, and his separation from her, made by the Archbishop of *Canterburie* to stand good, and effectiual by Law, and that Queene *Katherine* from thenceforth should be called *Princesse Dowager*, which doinge she took too hart, as shee procured the Popes curse against King *Henric*, and his Realme, which curse was set vpon *Dawbergh in Flanders*, for that the bringer thereof durst come no neerer. And the Pope in renenge of himselfe, beinge let in his Conсылу accompanied with his *Cardinals*, proceeded to the Censure of these great Princes marriage, which he then adjudged to stand most firme and Canonically, and enioyned King *Henric* to hold matrimoniall society with the

King *Katherine* his lawful wife and *Queen*, and in that estate to account and maintaine her as it became a King and loving husband to doe, and if he refused to accomplish these premises then to be compelled thereunto, and neuer after to be heard in any Court as touching the invaliditie of the said marriage, and to pay the expences of the said trauele, as he the holy father should limit and thinke meete. This was done a yere after that the King had married *Queen Anne*, and bare date from *Rome*, the 23. of March and yere of *Crisp* 1534. For in the meane while King *Henry* had set his affection vpon the Lady *Anne Bullen*, a Phenix indeed in his Princely eye, and another *Hesper* for *Englands* saluation, both in herselfe and royall *Bod* succeeding, as the heauens and world doe witness to this day. Shee was the daughter of *Sir Thomas Bullen* Viscount *Beaufort*, Earle of *Wiltshire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*. This Earle *Thomas* her father was the sonne of *Sir William Bullen* whose wife was Lady *Margaret*, the second daughter and Coheire of *Thomas Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and the said *Sir William* was the sonne of *Sir Godfrey Bullen* Lord *Mayor* of *London*, who lieth buried in *Saint Laurence* Church in the lewie, pictured in his winding sheete vpon a Plate of *Brasse*, and about his Grave-stone vpon a border of *brasse* in many places these words are written. *New time, New time, New time*, whose *Charity* was extended vpon the poore householders of this *Citie*, in distributing among them a thousand pounds. His Lady was *Anne*, eldest daughter and Coheire vnto *Thomas Lord Hoo* and *Hoyling*, and his descent out of the house of the *Bullens*, an ancient Family in the Countie of *Norfolke*; accused therefore to be pen, that slanderously bringeth this role from a defiled Bed, whose Serpents mouth to vphold his God the Pope, hath spewed out his poison of vntuthes, and made his tongue a sharpe sword against the Lords annointed; let him therefore recieue his portion with the Serpent of deceit, and his reward with Satan the father of lies.

enough to bee enuied at, hy the Bithops of that
time.

(3a) Here, the King innelted Marchionesse of *Fremboke* with Mantle and Coronet, both in regrade of her Nobilitie and many vertues (for Iorinne the wurdres of her Patens) who done he tookte the feare, for *France*, accompanied with such a traine of his Nobles, as the like had not been seene, and amongst many Ladies *Anne Tudor* was one, where hee complained to the French King of the great wrongs offered him by the dull Pope as hee called him, who would have Kings in perfon to attend his leasure at *Rome*, and contrary to their Kingly dignities, to expose themselves and Affairs at his will there, to bondage and great dangers; and therefore he earnestly requested that the Pope might bee summoned to a Conncell, to answer the many abuses that hee had offered unto most of the Princes in Christendome, and unto himselfe not the least; who for his part had allowed him threecore thousand Angels monetly to maintain an Army for the use of his defence out of the Castle of *Angeli*, where the Emperials vnder the Prince of *Orange* kept him. Which his businesse being ended in *France*, and the King againe returned into *England*, he presently (through privacy) married the said Lady *Marchionesse* in his Cloiset at *White-hall*, in the presence of many, the Lady *Anne Savage* bearing her Train, and Doctor *Lee* doing the rites of their conjunction, who was afterwards consecrated Bishop of *Chesler*, *Conuener*; and *Lucifild*, and Prebende of *Wales*.

(31.) The Romanists much fearing that *Rabel* would discover, if *Queene Anne* might be heard against wicked *Haman*, sought to vnderpropper the foundations thereof, with certaine deuices of their owne; and that the same might passe without note of suphicion, they laide their forgerie enen from Heauen it selfe; they whole pretended Oracle *Eusebius Barpes* (commonly called, the holy made of *Kent*) was made to be; and the pillars of this godlesse Fabrick were *Edward Becking*, a Monke by profession, and doctor of Diuinity, *Richard Mayes*, Parson of Aildington, the Town wherein he dwelt, *Richard Deering* a Monke, *Hayb Rich* a Prier, *Iohn Adfleson*, and *Thomas Alford*, Priests, put by their helping hands, and *Henrie Gould* Bachelor of Diuinity, with *Iohn Elfeur* the Ruersted father of *Rochester*, imployed their paines to daube thei downe-falling walls, with their vntempered Morter. The Scribes that their pens for her Miracles, were *Edward Thwaites* Gentleman, and *Thomas Laurence* Rectiour, besides *Hankford* a Monke who wrote a letter that was forged to be sent her from Heauen; and *Richard Ridsley* and *Thomas Gould*, were the men which dispersed her Miracles abroad to the world. This holy made *Eusebius* made a Vozarife in *Canterbury*, was taught by *Becking* her Gholly Father, and suspected *Paramour*, to counterfeit many figned trances, and in the same to viter many vertuous words for therebroke of sinne, vnder which, more freely there was heard against *Luthers* doctrine, and the Scriptures translation, then desired of many: neither so only, but that there came forth from God, and his Saints, by fuddery fugglesine Revelations; that if the King proceeded in his dinorice, and second marriage, he should not raigne in his Realme one month after, norre in Gods fauour the space of an houre. But the truth discouered by Gods true Ministers, that Oracle gave place as all other chind did, when Christ by his death stoppeth their lying mouths: for herselfe and seven of her Disciples were executed for Treason at *Tiborne*, and the other five put to their shames and imprisonment. With the like counterfeit reuelations and fained predictions this Generation of Hypocrites had brought *Edward Lord Stafford*, Duke of *Bachingham* vnto his vnhappy end, when as by the working of *Iohn de la Court*, his own Confessor together with *Nicholas Bacon* a Monke of the *Carthusian* Order, in the Priore

June Palace etc
and Marchon,
sets of Pam-

A. D. 1532.
Ogob. 11.

U. Hume com-
plaints of the
dull Pagan.

King Henry allowed the Pope's demand. August annually.

John Thos. ps. 494
Amos Dam. 1133
Hym. 12.
Upon S. Engel-
walds day, in
Hollands and
Orfien.
King Henry the
first. 1133.
12.

• The Pope.

Elizabeth Baran
the Little Oracle
of the Roma-
nians.

The officers of
this talk Pre-
sidents.

Read & write,
in State & of
New York.

The counter-
ings of M. J. A.
bach R. 100.

Edward Hall,
John Snow,
Holmby.

Cramer,
Cromwell,
Larimer.

* Elsie, Susan,
Edward Backus,
Richard Deane,
Richard Eddy,
Richard Stearns,
Harry Gould,
Two Members.

John Brown,

Cornelius Agrippa wiederholt an
die pueri an.

The Pope also
personified by
Parliament.

At Paul's M.B.
K. Rogers was
capt. dissolved
by Paul Rogers.

For March 1897

Katherine Dew
gr.

2011-01-01

Pope Clement 7.
admirer the
marriage law-
ful.

The shroud-
sings of Pope
Clement 7,

Stipitation, 1900, 11, 9

The district of
Lower Egypt.

Mr Geoffrey Bell
44, Lord Mansfield
St. London, W.C.2
1957.

Senders to Subj
AngL

After Ballou re-
fused.

Field notes 1899.

A second Duke of Beaufort was beheaded.

Reinforced.

The prince feared of Henry's fall.

The Pope's legate with James King of Scotland and youth England.

John Lefly.

High treason.

The Pope's legate England in fear that could get it.

Queen Anne crowned.

Lady Elizabeth's birth. A.D. 1533.

For Martyr. 1536.

Henry VIII. 1536.

Queen Anne a great lover of the Gospel.

A.D. 1536. Jan. 29.

of *Henricus in Somersetshire*, who by his visions from heaven foretold, heartened him for the Crowne; but before his owne Coronet could aspire to that ropp, hee worthily lost both head and all vpon Tower-hill for his treason, Ann. Dom. 1521. Vnto such sinners the world was then subiect, and into such conceites their repented holines had brought them, not onely among the simple and vnderbred, but euen with them that seemed to bee learned indeed: for by certaine predictions foretelling a great deluge, Prior *Balton of Saint Bartholomew in London* was so fearful, that hee built him a house vpon the height of *Willesden hill*, storing it with provisions necessary, to keepe him selfe from drowning, in A. D. 1524.

(84) But the Popes Holinesse fearing the euent of the game, if euer any man might set and cast at his Crowne, thought it high time to lay hand on his owne State, and to keepe what was left, lest it would bee gone; to which end hee solicited many Christian Princes to stand on his part, and among them sent his Brief vnto *James the first King of Scotland*, desiring his assistance against *King Henry of England*, whom in his Confinity hee had pronounced to bee an Heretike, a Schismaticke, a manifest Adulterer, a publicke murderer, a committer of Sacrilege, a Rebelle, and consist of *Lesse Majesties*, for that hee had risen against him who was his Lord. And therefore hee had wilfully deprived him of his said Kingdom, and would dispose the same to him and other Princes: so as they would assist to recouer the same, a very good provision, and very well foreseen; for notwithstanding these boisterous blasts from Rome, the King kept his Crowne, and was rather feared of the Popes best Abettors, then did feare any potent power that the world could afford, whose thoughts were now busied for the Coronation of his Queen.

(85) For *Queen Anne* conceived, and perceived with Child, her royall Coronation was forthwith prepared, which with all royall obseruances vpon the first of June, being Whituesday was performed; and the twentieth of September following, shee bare into the world that excellent Princeesse, which afterwards proved the mirror of the world, euen *Lady ELIZABETH*, your late and most famous Queene.

(86) True it is, that the zealous conseruation of this godly Queene gave great encouragements vnto many, more publicly with boldnes to professe the Gospel, so that the Ministers formerly fled in case of Religion, returned againe into England, where the new Testament (translated by Tyndall) was read, but with such dislikes to the Bishoppes, that they got it to be burnt. Notwithstanding, to tickle the Kings eare, they preached against the Popes supremacy, and took the oath for the King themselves; abolished his authority by Act of Parliamt, and suppressed many Monasteries; leaving their reuenues to the Kings will; faire introductions indeed for what they intended, as the sequell of the sixe Articles by them procured, doth manifestly shew: and those purpously made against the maintainers of the Gospel, wherof *Queen Anne* was the chiefe, who first was most fauourable to those learned Divines, that laide mans saluation vpon the Rocke Christ, next in procuring a tolleration from the king for them, whose doctrine did daily vndermine the Papall foundations; & lastly, shee by no means would consent to marry the King, vntill a lawfull divorce was had for his separation from *Lady Katharine*, his brother *Arthurs* wife, which thing this Pope greatly withstood: these were causes sufficient to moue his Holinesse to bend his brow, and by his fortraments in Court to cutte off the principal mouer, who foresawing no time tooke the Ball before his rebound.

(87) For the Queene delivered of a dead Child, and the Kings affection wandering elsewhere, gave them occasion to worke on that Subiect, which God

in his wisdom would haue downe, lest his deliuerance from the bondage of darknesse should be attributed to any fleshly arme, or that hee who then sat in the throne of the worlds full felicity, should fixe her senses on so tickle a Center, who hauing had experience what it was to bee a Prince, must henceforth practise the patience of a poore prisoner, which in the third yeere of her marriage, and second of May, to act the wofull Scene of her Tragedy, shee came vpon the Stage, being sent to the Tower of London, and charged with high Treason against the King: at whose first entrance shee fell on her knees before *Thomas Audley Lord Chancellor*, the Duke of *Norfolke*; and *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary her bringers, desiring God so to helpe her as she was guiltlesse of those things wherof shee was accused, beseeching those Lords to bee Petitioners vnto his Maieity in her behalfe, who lamenting her case, lesser Prisoner with *Sir William Kingston* Constable of the place.

(88) I will in no wise excuse her guilt, hauing had iudgement and death by law through others, and that vpon iust occasions before mee haue done, but will speake from them what they haue said, and namely one, that wrote thereof vnto a worthy and reuerent person in whose defence his wordes are these: *It seemeth very plaine, that the crimes supposed against this Christian Queene Anne, were matters contriued by the deuise of the Pope, and his Instruments her enemies. None of them all that were accused in the same Treason, confessing the Actions vnto death, but haue left direct Testimonies in writing to the contrary: one means Graeme excepted, namely Mr. Arthur Smeton, made confession vpon some promise of life belike, but had his head cutt off before hee was aware or had time to recall what hee had said. The like did Cromwell the Secretary signify to the King, after the prisoners had bene thoroughly examined in the Tower by the Councill, who wrote thus in his letter on the same day: many things haue bene objected, but nothing confessed, onely some circumstances haue bene acknowledged by Marke. And so Mr. Crammer Archbishop of Canterbury in his letter of comfort vnto the King, who fore lamented that such a fiere was fallen, if her guilt could bee proved, and willed his Highnesse to stand in defence of the Gospel as shee had done, without any report of confessing or acknowledging any such Acts as were objected, which as Smeton writeth, were Adultery, and incest, but vniuilly (saith he) as it is supposed and proved false: With her were executed certaine Gentlemen of the Kings Priuie Chamber, namely, *Norris, Weston, Breton, and one Marks*, whose contrary to her conscience (as it is reported) for hope of preferment subscribed to a bill, whereby shee was condemned both by herselfe and all the rest.*

(89) For vpon the fourteenth of May, her brother *George Bullen Lord Rochford*, for his supposed offence with these foure before named, were all of them beheaded vpon the Tower hill, but none of them counselling the Action; I haue heard it reported that *Rochford* the Queenes brother coming to her bed side to sollicite a fauour, leane thereupon to whisper her in the eare which the Spies gaue forth that hee did so, to kisse the Queen, how soeuer, they are dead, and the Queene must die, who two dayes before had bene arraigned in the Tower, the Duke of *Norfolke* being her Iudge, to her indictment shee answered so effectually, that shee seemed to cleare all matters laid to her charge; yet was shee found guilty, and vpon the nineteenth day of May, was brought to a Scaffold erected on the Greene within the said Tower, where, in presence of many noble men, the Lord Mayor of London, the Shireffs, and some principall commons, there is said to haue spoken these words in their presence.

(90) Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the Law, and by the Law I am iudged to death, and therefore I will speake nothing against it; I come hither to accuse no

Queen Anne delivered of a dead Child.

Queen Anne sent to the Tower.

John's death. The execution of Queen Anne.

Cromwell's letter to the King regarding his own death.

Archbishop Crammer's letter to the King.

Smeton's Confession.

Lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Breton, & Marks beheaded.

May 15.

Queen Anne condemned and beheaded.

Arthur Graeme, Queen Anne's search at her death.

"man, nor to speake any thing of that whereof I am
accused and condemned, as for mine owne offen-
ces God knoweth them, and vnto God I remitte
them, beseeching him to haue mercy vpon my
soules: and if any person will meddle in my cause,
I desire them to iudge the best, and so I take my
leau of the world, and of you all, and heartily do
beseech you to pray for mee; and I beseech Iesus
saue my Soueraigne and Master the King, the most
godliest, nobilit, and gentlest Prince, that is Jong
to raunge ouer you. These words she vttered with
a smiling countenance, which done, shee kneeled
down, and with a feruent Spirit said, to Iesus Christ
I commend my soule, Lord Iesus receive my soules
and repeating those words very often, suddainly
the stroke of the sword sealed the debt that she owed
vnto death, whose head and body was buried in the
quiet of the Chappell in the Tower.

(91) Now that her death was rather sought for,
than any wife desired, doth witness the sword,
whose edge was not waped from the blood of her
death, before the marriage bed of the King was pre-
pared for another wife, which was Lady Jane Seymour
in vertues her equally: who vpon the next day fol-
lowing betwixt the twentieth of May, was married vnto
the King, and succeeded this unfortunate Lady in
place of his *Reverie*.

(92) And albeit *Queene Anne* in her lifetime had
sinned as *David*; or by frailty fell, as who sinneth
not; yet that it should be so licentious and vnna-
tural, the quiet of her conscience at her death, did well
witness the contrary, & her innocency so much more
apparent, as her Christian modesty, in excusing her
Soueraigne, and yielding obedience to the law how-
soever *Paul* and *Paulus* testus from their Cardinals
splenities have filled their pennies to blot her faire
name, whose death now standing was so grieuou-
sly taken among the German Protestant Princes,
who were minded to haue made *K. Henry* the head
of their league, that thereupon they vicerly brake
off, and related him, only for the cause and death
of this most Christian *Lady*, whose religion and
vertues daily shewed forth the fruits of her life, both
in preferring the best men of his vnto the best be-
nefices, and also retaining for her Chaplains them of
good fame, whose godly exhortations shee did not
only follow, but would will them freely to tell her
what they saw in her amiss. So merciful shee was
to the poore, that shee spent almost her whole trea-
sure for their reliefe, and in nine months space di-
stributed among them to the value of fifteen thou-
sand pounds, intending likewise to beflow a great
stocke into the foure quarters of the Realme, to set
poore Artificers on worke. Now if the tree bee
known by the fruits, as truly it is, then these were
her lights that shined before men, and the works
that shewed the fruites of her faith farre from such
finnes, as the say of those times charged her with.

(93) And by the working of the same faith, her
penitency was seene, in her sorrowes conceiued,
and thirsting reconciliation vnto them whose shee had
any wife offended, as by this worthy example is ap-
parent; when the day before the soffred death, be-
ing attended vpon with six Ladies in the Tower, shee
took the Lady *Kingsley* into her Presence Chamber,
and there locking the dore vpon them, willed her to
sit downe in the chaire of Estate: whereunto shee an-
swered, that it was her duty to stand, and not to sit at
all in her presence, much lesse vpon the seat and chaire
of her, her *Queene*. Ah Madam quoth shee, that title
is gone, I am a condemned person, and by law
have no estate left me in this life; but for clearing of
my conscience I pray you sit downe; well said the
Lady *Kingsley*, I have often plaide the foole in my
youth; and to fulfill your command, I will doe it
once more in mine age, and thereupon sat downe
vnder the cloth of estate, which no sooner was done,
but that the *Queene* most homely fell vpon her
knees before her, and with teares, holding vp her

bands, charged her in the presence of God and his
Angels, as the world answereth her before them, when
all should appeare in iudgement, that these should so
fall downe before the Lady *Mary*, Grace her daugh-
ter in Law; and in her name in like manner, aske her
forgiuenesse for the wrongs shee had done her, for till
that was accomplished, (the said her conscience could
not bee quiet: what her offence was to her ward,
wee know not, but may be supposed not to bee capi-
tal, the *Queene* also wayed, the time conside-
red, and her enemies none of the meaneest, only
this I obserue, that as shee cleared her conscience
of the lesser crimes, so vndoubtedly would shee haue
done of the greater, if say had been committed, and
so as herselfe instantly desired, I count her case to be
charitably spoken of, and leaue her and them vnto
the Lord.

(94) But as one pillar for the Gospels defence was
fallen by the death of *Queene Anne*, so another was
ruined, by raising *Cromwell* from the baite of his
birth, no better indeed then a Blacke-fishon son,
who seruing great *Wolsey* in the office of his Solicitor,
was employed by him for the suppression of
forty Monasteries, to the erection of his Colledges at
Oxford and *Ipwich*, by which he mounted those
steps of estate, which let (but not kept) him in the
high Chaire of his authority: first by King *Henry*
he was made Master of his Iewell-house, then Baron
of *Okesham* in *Nottingham*, then Knight of the
Garter, ere long was created Earle of *Ryfel*, then was
hee made Lord great Chamberlaine, and lastly ob-
tained the Kings Vicar General, and thus late
fortune brought him from the forge for a fall.

(95) For King *Henry* vntill in religious resolu-
tion (the Supremacy settled where hee would haue
it, and the Reuenues of all Monasteries giuen him
by Parliament) sought no further to reforme the
Churches abuses, but only gaue way that the
Lords Prayer, the Creede, and Commandments
might be read in English, which *Cromwell* procured
to be enacted by Parliament. The Commons then
misliking that their monialings must downe, and
the Monks fore troubled to mingle English in their
Masses, the Lincolnshire men beganne a Commo-
tion vnder the conduct of *D. Austerlady* Monke,
who named himselfe Captaine *Coley*, and his fol-
lowers were growne well neere vnto twenty thou-
sand. Against these, the King in person prepared,
sending forth his command vnto severall Countiees,
to charge them with a taxation of furnished Souldi-
ers to meet him at *Amphell*, as by * one we haue seen
signed with the Rampe of his hand, and sent vnto the
Bishoppe of *Exeter* for foure hundred able men,
whereof sixscore to be Archers, which great prepa-
ration being knowne to the Rebels, they sent to his
Majesty these Articles subscribed with many of their
hands, the tenor whereof out of the Originall it
selfe was as followeth.

To the King our Soueraigne Lord.

Please it your Highnes to be advertised, that your
poore Commonalty, true and faithfull Subiects, in
your Countie of *Lincolne*, at this present time assem-
bled, findeth our selues grieved in these Articles
hereafter following.

First, for the suppression of so many religious hou-
ses, as be at this instant time suppressed. Whereby
the seruice of God is not only diminished, but also
the poorty of your Realme bee vnrelieued, and
many persons bee put from their liuings, and left at
large, which we thinke is a great hindrance to the
Commonwealth.

The second Article is, that wee humbly beseech
your Grace, that the Act of vles may bee repealed,
because we thinke that by the said Act we be clea-
rely restrained of our liberties, in the declaration of our
Willes, concerning our lands: aswell for the pay-
ment of our debts, for doing of your Grace seruice,

The rising of
Cromwell.

* *Wolsey* made
himselfe Chief
Church

Stent in the
H. 8. 23

The Lords
Prayer, the
Creede, and
Commandments
in the
English tongue.

Commo-
tion of
Lincolne.

* King *Henry*
letter dated at
Windsor 3 of
October, and of
his signet.

The appoin-
ment of the
Commons of
Lincolne.

Suppression of
Monasteries.

Act of Vles.

as for helping and relieving of our children, which we have had by the sufferance of your lawes by a long continuance, which as we thinke is great hurt and discommodity to the Common-wealth.

The third Article is, that where your Grace hath a tate, or quincien granted vnto you by Act of Parliament, payable the next yeere: which is, and ever hath been leuable of sheepe and cattall. And the sheepe and cattall of your Subjects within this faide Shire, are now at this instant vterly decayed and gone. Whereby yif your Grace will take the faide tate, your said Subjects shalld be constrained to pay in. d. for a beaft, and x. d. for x. sheepe: And that would be an importunate charge to theyn, considered the poverty that they bee in already, and the losse which they haue sustained thet two yeeres by-past.

The fourth Article is, that wee your crew & faithfull Subjects, thinke that your Grace takes of your Council, and very nigh about you, such Persons as be of low birth, and faine reputation, which haue procured the premysses, most especiall for their singler leure and advantage: the which wee suspect to bee the Lord Cromwell, & Sir Richard Rich Chan- celler of the augmentations.

The fifth Article is, your Grace to haue the xth. and first fruits of every spirituall promotion, of the value of xx. l. and above. And of all other vnder the said value which doe not keepe reference and hospitalty of their faid Benefices.

The sixt Article is, that wee your true Subiectes find them grieved, that there be diuers Bishoppes of England, of your Grace late promotion, that haue subuerted the faith of Crist, as we thinke, which is the Archbyschop of Canterbury, the Byschoppe of Rochester, the Byschoppe of Se Inbarie, the Byschoppe of S. Dunys, and the Byschoppe of Dunelm. And in especiall as we thinke the beginning of all the trouble of this Realme, and the grete exactions that hath bene taken of your poore Community, haue risen by the occasion of the Bishoppes of London: by whole officers, and by other of the Lord Cromwells seruants, a great rumor & noise is risen, and the comune vocis, that such lowelly, plere, and other ornaments of our Parish Churches, which we occupie in the service and honour of God, should bee taken from vs and spoiled in lyke manner and facion, as the housys of Religion hath bene. For a reformation of all and singler the aforesayd abvies, Wee your poore and trewe subiects humble requirys your grace and maiesty, that it might please your highnesse to call vnto you the Nobility of this your Realme, to see each Order and direction concerning all and singler the premisses, as may stand with honor and lewenty of your grace, the welthe and prosperie of your Realme, and the contentation of vs your poore Subiects, and other the whole Community of this your Realme. Whereby wee shall not onely accept your Grace to be the Head and Soueraigne of vs your Subiects, but also accept and take your Grace to bee Supreme head of the Church of England, which wee doe knowledge your Grace trewe inheritance and right.

Also your faide trewe and faithfull subiects, which the hole affect of all your Communaltie of the said Shire, most humble beseecheth your gracious Maiesty, to pardon this poore bearer in doing this his message to your Highnesse, who is your trewe and faithfull subiect, and hath taken this message vpon him for the seruent loue that hee hath to your Grace most in especiall, and for the slaying of your Communaltie ever lesse this rusfull began, hath bene as gladd with all his diligence to slay the commune people for the effusion of blood, as be all his povertie he might. The King with good wordys pacified the Commons, who laying alid wepous embraced their pardons.

(96) But this cloud lastly overblowne, another more dangerous arose in the North, which

threatened fower stormes by the Skies ouercast: for forre thousand Ruffikes assembled in *Turkeshire*, furnished with Horie, Armour, Artillery and Abilliments for warre, threatened to let the slay of Eilate vpon the progs of their giddy inuentions. Their preence was Religion, and defence of holy Church, their Banners painted with the fise wounds of our Lord, the Challice, the Cake and other lake inuentions of *Rome*, and vpon their sleeves was write the name of the Lord: and so forward, and so feurent were they in their proceedings, that this their attempt must be termed the *holy Pilgrimage*. Neither were the Rurali onely gaily in this rebellion, but others of grenter place and degree were associats therein, namely, *Edward Lord Archbishop of Turke*, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, though both of them constrained by the Rebels as the said Archbishoppe testified vnder his owne hand: but voluntary and most forward were the Clergy of those parts, the Lord *Lumley*, Sir *Thomas and Sir William Percy*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Francis Blgar*, and Sir *Robert Nall* all of them Knights, *John Lacy*, *Richard Desmond* and *Robert Barnes* Esquires: the Bailiffes of *Smythe of Leeds*, *Kellam*, and of *Beversy*. And for Captaine Generall, was *Robert Aske* a meane Gentleman, and one *Randolphe* his Assaunt in the Field. Other Commissioners they had out of the Common fort, as *James Desmond* Generall of the Foot, and a poore Fisherman, filled by himselfe and others, the Earle of *Peuery*. What authority they bare, among these rude multitude may partly bee perceived by their Mandates and Commissions, & forth in their names, and subscribed with their owne hands, as from the Originals of some of them is here to be seene.

Lords, Knights, Masters, Kinsmen, and Friends, we perceive that you be informed that this Assemblie our Pilgrimage, which we by the fauour and mercy of Almighty God intendeth to procede in, is because the King our Soueraigne Lord hath had much inuasions of vs, wee doubt not but you doe knowe and remember that in our power we haue bene alwayes as ready in payments and seruice to his Highnesse as any his subiects: and farther to ascertain you of the cause of our said assemblie and pilgrimage is this, That forasmuch that such people and small disposed persons being of the Kings Council, hath not onely merced his Grace with many things which bee contrary to the Faith of God, honour of the Kings Maiesty, and the Common wealth of this Realme: and thereby hath defrauded, and vtterly intendeth to destroy the Church of England, and the Ministers of the same, as yet knowe as well as we: but also the said Council hath refused & spited, and further intendeth vtterly to robbe and spoile the whole body of the Kings Realme, and that as well all you, as vs, if God of his infinite mercy had not caused such as hath taken, and hereafter shall take this pilgrimage vpon them to procede in the same: and whether all these things be true or not, we put to your confidence. And if you thinke it be true, and for as much vs, which intendeth the Common wealth of this Realme, and nothing else, we trust you shall haue small specke: For this pilgrimage we haue taken byt for the prefiruation of Christs Church of this Realme of England, the King our Soueraigne Lord the Nobility, Barony and Common of the same, and to the intent to make petition to the Kings Highnesse for reformation of that which is amysse within this Realme. And for punishment of Hereticks & Subverters of Lawes and neither for mercy, justice, nor displeasure to any person, but such as be not worthy to remaine nere the King our Soueraigne Lord person. And further we know if you should obtaine as we trust you God ye shall meet, there ye put both vs and you, your liues and ours in bondage for ouer: and further yet are sure of the interdicti. on of Christs church, and we there and out of the same: And if we are come you, ye shall be in our bytles, wherefore for conclusion, if you will not comen with us for a reformation of the premisses, we certifie you by this our writing that we will feyghe and dye, both as against you, and all those that shall about wards to flappe vs in the said pilgrimage: And God shall shew his Grace and mercy therein: And then

Holy Pilgrimage

A. D. 1536. in Sir Robert Constable's letters.

The Capitall of the Commons letters.

Text of quincien.

Councils of the King.

Text of the King's letters.

Dilecti of the King.

The Commons request for the law.

Commons in the King's presence.

ye shall be iudged hereafter to be foders of some of Cry-
styn blood, and detroyers of your own Crysten. From
Robert Aske chiefe Captaine of the Comynalty assem-
bled in pilgrimage, For the Barony and Comynalty of the
same.

By mee Robert Aske yn the name
of all the Comynalty and Ba-
rony.

As M.

Of such terror and haughty spirit was this Cap-
taine Aske, that when Lancaster an Herald at Armes,
was sent to declare the Kings message in Penfret
Caille (which the Rebels had got by surrender from
the Lord Darcy) hee so blasted out his answers,
that the daunted man exculing himselfe to bee but
a messenger, tell before him on his knees; till the
Archbishop of Towke took him vp, saying, it was
not becoming the Court here wote, to prostitute to
any, but only to his Soueraigne. Rede likewise if
you please this strange Mandate from some meane
man among them, the false suggestion that they pos-
sessed the ignorant with, and the Oath whereunto
these holy Pilgrimes were sworn, as I finde them
recorded by themselves in their very words.

To the Comyns of Hantside parish
Bailiffs, or Constables, with all
the Harmlesse of the same.

We becomend you greet you well, and wher as our brother
Poverty, and our brother Feggs, hath forward, as spealy
for the aide & assistance of your faith, and holy Church, and
for the reformation of such Abbeys and Monasteries, new
dissolved and subiects without any Tith cause. Where-
fore Gude brethren, forasmuch as our sayd brotherly hath
sent to us for aide and helpe, we doe not onely effectually
desire you, but also under the paine of deadly sinne we
comand you, and enery of you, to be at the shire Greene
beside Hantside-herke, the Saturday next being the
xxviij. day of October by xi. of the Clocke, in your best
array: as you will make answer before the high iudge
at the dreadfull day of Doome, and in the payne of pulling
downe your houses, and leasing of your gude, and your
honor to be at the Captains will: For at the place afore-
said, then and there, ye and we, shall take further directi-
on concerning our faith, so farre decayed, And for
gude and laudable customes of the Country. And such
naughty inventions and strange Articles new accepted
and admitted, so that our said brother bee solbowed, they
are yke to profertowards to utter vndaning of the Com-
yns welthe.

Flenderen va-
trunks against
the King.

(97) And the more to draw forward the rude
multitude which were forward enough of them-
selves, they set forth in writing their ilandcious in-
trudis against the King.

1 The first is that no infane shall receyue the
blesed Sacrament of Baptisme, boott onlesse an try-
bett to bee payd to the King.

2 The second is that no man vnder xij. Landes
shall eyre no brede made of Wheate, nor Capou,
chickyn, gois, nor pigge, boott onlesse to pay a trybett
to the King.

3 The third is that for every ploghe land the
King will hane an trybett, with other diuerse ex-
treme vrgent causes, and herely fare ye well.

The Outh of the holy Pilgrimes.

The oath of the
Pilgrimes.

Ye shall not enter into this our Pilgrimage of Grace for
the Comyns welthe, but only for the love that you doe
here vnto Almyghty Gude his faith, and to holy Church
warrant, the maintenance thereof, to the preservation of
the Kings person, his issue, to the purifying of Nobilitie,
and to expulse all vyleyns blode, and evil Counsellors a-
gainsst the Comyns welthe, from his Grace and the prync
Counsell of the same: and that ye shall not enter into our
said Pilgrimage, for no particuler profite to your selfe,
nor to doe no displeasure to no pryncy person, but by Com-
m-

cell for the Comyns welthe, nor flee, nor murder for no
cause, but in your hearts put away all feare and dread,
and take afore you the Crosse of Cryste, and in your hearts his
faith, the reformation of the Church, the subpression of
these Heretics, and their eggyngs, by all the bolle contents
of this Booke.

And for the obseruation of this Oath, herre ano-
ther commande of the Commissioners, as we finde it
recorded.

To the Bayliffe and Communes of the
Towne of Skarboro.

We becomend, we Francis Byrd Knight, and John Ha-
lem yemas, in the name of all the Communes, commande
and charge you, that ye assemble your feloes together mede-
ately vpon receite herof, and so take theyr othe mychly we
here send vnto you, and then after in all hastye possible to
gysse and bynde them ouer brethren, wome we sende in
you to hope, and make sure the Castell, Turre, and Port of
Skarboro, that no man enter into the same Castell, that
belongy vnto Kafe Ewre the younger Knight, nor any
other whiche did not take full parte with the Com-
munes, at ever first and last a fenswyrge, in whys name,
authority, or attorney fower they come, waleffe they haue
licence of all the communes, in like manner, ye shall truly
keepe all fychis or damages and shewe to the use of the
Communes, wryte mychly we charge you at our laste being
here, and thus not to faile, vpon payne of yourer lynes, ye
shall reffer credence vnto this my messager, thus in hys
I: Fare ye well, from Settyngton this Mondaye Santile
Maurice daye.

Francis Byrd Knight
in the name, and by
Commandement of all
the Communes.

Against these roar of Rebels, George Earle of
Shrewsbury, not staying for the Kings commission
mynistr his men, midcomd of many, that he meant
to be a Pilgrime himselfe, vnto which inspectors hee
made a loyall Oration, declaiming all intencion a-
gainst their attempts, how colourable soe they
laide their pretence, which dooe be caused his Chap-
len to minister him an Oath of his loyaltie, before
them in the Field. It was likewise reported that
the Earle of Darby was set forward towards them,
whome the Pilgrimes well hoped would haue sided
with them, as by their mandate sent to the Brethren
appeares, where is forbid that none of them should
aide him, vntill hee tooke the Oath which hee neuer
meant to ally or swear to.

The Earle of
Shrewsbury and
Kethagard
the Rebels.

As M. A. C.

(98) But true it is the King sent Thomas Duke of
Norfolke, Lord Generall against them, accompanied
with the Marquisse of Exeter, the Earles of Man-
tingdon and Rutland, who ioining their powers made
towards Doncaster, wher the Rebels then lay in their
Randinow, in whose sight immediately they set vp
their Tents, and determined battell vpon the next
day; but on the night betwixt, such floods of water
fell, that the river Don overflew his bankes, and
admitted no passage ouer the Bridge, which thing
was taken as a token from God, and thereupon
the Lord Generall offered them Conference, allea-
ging that the King was tender of his Subjects liues,
and very vnwilling to shed Christian blood: that
their cause should be honourably heard, and iust com-
plaints redressed, if with submission and duty of
Subjects, they would yield themselves & affaires to
the Kings mercy; that this their rebellions pro-
ceedings, was not onely the fortunanning messenger of
destruction to themselves and partakers, but gave
also a great advantage vnto the Scots, the dangerous
enemie vnto the Land, and them all: with these and
the like perswasions the matter was so forwarded,
that a conference was appointed at Doncaster, and
fourte pledges were sent from the Lord General vnto
the

Thomas Duke of
Norfolke Lord
Generall of the North.

Parsons and
poore offered
to the Rebels.

the Commons, for the safe returns of their assigned Commissioners, which were these by name,

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Lord Newill. | Sir William Constable. |
| Lord Darcy. | Sir Rauf Constable. |
| Lord Strevyn. | Sir Rich: Tempest. |
| Lord Langley. | Sir Rauf Rammere. |
| Lord Latimer. | Sir William Enston. |
| Sir Thomas Percy. | Sir George Lawton. |
| Sir George Darcy. | Sir Thomas Hylton. |
| Robert Ash Capitaine. | M. Robert Constable. |
| Sir Rauf Cleyer, Son. | M. Richard Banner. |
| Sir Rauf Cleyer Iun. | M. Wyfcrappe. |
| Sir Rauf Emert. | |

Ex Original Act.

Whole Articles and demands were these, as followeth.

The instruction for Sir Thomas Hilton and other Companions.

The demands of the Commons

- 1 First to declare to the Duke of Norfolk, and other the Lord's, that obedient of our meeting of our party, surely is meant and thought of a sured truth, without any manner of disguise, or male engine.
 - 2 The second is touching the King's fauourableness, vnder the braue Seale of Englande, and to deliver our fauourableness, and promise, vnder euer bands, for the Lord's there.
 - 3 The thirde is to entreate of euer generall pardon, for offence, and all persons, which be within the Realm, whiche in herie, word, or deed offendeth, by their procure, the furtherance in this our quarrell, may be pardoned life, lands, goods, and that in the said pardon, nor other the King's records, we be not witten repaired, ne taken, at Rebellious or treason, nor reles fill in the same.
 - 4 The fourth that Thomas Cromwell, nor any of his bande or serie, be not at euer meeting at Downshire, but absent themselves from the Council.
 - 5 The fift, to receive the King's answer by the declarations of the Lords, and to certifye the were cleint thereof to us there.
- Also to know what authority the Lords have to create, in priuies with us here, as well of euer promise of other things.

Also to know what plege the myll deliver for our Capitans.

Also of thys petyculars be concluded, then for to consider of other petyculars.

1 The first touching our faith to haue the hereticks of Luther, Wycch, Huss, Melancton, Ecolampadius, Bafis, the Confession Germane, the Appyle of Melancton, the works of Tyndale, of Bernys, Fryth, of Atarball, Rayfeld, the Remedy of Sent Germane, and such other of any manner Heretick, without the Realm, not to be kept, but utterly to be destroyed.

2 The second to haue the supreme of the Chyrch touching our seruile to be reserved in the see of Rome, as before byt was acknowledged for to be, and to haue the consecration of Bishoppes, from hym without any first frute, or penyence to him to be paid out of thys Realm, or elys a penyence reasonable for the outward defence of our faith.

Also we beske humble our most drade Sovereign Lord that the Lady Mary may be legitimate, and the estatutes contrary to the same to be annulled for the dome of the title that may be incur to the Crown by Scotland, and that to be by Parliament.

Also to haue the Abbeys that be suppressed to be restored to their Lands, Tenures, and Goods.

Also to haue the Tenants and first fruits clearly discharged, vnder the Clergy wyl of their fillys grant a Rent or Charge to the augmentation of the Crown.

Also to haue the Priores obsequies restored to their houses againe.

Also to haue the Hereticks Bishoppes, and temporal men of their seite, to haue condigne punishment by fire, or such other, or els to trauel their quarrell with us and our parliament house.

Also to haue the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Chancellor, and Sir Ryc. Ryke Knight to haue condigne punishment, as subverters of the goodwills of the Realm, and enemies of the best felicity of this false hereticks first encounter and breengers of them.

Also that the Landys in Westmorland, Cumberland, Kendale, Dent hyd, Furnes, and the Abbeys lands in York, Worsleyshire, Kerkylshire, Newcastel, maye be returned Right, and the lord to haue at every change two yeres rent, in the name of a agreement, and so more, according to a grant now made by the Lords to the Commons vnder their Seales, and thus to be done by Act of Parliament.

Also the hand-punys and Crispe-boys, with the penaltie of the same to be repelled, unless byt be in the King's service, and to be to hylers of Deere.

Also that Doctur Lat, and Doctur Leyton, may haue condigne punishment for their extorsions in time of visitation, in hereticks, as some reles your houses, x. l. xx. l. for other summes, by the hereticks, vntill now, lesse, vnder euent fealties, by them taken, and other abominable Acts by them committed and done.

Also to see reformation for the election of Knights of shire, and the Burgys, and for the use among the Lords in the Parliament after the ancient custome.

Also the Statute for inclosing Intactes to be put in execution, that all Intactes, by the first Anno quarto Henrici Reptim be pulled downe exceeding Forty, and Parrys to be destroyed of these quations, and tax now granted by Parliament.

Also to haue the Parliament in a convenient place as Nottingham or York, and the same to be so muched shortly.

Also that it may be enacted by authority of Parliament, that all recondemns, Statutes, penaltys, newly forfeyted during the tyme of the Communion may be pardoned & discharged, as well against the King as stranger.

Also the Priuilege of the Right of the Church to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, and Priests not to suffer unless they be degraded, a man to be (not) by his Rector, Sanctuary to save a man in all causes in extreme need, and the Church to save a man for forty dayes; and further according to the lawes as they were used in the beginning of the King's dayes.

Also the liberties of the Church to haue their old Chancellors, as the County Palatines of Durham, Downe, Rippon, S. Peter of York, and such other by Act of Parliament.

Also to haue the Statute that no man shall declare his will on his land to be repelled.

Also the Statute of treason for Warrys, made sixth Anno xxi. of our Sovereign that were to be in like wise repelled.

Also that the common Law may haue place as well as was used in the beginning of your gracious reign, and that all innovations be clerely denied, and not granted, unless the matter be heard in the Chancery, and there determined.

Also that no man upon sub poena, or Priory Scale from Trent Northward, appare but at York, for that which is not hold of the King, and against the Promoters thereof.

Also remedy against Exchequer for suing of false Officers, and extorsions in taking of Fees, for that which is not hold of the King, and against the Promoters thereof.

These were the Instructions given to their Commissioners to be conferred upon, all which as it should seme, were drawn into foure Articles or heads, as by the remnant of the King's answer thereto doth appere: which Originall in many places with his owne hand is interlined with so wise and learned additions, as doe confirme his Kingly care, both for the Chyrch and common weale: the true copy whereof to his great fame is as followeth: his correctiues and additions is marred from the rest by several Charrells.

[Petitions]

An Answer to the demands of the Rebeles Turbeshere by the King's Highnesse.

B b b b b b

Fift

The whole details was to draw with the Gospel.

An unchangeable motion.

First, as touching the maintenance of the Faith, the termes bee so generall, that it would bee very hard to make certaine answer to the same; but if they meane the faith of Christ, to the which all Christen men be *(wonly)* bound: wee declare and protest our selfe to be that Prince, that doth enend, and hath alwayes minded to line and die in the mainte-

(of)

nance, defence, *(and)* obseruation, and purity of the same. And that no man can or dare let his foote by vs in prouling of the contrary. Maruelling therefore much that ignorant people would goe about to take vpon them to instruct and teach vs *(which hath)*

(something)

become noted *(to be)* learned what the faith should be: *And also that they being ignorant people be so presumptuous* *(seeing that wee and our hole Clergy in Conuocation hath in Articles declared it)* would take vpon them to correct vs all thereon. Or that they would bee so ingrate and vnnatural towards vs their most rightfull King, and naturall Soueraigne Lord, without any our desert, vpon false reports or surmises to suspect vs of the same, and giue rather credence to forged light tales, then to the very truth by vs these twenty eight yeeres vied, and by our deedes approved.

To the second which toucheth the maintenance of the Church, and the liberties of the same we say it is so generall a proposition that without distinctions no man with truth can answer it, neither by Gods lawes, nor by the lawes of the Realme. For first, the Church which they mean must be known: Second, whether those things which they call liberties, and say they would maintaine, be things lawfull and beneficiall to that *Princes* common wealth, or otherwise. And their knowe we doubt not but they shall bee answered according to Gods law, equity and iustice. Nevertheless for all their generality this wee dare affirme, that *(meaning what Church they list)* Wee haue done nothing that may not be asiden by, both by Gods lawes and mans lawes, or that is prejudiciall to our common wealth, if our proceedings may be indifferently considered. And in our owne Church of England, whereof wee be the supreme head on Earth, we haue done

(onerous and chargeable to them,)

nothing so *(extremely)* and as many of our Predecessors haue done, vpon much lesser grounds. Wherefore sithers this Article pertaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they beare anything therein, we cannot but reckon a great vnkindnesse and vnnaturalitie in them, which had leuer a Chorle or twaine should enioy those profits of their Monasteries, for the supportation and maintenance of abominable life, then that we their Prince should recieve the same towards our extreme charges, doon, and duly sustained for their defence against foraine enemies.

The third Article toucheth three things: the first is the lawes, the second is the common wealth, the third, the directors of the lawes vnder vs. Touching the Lawes, as it becometh not blindmen to indge any colours, ne to take vpon them to be iudges of the same: so wee dare exprefly and boldly affirme as a thing that may bee easily and duely proued, that there were neuer in any One of our Predecessors dayes, so many wholesome, commodious and beneficiall Acts made for the common wealth, as haue bin made in our time, & it shewes some of them had

(credit)

(our affaires)

(experience) & doing *(in the world,)* that wold now purchase *(vain)* prycke them thanke without desert. For our Lord forbid that both wee and our Councell should haue lost so much time, as not to know better now then wee did in the beginning of our raigne; what were a Common wealth, and what were against the good and commodity of the same, seeing wee haue bene a King these twenty eight yeeres, and by experience learned the pernitensse thereof: and although the folly and vnkindnesse

of some will not perchance let them so knowledge it, yett wee trust and doubt not, but the most part of our louing Subjects, speciallie those which bee not seduced by false reports, doe both thinke it, accept it, and finde it so. Now touching the Common wealth, what King hath kept his Subjects so long in wealth and peace, so long without taking or doing wrong one to another, so indifferently ministred iustice to all estates both high and low; so defended them from all outward enemies: so fortified the frontiers of his Realme so bis so little, and in manner inestimable charges, and all for their wealth and suretie? What King hath giuen among his Subjects moe generall or freer pardons? What King hath bene lother to punish his Subjects, or shewed more mercy among them? these things being so true, as no true man can deny them: It is an vnnatural and an vnkind demeanour of vs our Subjects to beleue or deeme the contrary of it: by whose report fouer it should be set forth against vs. And the beginning of our raigne, where it is said that so many Noblemen were Counsellors: we doe not forget who were then Counsellors: for of the Temporality there were but two worthy to be called Noble, the oon, the Treasurer of England, the other the high Steward of our household. Others,

(meane)

as the Lord *Marney* and *Darcy* but *(cant we)* born

(nor)

Gentlemen, *(and)* yet of no great lands, till they were promoted by vs, and so made Knights and Lords; the rest were Lawyers and Priests, sining the two Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Winchester*: If these then bee the great number of Noblemen, that is spoken off, and that our Subjects feared them concerned withall, why then bee they not now much better contented with vs, which haue so many Nobles indeed, both of birth and condition of our Councell. For first of the Temporality in our Priny Councell, wee haue the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Straw* and *(when bee is present)* the Earle of *Oxford*, the Earle of *Suffex*, the Lord *Sanders* our Chamberlaine, the Lord Admirall Treasurer of our house: Sir *William Paulet* Comptroller of our house. And of the Spirituallie, the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*. *(And for because it is more then necessary to haue some in our Priny Councell leuied in our lawes, and parts of the world: see by the aduise of our hole Councell of former tyme, did elect and chosse into our Priny Councell, and also into their roomer our Chamberler and Priny Celles, shynking them men in all our opinion, most meetest for the same roomer, and see with our hole Councell shooke it ryght strange, and yet, which bee but bratt, and vnexpert felde, doe take vpon you to appoint vs,*

Admissions were made with the King's hand.

(Marke)

who he meet for our Councell and who hee not. *(Now therefore now how these sedition persons which how farr be that wrongfull haue borne you thus in hand haue these)*

(false abused you,)

sions abused, that reckon there were then moe Noblemen in our Priny Councell then be now: but yett though of our great clemency & princely goodnes, we declare now the truth, to pull out subsidies from that error and blindness they were led and trained into, by false and vntrue surmise and report: Wee would againe that euery one of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any Subject, to presume to take vpon him, th' appointment of his King and Soueraigne Lords Councell. Ne for our part wee will take any such thing as any of our Subjects hands. Wherefore wee would that henceforth they should better remember the duties of good Subjects towards their naturall Liege Lord, and meddle no further of those or such like things, as they haue nothing to doe withall.

To the fourth Article, where the Commons doe

name

name certaine of our Councel to be subverters both of Gods law, and the lawes of this Realme: Wee doe take and repute them as iust and true Executors both of Gods Law, and as ferre as their Commissions vnder vs doe extend. And if any of our Subjects can duly prouoe the contrary wee shall proceede against them and all other offenders therein, according to iustice, as to our estate and dignity royall dooth appertaine. And in case it be but a false and an vntrue report, as we verily thinke it is, then it were as meet and standeth afield with iustice, that they should haue the selfe same punishment, which wrongfully hath obiected this to them, that they should haue had, if they had deserued it. And oon thing among others cansteth vs to thinke that this slander should bee vnerue, because it proceedeth from that place, which is both farre distant from that where they inhabite, and also from those people which neuer heard them preach, nor yet know any part of their conversation. Wherefore we exhort all ye our Commens to be no more so light of credit in the beleueing of yuel things (spoken of vs your natural Prince and Soueraigne Lord: Nor of any of our Prelates and Counsaillors, but to thinke that your King hauing so long reigned ouer you with the aduise of his Councill hath as good discretion to elect and chuse his Counsaillors, as those who so euer they bee that hath put this in your heads [or ye other being but ignorant people and ought off all expoynt off princes affairs.]

Here in this small point which yee our Commens of *Yorkshire, Westmerland, Cumberland, the Bishopricke of Durham, Eshemondshire, Crauen, Dent, Sedburie,* and all other places that haue bene fidocied to this Iustification doe desire; and also in the matter of the whole discourse of your Petitions. We verily thinke that the rest of all our hole Commens of many Countreys to whom you be in manner but an handfull, will greatly disdaine and not beare it, that you take vpon you to set order to vs and them, and specially to vs [being] Soueraign Lord to you both: [you being rebellers]

And that [because you be rebells,] you would make them as beaers and pertakers of your mischief, willing them to take pardon for Insurrections which verily we thinke and doubt not they neuer minded: but like true Subjects to the contrary haue both with heart and deede been ready at our call to defend both vs and themselves: and now for our parte as to your demands, we let you wit, that pardon of such things as you demanded lyeth onely in the will and pleasure of the Prince: but it seemeth by your lewde proclamations and false conductes, that there becomings you which take vpon them both the parts of Kings and Counsaillors. Which neither by vs nor by the Generall consent of our Realme hath been admitted to any such roome. What arrogancie it then in those wretches being also of none experience, to presume to raise you our Subjects without Commission or authoritie: yee and against vs vnder a cloked colour of your wealth and in our name, and as the successe and ende would declare if wee should not be more mercifull vnto you then you haue deserved to your owne vnter confusions. Wherefore wee late all you our said Subjects againe wit, that were it not that our Princely heart cannot recken this your shamefull insurrection and most ingrate and vnaturall rebellion to bee done of malice or rancour, but rather by a lightnesse giuen in manner by a naughty nature to a Comunalty, and a wondrous sudden surreption of Gentlemen: We must needs haue excused an other manner of punishment, then if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and submit your selfe to our mercie, wee extend to doe [as by our proclamations we doe] [ye be informed.]

Fynis.

The effect that the Kings reply wrought, is mani-

fested by his five pardons sent vnto the offenders, by Proclamation disuolged by his messenger at Armes and his trumpet throughout the North parts, the tenour whereof from the Originall is; as followeth.

All hee ye, that youe the Kings Subjects and Commens dwelling and inhabiting in the Shires of York, Cumberland, Westmerland, Northumberland, the Bishopricke of Durham, the City of York, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of Rynglan vpon Hull, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of Newcasle vpon Tyne, and the Shire of the same, and in other Shires, Townes, Dales, places primiledged, the Franchises and Liberties within the limits of the said Shires, Cities, and Townes, or any of them, or being repared or taken for any part, parcel, or number of any of them, and such other the Kings said Subjects, inhabiting in the Towne of Lancaster, or else where by North, in the Shire of Lancastere, haue now of late attempted and committed, manifest and open rebellion, against his most royall Majesty, whereby was like to haue ensued, the utter ruin and destruction of this hole Countrey, to the greivous comfort and auancement of your ancient enemies the Scots, which as his Highnes is credably informed, doe with a great Redoubt vnder the same, and to the high displeasure of God, who strictly commandeth you to obey your Soueraigne Lord and King, in all things, and not with violence to resist his will or Commandement, for any cause whatsoever it be: Men therefore the Kings most Majesty, perceiving as well by the Articles of their poyntes sent to his Highnes: As also dewly informed by credible reports, that their offences proceeded of ignorance, and by occasion of sundrie false tale peace minded or extended by his Highnes, or any of his Councell, but most especially contrived and most spitefully set abroad among you, by certayne malicious and felonious persons; and thereupon his Highnes inclined to extend his most gracious mercy and pity towards you, hauing these charges of you under God, both of your soules and bodies, and desiring rather the preferuacion of the same, and your reconciliation, by his most humble means, then by the order and rigour of Iustice to punish you according to your demerits, of his inestimable goodness, benignity, mercy, and pity, and at your most humble petitions and supplications made vnto his Highnes, he is content & pleased to give and grant, and by his present Proclamation doth give & grant vnto you, al and full & entire your confederacies, wheresoever they dwell, of estate, degree, or what condition soeuer you or they be, or by what name or names soeuer they or you be, or may be called, his Generall and free pardon for all manner of treasons, rebellions, insurrections, misprisions of treason, murders, robberies, felons, and of all offences of the same, and of euery of them, vntersfull assemblies, vntersfull Comunitiees, vntersfull speaking of wordes, confederacies, riots, routs: And all other trespasses, offences and contemptes, done and committed by you, or any of you against the Kings Majesty, his Crowne or dignitie royal, within and from the time of the beginning of the said rebellion wheresoever it was, vnto the present day of proclaiming of this Proclamation, and of all poyntes, iudgements, and executions of death, and all other penalties, forfeitures, fines, and forfeitures of Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods or Cattle by any of your forfeitures incurred by reason of the premises, or any of them: which Fines, Forfeitures, Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, and Cattle, the Kings said Highnes of his speciall grace, and more motion by these presents, giueth to each of you, as haue or should haue forfeited, or lost the same, by occasion of the premises or any of them: And also his Highnes is pleased, and contented, that you and euery of you from time to time, shall and may haue upon your seruites to be made hereafter in his Chancery, his said end most gracious and free pardon vnder his great Seale concerning the premises, without any further bill or Warrant to bee obtained for the same, and without paying any thing for the great Seale thereof: And that you and euery of you from time to time, may freely and liberally serue for his said pardon, when and as often as it shall like you, without any trouble, vexation or impeachment

King Henrys five pardons by T. C. Claueson.

for

for the premisses, or any of them, by his heires, or by any
his Officers, Ministers, or Subiects by any manner of
meanes or in any manner of wise. Forwaded abovesaid,
that you and course of you in taken of a perfect declaration
and knowledge, that ye doe herbye lament and be sorrie
for your said offences, shall make your humbly submissioun
unto his Highnes, in the presence of his right trustie and
right iustice belovéd Councillors: the Duke
of Norfolke, and the Earle of Shrewsburie his Lieutenants
Coverell, or any of them, or to their Deputy or Deputies
of them, or any of them, or such other person, or
persons as the Kings Highnes shall appoint for the same:
Furthermore the Kings most Majestie, freely
chargeth and commandeth that you and every of you, shall
from henceforth like true and faithful Subiects, use your
finesse, in Gods peace, and his, according to the duties of
allegiance, and that you shall in no wise hereafter, attempt
to make or procure, any such rebellion, intent, unlawfull
Assemblies, Riots, Revelts, and Conspirations, nor at the
Commandement, nor by the Authority of any person, of
what estate or degree, or for what cause soever it be, shall
arise in any forcible manner, and array, vntil it be at the
speciall commandement of the Kings Highnes, or his Lieutenants
justifiably authorized for the same. In witness
whereof the King most Royall Majesty, hath caused this
his Prædication to be made Patent, and sealed with his
great seyle at Richemonte the 1 X. day of December in
the XXVII. year of his Reigne. 1536.

Perdill.

Notwithstanding this Generall pardon and merciful
dealings of the King a new Insurrection was
raised in the North, wherein many of the former were
now againe Actors, as by name Robert Aske whom
the King had not onely pardoned, but also highly
rewarded, the Lord Dueris, Sir Robert Constable, Sir
Francis Bygnd, Palmer, Percy, Hamilton, Tempest and
Lewley, all of them put to death, as they well de-
served.

(92) In which Commotions those men whose
profession was onely the Booke and their Beades,
mistaking Christs meaning, who had his Disciples
to sell their coats, and to buy a sword, came armed a-
mong the Rebels into the Field, and with them were
as Traitors against the Crowne: for which
offence many of them suffered death: namely, John
Fellow Abbot of Whaley in Lancashire, John Cas-
legate and William Haydocke Monks of the same house,
Robert Heles Abbot of Werborne in Bedfordshire, Adam
Seadbury Abbot of Gersuace with Andrew a Monke
of that house; the Abbot of Sawley in Lancashire and
the Prior of the same place, William Wold Prior of
Birlington, the Parson of Padington, five Priests of
Lancashire, and with them their chiefeaine, Cap-
taine Collier, and John Allen Priest.

(100) The flatterers thus quieted and the Statesmen
as lesaure to prevent the like, a Commission came
forth to purge the Churches of Idols; and to
suppress the Monasteries to the King: vñ, gran-
ted unto him by Parliament: the one of them, the
onely working cause, through the gaine that was got
by ignorant devotion, and gadding on pilgrimage,
and the other, the Nest and very receptacle of all
traiterous attempters, against the peace of the Land
and Supremacy of the Crowne. The abolish of the
first was solemnly shewed at Pauls Crosse in London,
upon Sunday the twenty foure of February, by Do-
ctor John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, where the Rood
of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the Rood
of Grace, made with divers vices to bow downe and
to lift up it selfe, to shake, and to stirre both Head,
hands, and feet, to rowle the eyes, moove the lippes
and to bend the bowes; was then broken and pul-
led in peeces. So likewise the Images of our Lady
of Wallingham and Ipswich, let and be sprinkled with
lewell, and Gemmes, with divers others both of Eng-
land and Wales; were brought to London and burnt
at Chelsey before the Lord Cromwell. Then the Axes
of the heven began to cast downe the walls of all

Monasteries, whose number (as Camden doth ac-
count them) were sixe hundred forty nise, besides
four score and tenne Collegges, them of Oxford and
Cambridge not accounted: of Hospitals one hun-
dred and tenne, and of Chauntries and free Chap-
pels two thousand, three hundred, twenty foure,
all of them almost were then borne downe with the
sudden deluge of those tempestuous times, vñ, till the
world flood amazed, King Henrie proceeded, and
the Clergy men groaned vnder their owne destruc-
tions; among the Shrine of Thomas Becket was
defaced, which did abound with more then Princely
riches: whose meanest part was pure gold, garnished
with many precious stones, as Erasmus that saw
it, hath written, whereof the chiefeit was a rich
Gemme of France, offered by King Lewis, who as-
ked and obtained of you may be sure, he saying it (so
deare) that no passenger between Dover and Whit-
land, should perish by shipwracke; his bones by
Stephen Langton had bene laid in a golden Shrine,
his name canonized, and the day of his death made
annually holy, such concourse of Pilgrimes, such
pressing to touch him, and chace creeping, and kneel-
ing to his Tombe, that the prints of their deagion
in the Marble stones, remains to this day; every
Pillar resounding the miracles of this reputed Mar-
tyre, and the Church it selfe dedicated to Christ,
forced to give place to the name of Saint Thomas.
The Timber worke of this Shrine was covered with
plates of gold, damasked and embossed with wires of
gold, garnished with brooches, Images, angells, pre-
cious stones, and great Orient Peries: all these de-
faced filled two Chests and were for price of an un-
estimable value. But in Steele of these Daggers, the
golden English was commanded to be read in all
Churches, and Register Bookes of weddings, Chris-
tenings and Burials in every of them to be kept.

(101) The yettely reuencues of these, as they
were valued by the Commissioners, at their sub-
scriptions amounted to an unchamable summe, as ap-
peareth by the Original Booke it selfe prented to
the King, wherein more shall be spoken in the end of
this chapter, and yett most of them rated at Robur-
bated penny-worthes, what their rents were, a libell
carried abroad, and read to the king, by demonstra-
tion did prove, wherein was accounted, that vnto
the five Orders of Friers, (every householder paying
them five pence the Quarter) the summe of forty
three thousand, three hundred, thirty three pounds,
six shillings and eight pence sterling, was paid them
by yeere, besides the renewing of their owne lands,
which was not a little, so that not without cause
many entered into a Monasticall life, rather to live at ease,
and without cares of this world, then to feede the
flocke of Christ, or to winne them, and not them,
after the example of the Apostles. For the Testa-
ment of Christ, was vnto most of these, as a booke
sealed with seaven seales, and their mouthes vnmuzzled
they did deuoure, but not tread out the Corne,
so that the Sunne by their doctrine seemed to be
darkened, as with smoke, and themselves to be the
Locusts that overpeerd the superficies of the
Earth, whose faces were like men, pretending huma-
nity, their haire like women in shew of modesty, their
Crownes of counterfeited gould, signifying their
rusted authoritie, their teeth like Lyons shewing
their Tyranny, their force like horses prepared for
battel, their habergions of lion betokening their
strength, the sound of their wings, the thundring out
their mandates like to the rumbling of Chariots
in warre, their Tails (the false Prophets) haling
flings like vnto Scorpions, and their King the bad A-
baddon, even the Angell of the Bottomless pit. All
these allusions most aptly fitting these Cloistered
Friers, who now grown to the height of their finnes,
their skirts were discovered, that their flame might
appeare; being the only men then laid open to the
world.

(102) Against whose doctrine, besides many o-
thers

Could, writ.
441. Monas-
teries, in England,
no Collegges.
110. Religious
Hospitals.
1374. Chauntries
and free
Chappels

Eraf. Diabrye.

W Lamb.
Pence.The fine and ex-
pence of the
Seynt Becket.

John Dow.

The great riches
of Becket Shrine.The great reue-
nues of the Mo-
nasteries.Supplyment of
Beggers.The great reue-
nues of the
Friars.

2d. of 12. 16.

Dow. 1. 4.

Apoc. 9.

Ier. 23. 14.

Hollis. pag. 144.

Aske executed.

Lut. 14. 26.
Spiritual men
Communiates.Monks hanged
for rebellion.Idols and Mono-
stries suppres-
sed by Parlia-
ment.

A.D. 1538.

The Rood of
Grace broken at
Pauls Crosse.Lamb. From. in
Deuoy.Our Lady of
Wallingham and
Ipswich Images
burnt.

Henry suffered death for the Gospel before that Martin Luther wrote.

Queene Anne had a discourse of the Gospel, that she might be acquainted with the Protestants.

King Henry was always displeased with Cardinal Priests.

Card. Arde.

Lord Marquis and others beheaded. A.D. 1539. Jan. 9.

Job. Stedden.

King Henry married Anne of Cleve Jan. 6. An. 1540.

Feas. Mart. 1540.

thers in other forcible parts) two in the daies of K. Henry the fourth, the first English King that put anie to death for the doctrine of *Rome*; (omitting Sir John Oldcastle and others, that died for the Gospel's defence, in the daies of King Henry the fifth) foure in the raigne of innocent *Henrie* the sixth. One in the daies of King *Edward the fourth*, and tenne in the time of King *Henry the fourth*, sealed the doctrine against the papall religion with their blood; all of them being martyred before that *Martin Luther* wrote. And in the raigne of this King twenty five suffered the fire, before the flames thereof could be quenched, which a while was done by the means of good *Queene Anne*, till afterwards they mounted higher, when the five Articles were made; but because this Ecclesiasticke text is handled elsewhere, we will referre the Reader for their matters vnder the industrious paines of that worthy and ever venerable man *M. Fox*, taken in his Acts & Monuments of Ecclesiasticall history.

(103) The Monasteries thus dissolved, and the Revenues thereof converted to temporal uses, King Henry rancie in great obloquie of many foraine Potentates, but most especially of the Pope; who with Cardinal *Pole* infligated diuers Princes in Christendom to invade *England* thus fallen from his faith: Yea, & home-borne Subjects disliking the course for Papisticall subversion, by secret working sought to deprive King Henry, and so raised up *Reynold Pole* vnto the Regall dignity, as by their indentments appeareth. The persons conspired, were Lord *Henry Courtney* Marquisse of *Essex*, & Earle of *Deuonshire*, the sonne of Lady *Katherine*, the sixth daughter of King *Edward the fourth*: *Henric Paule* Lord *Montacute*, with Sir *Geffrey* his brother, and Sir *Edward Nevill* brother to the Lord of *Abergheny*. These *Poles* were the sonnes of Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, the onely daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*: and of these *Reynold Pole* once Deane of *Essex*, and now Cardinal at *Rome* was accounted the onely man.

(104) And this forsaide Lord Marquisse had formerly bene in such fauour with King Henry, that at his going into *France* he ordained him his Heire apparant, though at his returne vpon grame deliberation, he sawe it better policy to placke him downe then was vsed in setting him vp, left in setting his part vpon that infestine ilage, hee put the land to as much trouble as the arrested Duke *Richard of Yorke* had done, after hee was ordeined heire apparant, which Title produced the Tragedy of his raiser King Henry the sixt, and now hauing him and his Abettors vpon the aduantage, the better to secure his owne Estate, hee caused the heades of this Lord Marquisse with the Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevill* to be cut off vpon Tower-hill.

(105) The King then a Widower, since the death of *Queene Jane*, who departed this life two yeeres before, meant to maintain what hee had done, manag all opposites: which the better to effect, by the Councill of Lord *Cromwell*, he sought and obtained the alliance of the Princes of *Germany*, and heard the motion for marriage with the Lady *Anne* sister to *William Duke of Cleue*, whose other sister *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony* had espoused, a great fauourer of the Gospel, and maintainer of *Martin Luther* the zealous Preacher and professor thereof. But whether for the death of *Anne Bullen*, or that hee would haue his wiues sister bestowed neerer at home (which thing hee pretended) a great hinderer hee was of that match. But the Lady sent into *England*, and married vnto King Henry, seemed no lesse pleasing in his eye; which *Stephen Gardiner* then Bishoppe of *Winchester* perceiving, thought it a fitt subiect for him to worke vpon, against the Lord *Cromwell* the maker of the match; hee therefore instigated ieaousies dayly into the Kings eare, first exasperating the hatred of the Princes of *Germa-*

ny to him-wards, and especially of Duke *Fredericke* his compellive brother in Law, the Emperor, French Kings, Scots and the Pope, all seeking at once to raise their powers against *England*. The ciuill tumults lately passed, and new commotions greatly to be feared, hee letted not to remember; and all to nip the spring of the new spreading Gospel, whereby this wise Politician in the end got fix such Articles against it, as the Consistory of Hell could devise no worse. Whole cruelties were such that not long after, and in the daies of this King, some of those Acts were again repealed, and some of them qualified, as too sharpe and reaching into the blood of the Kings best Subjects.

(106) The fruite of these blood-thirsty infligators, the Lord *Cromwell* and Lady *Anne of Cleue* loomed, he by imprisonment and death, and the by disgrace and disuice; hauing been his wife from January to Iune, in all which time the King refrained the mutual knowledge of her body, for the dislike hee had of her person, euen at the first sight, as himselfe called to witness the Lord *Cromwell* when Prisoner in the Tower, for whose report hee wrote a Letter with his owne hand; and these good Lady no other cause alledged, was disuiced by Parliament, when also it was enacted that these should no longer bee styled *Queene*. The Lord *Cromwell* was charged by the Lord *Rich*, and Sir *George Throgmorton* with speaking of certaine generall words, not excepting therein the Kinges person, which neuerthelesse were thought to sleight and insufficient to take away his life, that his enemies feared to put it to the triall of his Peeres, lest he should be acquitted by them, as the Lord *Dueris* of the North now many yeeres before had bene; wherefore there was a Bill drawne to attain him of heretic and Treason, in generall words, rather then in particular proofes, which when hee was dead, passed in both houses of Parliament with the Kings assent:

(107) Howbeit *Samuel* that seldome speakes well of the Gospel's professors, will haue him to die for the breach of a Law made by himselfe, which was, that one appeached of treason, should not come in the Kings presence, till he had trued himselfe nor guilty; but besides that wee find no such Act by him made; his Indictment doth not charge him with treason, but with setting at liberty certain persons committed for misprision of treason and heresie; for fauouring and maintaining the translation of hereticall bookes into English; for bearing out *Barnes* and other hereticall Preachers; that himselfe was an hereticke, and had spoken words, great words for the vpholding of his said religion, which were, that she King should not change it if hee would; for these things hee was arraigned by Parliament of high Treason, and that grounded eicher vpon a Statute made in the five and twenty of *Edward the third*, or else by the explanation of that Act which reffereth the exposition of Treasons to the Parliament, and so no way did *Cromwell* deuise or make any law of treason, which himselfe first fell into, as that partiall *Romanist* hath said.

(108) But most sure it is, that the Kings affection, altogether guided by the fairest obiect, found no other point in the Compass to fixe his variable eye, besides that onely, which by his freeming was touched by the Loose-dione of nature, and the same to bee the Lady *Katherine Howard*, daughter to *Edward the brother of Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, against whom *Cromwell* standing in the defence of *Queene Anne*, and vying words of dislike in the Lady *Katherine*, distastfull vnto the King, was therupon apprehended (his enemy to working) and vpon the twenty eight of Iuly suffered death with the stroke of the Axe vpon Tower-hill, with whom was beheaded the Lord *Hungerford* of *Heisterbury*, neither so Christianly suffering, nor so quietly dying for his offence committed against nature.

The five Articles devised.

Si. H. chap. 26. 15. H. 8. chap. 11.

Lord Cromwell imprisoned.

In a letter with him by himselfe. 28. H. 8. Anno 3. H. 8. chap. 15.

Queene Anne divorced by Parliament.

Cromwell died his death arraigned by Parliament. 28. H. 8.

21. Sanders.

No such things as Sanders hath pulled against *Cromwell*.

No Act by *Cromwell* to cause his owne death.

Cromwell dislike of the Lady *Katherine* the cause of his death.

A.D. 1540.

Enggry.

A.D. 1541.
May 12.

Margaret Countesse of Salisbury beheaded.

Lord Darrell hanged.

Stat. 31. of H. 8. cap. 12.

Since the eight of a fignall proceeding.

Queene Katherine and the Lady Jane Becheford beheaded.

The oath of Supremacie ended.

Stat. 25. of H. 8. cap. 10.

Stat. 11. of H. 8. cap. 14.

The five bloody Articles ended.

(109) The sword thus vnteached vpon the necks of the Nobility, brucke off the head of *Margaret Countesse of Salisbury*, daughter and heire vnto *George Duke of Clarence*, and mother vnto *Reginald Pole* Cardinall, being neither arraigned nor tried, but condemned by Parliament as *Cromwell* had bin. And the Lord *Leonard Gray* in this present yeere lost his head for treason, the twenty eight of Iune. And the next day following *Thomas Fower Lord Darrells* of the South, died at *Tyburne* for killing a priuate man in a fray. Neither was it put vp, vntill that the heades of *Queen Katherine Howard*, and the Lady *Jane Becheford* were stricken off, the one for Adultery, the other for concealement, as was alleged, the parties offending were *Francis Dereham*, and *Thomas Culpeper*, *Dereham* before thee was Queene, and *Culpeper* after, who both were executed at *Tyburne*, the tenth of December, and the twelfth of February following. Mistrresse *Katherine Howard* (for so in the Act of Attainrate thee is called) who had beene filled and receiued Queene for the space of sixe months, and foure dayes, with the Lady *Jane* then in widow, and late wife vnto *George Bullen*, Lord *Becheford*, were both of them brought vnto a Scaffold raised vpon the hill within the Tower, wherethey in lamentable passions suffered death.

(110) Howsoever those times afforded such Queenes to the Kings bed, or himselte vnto fortune in making his choise: yet many of no meane iudgement haue rather accused King *Henry* for his changing and variable affections, then thinker them guilty in the breach of Marriomoy. Of *Anne* wee haue seene what hath bene said, and of this Queene lets heare what shee proceiued after her condemnation to Doctor *Willelme Bisshopp of Winchester* her last Confessor, and by him deliuered to a noble young Lord of her name, and neere alliance: Her words were these: As to the All my reuerend Lord for which I stand condemned, God and his holy Angells I take to witness for my faultes saluation, that I did guiltlesse, neuer hewing to abused my Soueraignes bed: what other faultes and follies of youth I haue committed, I will not excuse; but am assured that for this, God hath brought this punishment vpon me, and will in his mercy remitt them, for which I pray you, pray with me, vnto his fauour and my Souerain Christ.

(111) As thefe then in case of Treasons eyther acted or intended, ended their liues; so others in case of conscience (though diuersly affected) came to their deaths, and that by force of the Statutes enacted vnder this Kings whereof one was the abolishing of the Pope, and the oath of Supremacy, the refusal of either made offenders in state of high Treason, and the other in case of religion, when the fixe Articles enacted by Parliament, was made Heretic and death, to such as held or taught the contrary, which Articles were thus concluded in both the houses of Parliament with consente of the King.

1 That after the words of consecration spoken by the Priest, the reall and naturall body and blood of Christ, as hee was conceived and crucified, was in the Sacrament, and no other substance consisting, in the forme of bread and wine, besides the substance of Christ God and man.

2 That the communion in both kinds was not necessarie vnto saluation, the flesh onely in forme of bread, sufficient for the Laity.

3 That Priests after they haue receiued orders might not marry by the law of God.

4 That the vowes of chastity either in man or woman, ought by Gods law to be observed, and by which they are exempted from other liberties of Christian people.

5 That priuate Masse was necessary for the people, and agreeable to the law of God.

6 That aniclar confession was expedient to be retained, and continued in the Church of God.

These Statutes I lay aswell the one as the other, brought man to their ends, which otherwise were very good Subiects, and worthy instruments in the common weale: for offending in the first, there died *Bisshopp Fisher*, and Sir *Thomas More*, besides many Abbots, Priors, and Friars, and among them, in *Smithfield* the Welsh rode first *Frier Ferriell* on fire, according to the prophesy very ripe in their mouths, that this holy rode should set a whole forell on fire. For the other suffered in flames, many godly Christians, whereof *Robert Barner* a reuerend Doctor, and worthy minister of Christ, the first reducer (as M. Fox reporteth) of the Vnaserity of Cambridge from rudenesse and barbarity, vnto good literature and learning, was with the first: And *Anne Aske* a Gentlewoman of an incomparable dexterity one of the last, who, aboue the weaknesse of her sexe most valiantly stood against the violence of the time.

(112) Her birth was worshipfull, and education accordingly, bestowed in marriage, vnto *John Kyme* a Gentleman in *Lincolneshire*, and commended by *Rale* for her rare wit, and elegant beauty; which her parents the pensill of N. D. with his vniuersall hand (euer ouerhard to shadow the truth), hath slanderously blam'd and measured those graces in her, by his owne looke affections, and those wanton Vories, which in the height of linnehaue changed the naturall vie of women against nature.

This young heifer (saith hee) abiding no yoke, a coy dame, and of very small fame, left the company of *Master Kyme*, to gadde up and drowne a Goswell, and Gossiping where shee might, and egiht not, but especially in London, and neere the Court, was soon being faire and but twenty five years old at her death, such easily shew what may be suspected of her life, and the myrricall speeches and demands of the Kings Counsell touching her departure from her husband, were grounded vpon somewhat, especially on that shee called her selfe *Anne Aske* alias *Kyme*. This false this scandalizing man hath accused this holy *Anne* by the onward appearance of her youth and beauty: as holy *Anne* by *Eli* was accused of drunkennesse when her heart was most serene, in supplications to her God, and his partial pen made the same to lift the wheate of her holy conuersion to finde out some chaffe, whereof none is free, nor is there to be condemned vpon the imagerie of his suspitious head (who vndoubtedly would haue told all if any thing could haue bene found) whereas shee in the vigour of beany and weaknesse of her Sexe, resisted the gaine-sayers of the truth with her dearest blood: testifying from the Prisons her faith and constancy, and from the Racke preached Christ, whereon most vnhumane and against kind, hee was twice tormented; and lastly sealed her testimonie in *Smithfield* through the flames of fire: being borne to the place of her death in a Chair, her bones so disoimbed by the Racke that shee could not goe.

(113) The irreuerend * N. D. whose affection to Christs Gospell and loyalty to the *English Crowne* hath sufficiently shewed it selfe, to make her no Martyr, and that her life did demerit the Racke, saith that the King himselte commanded that torture to be inflicted, for infecting with her erroneous doctrine, his Court, his Nieces, *Suffolkes* daughters, and his Queene. Whereas the truth tels vs that the Lieutenant refusing to racke her the second time was threatened by *Wriethley* Lord Chancellor (who did it himselte) to be complained of to the King, who immediately tooke Boare and told the whole Tragedy; whereof King *Henry* seemed to be sore offended, for vling a woman with such inhumane tortures. But such fauours had the Popes Chickens vnder the shroud of the Church and wing of this Monarch, that they feared not to follow the appeale of death, even vpon her that slept in his owne bosome, which was *Queene Katherine Parr*, espoused vnto him some three yeeres before, and whom (as this

John Fisher, Sir Thomas More beheaded.

Fox. Mart. cap. 136.

Anne Aske her story. Sir John Cope & fol. 64.

Rale. i. ad.

These confessions by N. D. pag. 401.

Anne accused by mirals of Christianity.

Accused Anne compared.

The Crower, Newcastle and the Tower.

Anne Aske beheaded in Smithfield.

Protest as Anne suppo.

Three confessions. pag. 401.

See. 4th. R. Hen. 8.

Queene Katherine Parr beheaded.

16th. cen. p. 404.

Sunderdown
convent.

The Lord Chan-
cellor had his
commission.

The Queene
keeth the
sentence at her
death.

Queene Katherine
rejoiceth that
king, who letteth
us confesse
with her almost
religious.

A.D. and Mon.
Queene Kath-
erine writes

The Lord Chan-
cellor purpose
to apprehend
the Queene.

this Staates intellige doth confesse) he meane to have
burned had be longer lived. For the truth is (saith hee)
that the King sickness and death shortly ensuing was
the chiefe cause of her escape; and the error of the Lord
Chancellor Writheby, who let fall out of his busines, the
Kings hand and commission for carrying her to the Tower
gave occasion (the paper found and brought her) to goe and
humble her selfe to the King (the principal occasion against
her, was at Heretick Books, found in her closet, both brought
to sent her by Anne Askew, whose of these matters were the
Lady Herbert, Lady Jane, Lady Tyrrell, and others. In-
deed it is true that by Gods providence such papers
were let fall out of the Lord Chancellors bosome con-
taining certain Articles against her, with a warrant
to commit her to the Tower, whereunto the Kings
hand was subscribed: which being found was pre-
sently brought unto the Queene, whereof the un-
expected content so deeply touched her tender
heart, that forthwith there fell into great fea-
laments, and a most heavy melancholy, and was in
such danger of death, that the King came to visit
her, having not gone forth of his Chamber of
many dayes before; whereas she so rejoiced, as shee
began to amend: and to acknowledge her like love
and duty, the next night following, repaired to the
Kings Bed-chamber, accompanied onely with the
Lady Herbert her sister, and the Lady Jane the Kings
niece, carrying the Candle before her, of whose pre-
sence the King seemed to be most desirous; and pre-
sently falling in talke of Religion, began to debate
some question thereof with the Queene, demanding
to haue her resolutions therein, but shee knowing
that his nature was not to be croll, and the force of
his legges to encrease his chollier, made him an-
swere that for was a woman, accompanied with many im-
perfections, but his Majesty wife and iudicious, of whom
shee much learne as of her Lord and Head, for so God hath
appointed you (saith shee) the Supreme Head of vs all,
of whom next unto him I will ever learne. Not so, by
Saint Mary, said the King, you are become a Doe? or
Kate to instruct vs, and not to be instructed by vs as often
heretofore we have seene. I decide (saith shee) if your
Majesty be as I conceive, I have bene mistaken in my
meaning, who have ever held it propitious for a woman
to instruct her Lord. And whereas I have heretofore
held talke with your highnesse teaching Religion, it was to
learne of your Majesty some excellent point which my selfe
stood in doubt of: and sometimes to the end that you
might with lesse griefe passe over this painful time of your
unfitness, we herein if by my overmuch boldnes I have fau-
lered in the latter, yet have I not done in the former,
to my small benefit and comfort. And it is even so sweet
heart (quoth the King) why then, are we friends, and
so kissing her, gave her leave to depart. But the
day drawne on for her apprehension, and the King
disposed to take the ayre, sent for the Queene to
walke in the Garden, himselfe accompanied onely
with two Gentlemen, and shee with the three fore-
said Ladies. Whenas suddenly the Lord Chancellor
with forty of the Guard, came into the Garden,
with purpose to haue apprehended and carried the
Queene to the Tower; whose unexpected approach
the King greatly mistook, and sternely beholding
him, steps aside, saluting him with the names of
knaue, foole, and beast, hiding himselfe out of pre-
sence. The Queene seeing the King chafed, but
knew not the cause, indiscreetly by all means to
pacifie his Majesty, and intreated for the Lord
Chancellor, whose fault as shee thought and al-
leged, was rather through misimpression then will,
and therefore, said shee, I will become an humble suitor
for him unto your Highnesse. At whose saile (quoth the
King) thou little knowest I Kate bene cailed the deserveth this
grace at thy hands: of my word (sweet heart) hee hath
bene true as at these words knoweth. But in following this
tract of blood, flowed from the fontaine of the
fixe Articles, wee have stepped over some other
occurrences that happened somewhat before this
time, unto which with thy patience, good Reader, we

will retorne againe.

(114) King Henry by order of Parliament ha-
ving assumed the Style and Title of King of Ireland,
with the submission of most of the Irish Nobility,
James his Nephew, King of Scotland, took it not
well, for that, as Lately saith, a great part of Ireland,
especially in the North, had been in possession of the
Scottishmen for many hundred of yeeres before.
These discontents conceived, King Henry well per-
ceived; and because hee would haue no ill will to
nere him, that had so many enemies abroad, he sent
unto King James that it would please him to repair
unto the City of Yorke, where he would meet him, to
conferre for the wealth of both the Realmes, which
at first was granted, but vpon better aduise, vnac-
complished, his Counsellors mooving the dangers,
and his Clergy the feares, left their Religion should
be changed to the offence of his confederates the
Pope, the Emperour, and the French King.

(115) The vnkindnes growing from this small
spark, was presently kindled into great flames, for
Commissioners being sent from both Kingdoms, to view
the limits of either Kingdome, they fell at odds about
a small peece of ground, and from that took occa-
sion of emulation and warres: to profecute which
King Henry prepared an Armie, and sent them into
Scotland vnder the Conduct of the Duke of Nor-
folke, accompanied with the Earles of Shrewsbury,
Dorby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Angus and Rat-
land. These passing the English Marches, did much
hurt in the Kingdome of Scotland. To withstand
whom King James gathered a power, of five and
thirty strong, and at Fallow more meane to haue hid-
den the Duke battell, which as that writer relate,
was not then minded to doe, but made againe into
England, and passing the water Tweed, sustained great
losse by the courageous pursuit of the Lord Hunsly.
King James vpon a lusty courage meaning to repaire
the Scots losses with the English spoiles, was very
forward to follow the Duke into their Borders, but
the Scottish Nobility wisely warning the danger of
warre, by no means would either assent, or assist
him out of his owne kingdome, affirming it honour
sufficient, to haue forced the English backe with no
little losse.

(116) King James discontented at his Nobles de-
nials, made towards the Borders himselfe, whete,
mouing the Lord Mareschall, Lord Warden of the west
Borders, with many other men of speciall fauour and
account, to invade England, whereunto they gaue
their contents. These passing the River Esk, did
some small damage vpon the Western Borderers,
whereof Thomas ballard Dacres, and Luke of Mof-
graue as Hollosted calls them, sent word to Thomas
Wharston, Lord Warden for the King vpon the West
Marches: But the Scots coming forward, they
were forced to prepare for fight before the Lord
Wharston could come, and out of their small company
left a stand vpon the side of a hill.

(117) The Scots advanced forward with no lit-
tle hope, were presently daunted with the sight of
these men, and verily thought that the Lord Huns-
ton had assembled his Charge, or that the Duke of
Norfolke with a great Army were come to their re-
lief, whereupon they began to confalt what was best
to be done, and demanding who was depured Lieu-
tenant by the King, Oliver Sinclair of no great parts
nor honorable parentage, being lifted vp vpon the
Shoulders of two Soldiers, shewed forth the Kings
Commission, wherein himselfe was appointed their
Generall, and whereat howsoever it was writte or
read, the Lords took no little disdain that so ma-
ny more worthy, honourable, and approved Cap-
taines of the Field, should be led by this his Minion,
but no Scrunt of Mars. In whole contempt, and
for the indignation of their King, they suffered them-
selves to bee taken Prisoners, and willingly lost the
daye.

(118) This victory was wonne vpon the twenty
fourth

Henry of Henrich
the name of Lord
of Ireland. A. 1141
continued by
Parley. Hen. A.
John Lefg

The Kings of
England and Scot-
land agreed to meet at Yorke.

A. D. 1544.

An expedition
into Scotland.

The Scotch no-
bles refuse to
invade England.

The Lord War-
den of the West
Borders yield
to the Kings po-
wer.

A William Stof-
fey saith so.

The making of
the Scots.

Oliver Sinclair
King's Lieu-
tenant General.

The Scotch No-
bles in dis-
tance of their
owne field.

John Lefg.

Solow itself.

Grylls took
four and twen-
ties.The death of E.
James of Scot-
land.A marriage in-
duced between
Prince Edward,
and the young
Queene of Scot-
land.The Scotch pri-
soners honour-
ably encounterd.The Scotch pri-
soners released
without Ran-
some.

John Lefly.

The marriage
of Prince Ed-
ward and Queene
Mary, concluded
by Parliament.Cardinal Beza
against the mar-
riage with Eng-
land.The French King
his factions in
Scotland.The Queene,
and Queene
mother ready
to ad Sea-ward

fourth of November, at a place beyond *Carlew*, called *Solow-moffe*, where were taken Prisoners the Earles of *Cassils* and *Glenearne*, the Lords *Macarrell*, *Flemming*, *Summerwell*, *Oliphant*, and *Gryll*, *Sir Oliver Sinclair*, and others, to the number of one and twenty men of ac-
count, who were conveyed to *London*, and com-
mitted to the Tower. For griefe of which losse, and
suspicion of his Nobility, King James fell into a me-
lancholy Passion, which the birth of his new borne
Princcle rather increased, then gave him any comfort,
so as hee deceased the fourteenth day of December
following, foregoing (saith *Lefly*) great troubles to
follow in Scotland.

(119) Newes brought neere at one instant, of
the death of King James, & birth of the Princcle his
daughter. King Henry intended to doe that by the
match of a marriage, which long had bene assayed
by the sword of *Mars*: all things so conforing as it
did, hee having one onely Sonne, then about five yeres
of age, and Scotland no heire beside this new borne
daughter, their yeeres suiting a consent for marriage,
the whole Island offering both the joyner and dow-
ry, and that which most moved, their chiefe Nobility
in his owne hands, to be moulded for this designe,
as if heaven it selfe had bid the banns.

(120) Thole Prisoners therefore which had re-
mained in the Tower only two daies, upon the twenty
one of December, hee sent for to *Westminster*, the
Earles and Lords all suited in Gownes of blacke da-
mask, suited with Cunnay, whereafter some words
of friendly reproofe, they were bestowed among the
English Nobility, who vfed them according to their
estates: and the third day in *Chriftmas* were invited
to the Court at *Greenwich*, where they went before
the King to his Chappell, were royally scaffolded, and
the motion then made for the establishing of peace,
by the Continuation of the two Princes, whereunto
the *Scotch* were as willing as the English, & proffered
all forward assistance to have it accomplished. So
that these Nobles were delivred without other ran-
some, and richly rewarded at their departure from
Court.

(121) These returned into Scotland, declared
what they had done, and so effectually followed the
business, that in a Parliament assembled of the three
Estates, the marriage was confirmed, and a peace
proclaimed to continue betwixt the two Realmes
the space of tenne yeeres, which agreements were
sent into England by honourable Ambassadors, and
there interchanprably sealed betwixt these Potent
Estates. But Cardinal *Beza* Archbishop of Saint
Andrewes, fearing lest Scotland would change the
Church Orders, as England had done (the Bible already
read in their owne language, and the Popes viced
power called in Question, as then it began to be,
by the fervent preaching of Frier *Gualtero*, to the
great liking of most of the Lords) made some excep-
tions against the Earle *Arreane* the new chosen Go-
vernour, and second person in the Land, being neer-
ly in blood to the young Queene. And the French
King not liking this union with England, fought by
all means to breake the same match to effect which,
he sent the Earle of *Lennox* to perswade with the
Governour, with great proffers and promises of as-
sistance, but finding him faithfull vnto King Henry,
presently made faction for the French, wherein hee
drew the Queene mother, the Earles *Huntly*, *Argyle*,
Montrose, *Montrose*, and many more Peeres, the Car-
dinall amongst them ever the chiefe.

(122) Earle *Lennox* thus growne into credite
with the Queene mother, and made strong by her
adherents that favoured the French, presently claim-
ed to be Governour of Scotland, being the second
person of degree in the Realme, and withall to have
the custody of the young Queene, who with her mo-
ther were forthwith taken from *Linlithgow* under the
charge of the Governour *Arreane*, and brought vnto
Strueling strongly guarded, with the continual
presence of the Lords, *Lennox*, *Erskine*, *Flemming*,

and *Ruthwen*, least Queene Mary should be convey-
ed into England vnto King Henry. These violent
contries, caused great Emulations among the Scotch
Nobility, each of them sding as their affections
were ruled, but lastly agree to let the Crowne on
their young Queenes head: prepared for the solemn-
ity, whereunto all the Lords came, excepting thole
that stood for England, and from them the Govern-
our with much adoe was drawne to be present at
the Coronation: but that accomplished, and the three
affaires consilied upon, it was agreed that the French
Kings suite should be snoured, and that the Earle
Arreane should be Governour still, whereas Earle *Len-
nox* conceived such displeasure, as he became wholly
for King Henry, & joined himselfe with the Earles of
Angus, *Glenearne*, and *Cassils*, the Lords, *Macarrell*, *Sum-
merwell*, *Gray*, and others that stood with the Eng-
lish for the match with Prince Edward.

(123) King Henry then hearing what was done,
and intended, sent presently into Scotland to demand
the Custody of the young Queene, and that certaine
Scotch Noblemen might be appointed to gnrde
her in England, untill shee came to yeeres of consent,
according to Covenants formerly concluded, which
no waies would be granted, and thereupon hee pre-
pared an Army thitherward, under the Conduct of
Lord Edward *Semmer* Earle of *Hertford* Lieutenant
General by Land, accompanied with the Earle of
Sherburne, and a Fleet of two hundred saile by Sea,
whereof *Sir John Dudley*, *Vicount Lisle* was Ad-
mirall.

(124) To the aide of the Scots the Popes holie-
nesse was very forward, who sent them the *Patriarch*
of *Fenice* as his Legate, & Orator, to perswade their
Resolutions, with whom the French King sent *Mon-
sieur la Roche*, and *Monfieur Menager*, to lead them
to fight, and fifty thousand Crownes of the Sun, to sus-
taine the Charge: with manition worth ten thousand
Crownes more. It seemed by *Lefly* that part of this
silver fell into the Earle *Lennox* his hand, and that
therewith hee made head against the Governour,
but not able to match him, sent vnto King Henry for
aide, with proffer of his service against the French
side, which so well was accepted of Henry, as hee made
him his Nephew, by giving the Lady *Margaret* his
sisters daughter to be his wife.

(125) The English thus seceded with this va-
looked for Alliance, Cardinal *Beza* thought good
to binde all to the Governour, who with the Antho-
rity of the Queene *Dowager* proclaimed *Lennox* an
Enemy to the State. But in the meane while the
Admirall of England was entered the *Firth*, and at new
Hauen landed his men, where joining his to the land
Service, they altogether marched thence towards
Leith, him selfe leading the Vawed, *Sherburne* the
Rereward, and the Lord Lieutenant the maine Bat-
tell. These coming to *Leith*, spoiled the Town,
and thence to *Edinburgh*, burnt the City, and wa-
sted the Country for seven miles about, this done
they firre vpon *Haddington*, and *Dunbarre*, and
then the whole Army returned vnto *Burwick*.

(126) Whilst things thus passed in Scotland,
and the maine purpose resting in suspence, King Hen-
ry well knew where the greatest rub did lie in his
way, which was the French King, the chiefeft Abet-
ter of the *Scots*, whom hee euer vpheld, to hold him
tacke at home, least otherwise hee should tug with
France for his owne right. And therefore having
joined with the Emperour against the French, sent
his Herald, *Garter*, King at Armes, to demand cer-
taine covenants, which if hee refused, to proclaime de-
viance vnto open warres, but hee not suffered to doe
his message to the King, returned, and Henry pre-
pared an expedition into France, wherein hee im-
ploied the Dukes of *Normandie* and *Burgundie*, the Earles of *Ar-
mouille*, *Orleans* and *Savoy*, the Lords, *Fuill*, *Grey*, *Fer-
riers*, *Montmorency*, and *Saint-John*, besides many other
feruicable Knights, and *Sir John Dudley* appointed
high Admirall for the Seas. Of these some iointed

Queene Marie
of Scotland crown-
ed.The Earle of
Lennox is taken
from the Queene
mother.King Henry does
marry the
young Scotch
Queene.An Army sent
into Scotland.

John Lefly.

John Lefly.
The Pope and
French King send
aide into Scot-
land.John Lefly.
The Pope and
French King send
aide into Scot-
land.John Lefly.
The Pope and
French King send
aide into Scot-
land.The English en-
ter Scotland.

A.D. 1544

Distant sent
into France.

John Lefly.

with the Emperials, and shewed their value in the siege of *Maitell*.

(127) The Duke of *Stafford* in the meane while flauke downe his Standards on the East side of *Bolignoy*, and with many sharpe skirmishes, entred the baie Towne, which siege King *Henry* himselfe in person seconded, who having passed the Seas from *England*, vpon the first & twentieth of Iuly, encamped before *Bolignoy* on the East side, whence his Canons so rent the Walls and Bulwarks, as their mounted tops lay vpon the Ground, and his great mortar peeces were discharged with so skillfull a Compasse, that their bullets falling downe right, beate all buildings downe vpon the Enemies heads. Whereby (saith *Slendene*) in short time he got that, which neither his Father, nor the Kings in former times could neuer weare. For thereupon the Town was surrendered and cleared of the French soldiours, women and children.

(128) The King like a Conquerour with his sword borne before him entred the Gate, where the Duke of *Stafford* presented him with the keys of the Towne, the Trumpets still sounding, and nothing wanting that might applaud his fame. The Towne thus wonne, the English meant still to keep for the strengthening whereof, the King commanded the faire Church of *Saint Maries* to be taken downe, and in the same place, a mount to be raised for the planning of Ordnance, to annoy any siege. But being thus busied in *Bolignoy* affaires, the Emperour without his knowledge or consent came to a peace with the French King, whereto King *Henry* was sore displeased, and the sooner left *France*, leaving Sir *John Dudley Lord Lisle*, his deputy in *Bolignoy*, and landed at *Dover* the first day of *October*, to his great honor and ioy of his Subjects.

(129) The French King chafed with this late and great losse, fought to trie fortune in further attempts, and that not onely for the recovery of *Bolignoy* (which with twenty thousand well appointed he assailed) but also in assailing the English dominions, as the Ile of *Higle* and those parts of *Sussex* that lay vpon the Seas, though with losse of many Captaynes and thousands of Souldiers, that neuer returned to tell him what intertainment they had: as likewise in sending aide vnto *Scotland*, where *Montfieur Montgomery* of the Order of *France*, with 5000 strong, entred to maintain the breach betwixt them and *K. Henry*, which was so followed on both parts, as the English making a Roade towards *Greenworth*, got praille for their valour, but reproch for their impoles, and the Scots renowned for killing the Lord *Essex*, Lord *Warren* of the *East-Marches*, with many other Capitaynes in defence of their Country.

(130) Hereupon an Army of twelue thousand strong was sent into *Scotland*, whereof the Earle of *Hertford* was General: with these he foraged the Borders before him, and burnt many Townes in the Middle-Marches, with *Kilsey* & *Coldingham* Abbey, the French not halting to stay the incursion, lay still, and let them (vnfought with) depart for *England*.

(131) But the watres removed againe into *France*, the *King* came with a great power came to victuall a Fort built neere vnto *Bolignoy*, to impeach which, the Earle of *Surrey*, then Lieutenant of the Towne made forth, but was discomfited in the enterprize, and Sir *Edward Pymony* Captaine of a Band flaine, with fiftene other Capitaynes, besides many Officers and Common Souldiers. These Princes was in these violent proceedings, became very fearful least they would grow to the Common hurt of *Christendome*, and therefore many other potentates, whereof the Emperour was first, solicited these Kings vnto a peace, which the sooner was heard and imbraced, for that they were both of them old, and King *Henry* diseased in body. Commissioners therefore appointed exterraine Articles were agreed vpon: the first thereof was, that the French King should pay vnto King *Henry*, eight hundred thousand Crownes in eight yeres space, and then to reenter

vpon *Bolignoy*, but in the meane time it to remaine vnder the English: to accomplish which peace *Montfieur Danche* high Admirall of *France*, was sent into *England*; and Sir *Thomas Chyneys* Lord Warde of the Cinque Ports, to be the Kings Agent at the Fort, for the baptizing of the Dolphin new borne daughter.

(132) Notwithstanding these Compliments, the light of *Bolignoy* was a great lode in the French mens eyes, inasmuch that *Montfieur Chastell* Captaine of *Montfleur*, beganne to make a new *Bastillon* neere vnto the Towne, even in the very mouth of the River, which the Lord *Grey* of *Wilde* perceiving certified the King, what inconuenience would happen if that were made strong, and the same disuised at the Counsell-Table, in passed with one voice that the Peace with *France* was not to be intending, notwithstanding this French attempt: to which end a prohibition drawne, wherewith King *Henry* alio fit his hand, that no let should be made against *Chastell* in his Fort. Howbeit the King commanded Sir *Thomas Palmer* (employed in this buisnes) to hid the Lord *Grey* to impeach the new worke, and to far so much as was raised thereof vnto the Earth. This commission read with the report of Command to the Contrary, the Counsell of State, thought it most meete to follow their instructions in writing, lest the words might either be misdelivered or mistaken. But the Lord *Grey* causing the messengers words to be writ, and subscribed with all their hands that were present at the report; suddenly and vnlooked for, came to the Fort, and in foure houres space call downe, what had beene in raising three moneths before, which when the King heard off, he asked his Counsellors what they thought of this, that *Chastell* garden was call downe: amongst whom one of them answered, the deer thereof was worthy to looke his head. I had rather (saith the King) looke a dozen of such hendes as thine is, then his that had done the deed, and immediately let the Lord *Grey* his pardon with many great thanks.

(133) But now the date of his time almost run; and he preparing towards the way of all flesh, the great and faire Church of the *Grey Friars* London, lately suppressed by himselfe, he caused againe to be opened, and to be made a Parish Church, giuing the reuerences thereof vnto the Cite of *London* towards the reliefe of their poore, wherunto he gaue five hundred Markes yearly of Lands for euer to maintain Gods diuine seruice and the said Churches reparations, within whose walles we finde this often written, *This is Christs Church founded by King Henry the first*.

(134) And his sickness increasing to the great danger of life he prepared himselfe to make his Will, wherein howsoever titles had been vnabled in Parliaments, he ordained his three children to succede each after others, for want of other Issue: One thousand markes he commanded to be giuen to the poore, and to twelue poore Knights at *Windsore* each of them twelue pence a day for euer, every yere a long Gowne of white cloth, the Garter imbrodered vpon the breast, wherein was placed the Croffe of *Saint George*, and a Mantle of red cloth to be worn thereupon, ordaining for his Executors in the minority of Prince *Edward*, these heere vnder named,

- 1 Thomas Crommer, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.
- 2 Thomas Wriethesley Lord Chancelier.
- 3 William Paulet Knight of the Order.
- 4 Lord *Saint John* Great Master of the Household.
- 5 John Russell Lord priuie Seale.
- 6 Edward Seymour Earle of *Hertford* Lord great Chamberlaine.
- 7 John Dudley *Vicomte* Lisle Lord high Admirall.
- 8 *Carlbert Tunstall* B. of *Durham*.
- 9 *Anthony Browne* Knight M. of the Hostie.
- 10 William Paget Knight of the Order.
- 11 *Edmond Montague* Chiefe iustice of the Common-pleas.

Peace concluded betweene England and France.

Maitell.

Chastell reflecteth a fort neere vnto *Bolignoy*.

King *Henry* desired against his own winning.

The Lord *Grey* rescued *Chastell* fort.

A.D. 1547.

King *Henry* sick.

John Star in *Surrey* Landed.

Dated the 10. of December and 3. of his reigne.

- 12 *Thomas Bramley* Lord Chief Iullice.
- 13 *Anthony Dery* Knight.
- 14 *Edward North* Knight.
- 15 *Edward Witten* Knight.
- 16 *Doctor Witten* Deane of *Canterbury*.

*And for their aide and assistance in Council
be appointed the following.*

- 1 *Henry Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundel*.
- 2 *William Parre* Earle of *Essex*.
- 3 *Thomas Cheney* Knight, Treasurer of the Household.
- 4 *John Gage* Knight, Cōsroier of the Household.
- 5 *Anthony Winkfield* Knight, Vice-Chamberlain.
- 6 *William Peter* Knight, principall Secretary.
- 7 *Richard Rich* Knight.
- 8 *John Baker* Knight.
- 9 *Ralph Sadler* Knight.
- 10 *Thomas Seimer* Knight.
- 11 *Richard Southwell* Knight.
- 12 *Edmund Perham* Knight.

King Henrie
died.

And in great penitency for his finnes, died vpon Thursday the twenty eight day of Ianuary, in the yeere of *Christ Iesus* 1546. when hee had reigned thirty seven yeere, nine moneths, and five daies, shad liued fifty five yeres, five months, & five daies, whose body with great solemnity was buried at *Windsore* vnder a most costly and lately Tombe begonne in Copper and gault, but neuer finished, in the inclosures of whose Grates is curiously cast this inscription. *HENRICVS OCTAVVS REX ANGLIÆ, FRANCIAE, DOMINVS HIBERNIAE, FIDELI DEFENSOR* with what cost and rate this his Monument was intended, is manifested by a Manuscript taken from the true modell thereof, which I receiued from that industrious Herald, Master *Nicholas Charles Lunsay*, and for the great magnificence is worthy here to be inscribed.

*The manner of the Tombe to be made
for the Kings Grace at Windsore.*

First, the pavement wherevpon the Tombe shall stand, shall be of Orientall stone: That is to say, of *Alabaster*, *Porphie*, *Serpentine*, and other stones of diuers colours, as in the patterne sheweth.

Item, vpon the same Pavement shall be two great steps vnder all the worke of like Orientall stones.

Item, the Basement of the Pillers shall be of white Marble with Angels holding betwene them Crownes or Garlands guilt, and white Marble as more plainly sheweth in the Patterne.

Item, aboue the said Basement and Angels, shall be all the old Testament, that is to say, xiiij. Images in the xiiij. Calcements of the same two Pillers of the Prophets, and all the Pillers which shall be xvi. shall be of stones *Serpentine*, *Porphie* and *Alabaster*, and other fine Orientall stones, of such colours as is shewed in the Patterne; and the foote of every pillar, and also the head shall be of Brasse. And every Prophet shall haue an Angell sit at his foote, with Scripture of the name of his Prophet, and aboue oer the head of the same shall bee the story of his Prophet: in euery of which Story shall bee at least viij. or x. figures.

Item, aboue all the same Pillers shall bee another Basement of white Marble, with a partition being made of such fine Orientall stones as the Pillers bee, wherein shall bee written such Scripture as please you.

Item, aboue the same Basement shall be the Story of the new Testament, that is to wit, with the Images of the Apostles, the Euangelists and the foure Doctors of the Church, and every Image shall haue sitting at his foote a little child with a Scripture of the name of his Image, and a little Basket full of

red and white Roses, which they shall shew to take in their hands, and cast them downe off the Tombe and oer the Pavement, and the Roses that they shall cast oer the Tombe shall bee enamelled and guilt, and the roses that they cast oer the Pavements shall be of fine Orientall stones of white and red.

Item, behinde all the same Images of the new Testament round shall be made in brasse and guilt all the life of *Iesus Christ* from the natiuity to his ascension, and it shall be so clearly and perfectly made, that the Mytery of *Christ*'s life to his ascension shall plainly appere.

Item, aboue the said new Testament and Images thereof, and aboue the said life of *Christ*, shall bee a Quire of x. Angels standing vpon a Basement of white Marble, with great Candlesticks in their hands haning lights in them shewing to honour and reuerence the same Tombe.

Item, all these foresaid figures, stories and ornaments shall be made to garnish and orase the two Pillers of the Church betwene which the Tombe shall be set.

Item, betwene the said two great Pillers of the Church thus garnished, shall be a Basement of white Marble of the heighs of the Basement of the Pillers, and therein the Epitaph of the King and Queene, with letters of gold, of such Scriptures as yee desire.

Item, vpon the same Basement shall bee made two Tombes of blacke touch, that is to say, on either side one, and vpon the said Tombes of black Touch shall be made the Image of the King and Queene on both sides, not as death, but as persons sleeping, because to shew that famous Princes leauing behinde them great fame, their names neuer doe die, and shall lie in roiall Apparels after the antique manner.

Item, oer the right hand, oer both the sides of the same Tombe shall be an Angell which shall hold the Kings Armes, with a great Candellicke, haning as it were light on it as a Lampe, and in like manner shall be an other Angell holding the Queenes Armes on the left hand with a like Candellicke.

Item, on the right hand and left hand on both the sides oer the said Images of the King and Queene, shall be two Angels shewing to the people the bodies of the King and Queene holding aboue their Heades veiles of gold, and the Crownes of the King and Queene on their hands.

Item, betwene the said two Tombes of blacke Touch and the said Angell oer the King & Queene shall stand an high Basement like a Sepulchre, and on the sides whereof shall be the story of *Saint George*, and oer height of the Basement shall bee made an Image of the King on Horsebacke, liuelie in Armor like a King after the Antique manner shewing in countenance and looking on the said two Images lying on the said Tombes.

Item, on the right hand and left hand of the said two Tombes shall bee foure Pillers of the foresaid Orientall stones, that is to say, on either side two Pillers, and vpon every Pillar shall bee a like Basement of white Marble with paritions for Scriptures as shall be aboue the other Pillers. And on the same foure Basements of the said Pillers shall bee made foure Images, two of *Saint Iohn Baptist*, and two of *Saint George*, with foure little children by them casting roses, as is aforesaid.

Item, oer the said Image of the King on Horsebacke shall bee made an Arch triumphall, of white Marble wrought within, and about it, and vpon the same Arch, in manner of a Calcement of white Marble garnished with like Orientall Stones of diuers colours, as the pattern sheweth, and on the two sides of the said Calcement shall be made and set of brasse guilt, the story of the life of *Saint Iohn Baptist*, and one height of the said Calcement shall bee made five steps, euery one more then oer downward, of like Orientall stones, as the said Pillers shall shew.

Item, on the foure corners of the said Calcement shall

shall be made the Images of the foure Cardinal ver-
gues hauing such Candlestickes in their hands as is
aboue said.

Item, on the toppe of the highest step of the said
five steps on the one side shall be an Image of the
Father, hauing in his left hand the Soule of the King,
and blessing with his right hand, with two Angels
holding abroad the Mantle of the Father on either
side.

Item, in like wise shall be made on the other side
the said Image of the Father, hauing the soule of the
Queene in his left hand, blessing with his right hand
with like Angels.

The height of the same worke from the Father
vnto the Pavement shall be xxviij. foote.

Item the breadth and largenes of the said worke
shall be xx. foote, and the Pillers of the Church in
greenes, v. foote : so fo the largenes of the said
worke, from the veterano ft part of the two great Pil-
lars shall be xx. foote.

Item, euery of the Images of the xiiij. Prophets,
shall containe euery Image .v. foote in length, and
the Angels shall containe two foote and a halfe in
length.

Item, euery of the xx. Pillers shall containe in
length x. foote.

Item, euery of the Images of the Apostles, Euan-
gelists and Doctors shall containe in length .v. foote
and the Angels as is aboue said.

Item in likewise euery of the xx. Angels of the
quire shall containe in length two foote and a halfe,
and in likewise the Images of the Children two foote
and a halfe.

Item, the foure Images of St. John Baptist and St.
George and all the figures of the father and Angels
on the .v. steps shall be .v. foote.

Item, the foure Images of the King and the Queen
shall be of the Statute of a man and woman, and the
foure Angels by them of the stature of a man euery
one.

Item, the Image of the King on Horseback with his
Horse shall be of the whole stature of a goodly man
and large Horse.

Item, there shall be a xxxviij. figures, xiiij. Stories,
and all of Beasts gilty, as in the paterne appeareth.

(131) This magnificent Monarch was of pre-
sence Maiestical, and of Personage more then ordi-
nary tall, faire of Complexion and Corpulent of bod-
dy, very wise and very well learned, of a sudden and
ready speech, in youth very prodigall, and in his age
very liberrall, pleasant and affable, but not to be del-
ayed with, bolde in attempting, and euer thirstie of
potent glory: an expert Souldier, and fauouring such
as were active or fruiteable, according to the then
vsual saying, *King Henrie loues a man*: and indeed
somewhat too wel the delights with women, as by
his many wives heere ensuing, may well appeare.

His Wives.

(136) *Katherine* the first wife to King Henry was
the daughter of *For demandy* the first King of Spain,
and widow dowager of Prince *Arthur* his elder brother,
as hath bene said: she was married vnto this
King the third of Iune: and first of his Raigne, the
yeere of saluation 1509. being solemnely crowned
with him vpon the twenty fourth day of the same,
and was his wife about twenty yeeres, and then di-
uorced from him by the sentence of the Archbishop
of *Canterbury*: liued three yeeres after by the name
of *Katherine Dowager*. Shee decaied at *Kimbulton*
in the Conney of *Huntington* the eight of Ianuary,
and yeere of Christ 1535. and lieth interred on the
North-side of the quire in the Cathedral Church of
Peterburm vnder a hearle of Blacke Saye, hauing a
white Crosse in the middelt.

(137) *Anne*, the second wife of King Henry, was
the second daughter of *Sir Thomas Bullen*, Earle
of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. Shee was solemnly at *Wind-*

fore created *Marchionesse of Pembroke*, the first of
September and twenty foure of his Raigne, hauing
one thousand pound giuen her by yeere, to main-
taine her estate. Shee was married vnto King Henry
in his Closet at *White-Hall*, vpon the twenty fift day
of Ianuary, and yeere of Christ 1513, being the
foure and twentieth of his Raigne, and was Crowned
with all due obseruances, at *Westminster* vpon *Whit-*
sunday the first of Iune, where the Crowne of *Saint*
Edward was let vpon her head, the scepter of *God*
deliuered into her right hand, and the Lincy rodde
with the Doue into her left. Shee was his wife
three yeeres, three monethes and twenty five daies,
when being cut off by the sword the nineteenth of
May, her body was buried in the Quire of the Chapp-
ell in the Tower, leauing her accouled fame to bee
confirmed as affections best possit the vncharitable
minded, and her bed to bee possit of a vertuous
Lady.

(138) *Isabel*, the third wife of King Henry, was the
daughter of *John Semur* Knight, and sister to Lord
Edward Semur, Earle of *Hertford*, and Duke of *Sum-*
merfet. Shee was married vnto him the twentieth
of May, euen the next day after the beheading of
Queen Anne, and the twenty eight of his Raigne.
Shee was his wife one yeere, sixe monethes and twenty
foure daies, and died in Child-bed the nineteenth
of October, to the great griefe of the King, who not
onely removed from the place, but kept him selfe
private, and wore the Garment of mourning euen in
the Festiual time of Christmas, her body was so-
lemnely conaied to *Windsore* the eight of Noiem-
ber following, where she was interred in the middelt
of the Quire of the Church within the Castell.

(139) *Anne* the fourth wife of King Henry and
sister to *William* Duke of *Cleue* was married vnto him
the sixth of Iannary in the thirty one yeere of his
Raigne, the yeere of Grace, 1541. shee was his wife
sixe moneths, after which time certain Lords of
the vpper House of Parliament came into the as-
sembly, and alledged cause for which that marriage was
vnlawfull, whereupon shee was diuorced, and by
Sentence enacted, that shee should no more be taken
for Queene, but should be called the *Lady Anne* of
Cleue. See remained in *England* long after the Kings
death, though small mention is made of her by any
of our Writers, only we finde that she accompanied
the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London* at the solemniz-
ing of *Queene Maries* Coronation.

(140) *Katherine* the fifth wife of King Henry
the eight, was the daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece
vnto *Thomas Howard* his brother, Duke of *Norfolk*.
Shee was married vnto him the eight of August
and yeere of Grace 1540. being the thirte two of his
Raigne, at *Hampton Court*, and continued his
Queene the space of one yeere, sixe moneths and
foure daies, and for her vnchalle life was attained
by Parliament, and for the same beheaded within
the Tower of *London* the twelfth of February
and her body buried in the Chancell of the Chappell
by *Queene Anne Bullen*.

(141) *Katherine* the sixth and last wife of King
Henry was the daughter of *Sir Thomas Perre* of *Ken-*
dall and sister to Lord *William Perre* Marquesse of
Northampton, shee was first married to *John Newill*,
Lord *Latimer*, and after his decaise, vpon the twelfth
of Iune married vnto the King at *Hampton Court*,
the yeere of Saluation, 1541. and thirte fise of his
Raigne: Shee was his wife three yeeres, sixe months
and fise daies, and furnishing him, was againe mar-
ried vnto *Thomas Semur* Lord Admiral of *England*,
vnto whom she bare a daughter, but died in the same
Child-bed, the yeere of Grace, 1548.

His Issue.

(142) *Henrie* the first sonne of King Henry by
Queene Katherine his first wife, was borne at *Rich-*
mond in *Surry* vpon the first of Ianuary, and the first
of

A. D. 1533.

A. D. 1536.

A. D. 1540.

A. D. 1533

of his fathers Raigne, whole Godfathers at Font were the Lord *Cramer*, Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and the Earle of *Surrey*: his Godmother, Lady *Katherine* Countesse of *Devonshire*, daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. This Prince lived not fully two months but died in the same place wherein he was borne, vpon the two and twentieth of February, and his body with all due obsequies buried in *Westminster*.

(143) A sonne not named was borne vnto King *Henric* by Lady *Katherine* his first Queene in the month of November, and the sixth yeere of his Raigne, who lived not long, and therefore no further mention of him can be made: the deaths of these Princes King *Henric* tooke as a punishment from God, for so he alleged it in the publicke Court held in Blacke-frices *London*, they being begot on his owne brothers wife.

(144) *Marie* the third child and first daughter of King *Henric* by *Queene Katherine* his first wife, was borne at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, the eighteenth of February in the yeere of Christs humanity, 1518. and the eighth of his Raigne. Shee was by the direction of her mother brought vp in her Childe-hood by the Countesse of *Salisbury* her neere kinswoman, for that as some thought, the *Queene* wished a marriage betwixt some of her sons and the Princeesse, to strengthen her Title by that Alliance into *Turke*, if the King should die without issue Male. In her young yeeres shee was fued to be married with the Emperour, the King of *Scots*, and the Duke of *Orleans* in *France*, but all these failings, and shee succeeding her brother *K. Edward* in the Crowne, at the age of thirte fixe yeeres, marched with *Philip* King of *Spain*, to the great dislike of many, and small content to her selfe, hee being imployed for the most part beyond the Seas, for griefe whereof and the losse of *Calais*, shee lastly fell into a burning fever, that cost her life.

(145) *Elizabeth* the second daughter of King *Henric*, and first child by *Queene Anne* his second wife, was borne at *Greenwich*, vpon Sunday the sixteenth of September, the yeere of Christ Iesus, 1534. and twenty five of her Fathers Raigne, who with due solemnities was baptized the Wednesday following, Archbishop *Cramer*, the old Dutche of *Norfolke*, and the old Marchionesse of *Dorset* being the witnesses at the Font, and the Marchionesse of *Exeter* at the confirmation: Shee succeeded her sister *Queene Marie* in the Monarchy of *England*, and was for wisdom, vertue, piety, and lustre, not one-

lie the Merour of her Sexe, but a pattern for Government to all the princes in Christendome: whose name I may not mention without a dutifull remembrance, and whole memory vnto me is most deare, amongst the many thousands that received extraordinary fauours at her gracious and most liberal hand.

(146) Another man-child *Queene Anne* bare vnto King *Henry*, though without life vpon the nine and twentieth of January, and twenty seuen of his Raigne, to the no little griefe of the mother, some dislike of the King, as the sequel of her accusation and death did shortly confirme.

(147) *Edward* the last child of King *Henry*, and first of *Queene Jane* his third wife, was borne at *Hampstan* Court, the twelfth of October, the yeere of Grace, 1537. and twenty nine of the Kings Raigne, being cut out of his mothers wombe as it constantly affirmed, like as *Iulius Caesar* is said to haue been: his Godfathers at the Font, was *Thomas Cramer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, his sister Lady *Mary* being Godmother, sixth *Grafton*: Sixe daies after his birth he was created Prince of *Wales*, and at the death of his Father, succeeded him in all his Dominions, of whom more followeth hereafter.

His Naturall Issue.

(148) *Henric Fitz-Rois* the naturall sonne of King *Henric* the eight was begotten of the Lady *Talboste* called *Elizabeth Blount*, and borne in the Mannor of *Blackmore* in *Essex* about the tenth yeere of his Raigne: at the age of fixe yeeres he was created Earle of *Nottingham* and in the one and twentieth of his Fathers Raigne vpon the eighteenth of Iune in the Kings Pallace of *Brudenell* was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, Lord Warden of the East, West, and Middle-Marches against *Scotland*, and Lieutenant Generall of all the parts of *England* Northward, he was a Prince very forward in Martiall Activities, of Good literature and knowledge in the tongues, vnto whom the learned Antiquary *Ieland* dedicated a Booke: He married *Marie* daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle Marshall and Lord high Treasurer of *England*, with whom he liued not long, but died at *Saint James* by *Westminster* the two and twentieth of Iuly in the yeere of Christ Iesus, 1536. and was buried at *Triningham* in *Suffolke*.

His Issue.

A.D. 1519.

His Issue.

Thomas Fitz-Rois.
Married with
Elizabeth Blount.
Died in 1536.



He tempestuous stormes in the Raigne of this King *Henric* the eight, and the violent deluge raised against the Church-state of his times, bare downe so many religious strong foundations, and were the destruction of so many beautifull Monasteries, as the onely relation of their numbers and names, would haue much interrupted the narration of his history. Wherefore to retaine their memorials (though their walls are laid waste) apell for the reuerence we owe vnto venerable Antiquity, as for the example of their Founders holynesse, we haue inserted a Catalogue of their names, orders, and true valuations, as in the origmall Booke thereof taken by *Commission*, and giuen vnto the King, we finde them downe, though at their dissolutions their values were somewhatly and farre vnder rated. Some Founders, and times of foundations we want, the rest, to breuifnesse, to auoid prolixity we haue set downe in this present following

CHAPTER.



A CATALOGVE OF THE RELIGIOUS
HOUSES WITHIN THE REALME OF ENGLAND AND
VVales, with many their Orders, Founders, and Values, most of them being sup-
pressed by King Henry the eight. Together with such other sacred places, as
either then were by him left standing, or since have been created.

by W^m. Brouncker Esq^r the Sec^y of the Treas^y.

BARKESHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| | | | | L. s. d. ob. q. |
| Reedings. | Saint Lucie | { By Queene Affraik.
By King Henry the first. | { First Nunnes, after
Blacke Monks,
Cisterciens. | 3115 03 09 00 q |
| Abingdon.
Beoma l in
Windles For-
rest. | Saint Mary. — M | Cyff. King of the West-Saxons. | Blacke Monks. | 3043 02 08 00 q |
| Billicham now
Bilham. | S. Mary Magd. — N | Edward the Blacke Prince. | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Donington.
Donington.
Hamme. | { Christ Iesus } M
{ & our Lady } | { William Mauncerne the first Earle of Sa-
isbury, A. 12. E. 3.
Richard de Abberbury Knight.
Richard de Abberbury Chireluer. | { Canons.
Ordre Sainte Croix. | { 0137 04 06 00 0
0020 16 06 00 0 |
| Hartley. | Saint Mary. — M | — | { Blacke Nunnes.
Blacke Monks,
Westminster. | { 0134 10 08 00 0
0024 03 01 00 0 |
| Murelsey. | — P | { The Predecessors or Ancestors of the Ab-
bess of Almarbury. | — | 0071 10 07 00 0 q |
| Pogbly. | — M | { Edmund Count of Richard, King of the
Romans, and Earle of Cornwall. | { Blacke Monks of
Saint Albans. | 0033 13 08 00 0 |
| Shottesbroke. | — C | Edward the Blacke Prince. | — | 0006 00 00 00 0 |
| Wallingford. | Saint Trinity. — P | — | — | — |
| Wallingford. | — C | — | — | — |
| Wallingford. | Saint Iohn. — H | — | — | — |

BEDFORDSHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founders and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|----------------------|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | L. s. d. ob. q. |
| Bedford d. | — F. | Lady Margarete de Passybak. | { Priests Minors, aly
Grey Friars. | 0007 00 00 00 0 |
| Bedford. | Saint Iohn. — H | — | — | 0031 00 08 00 0 |
| Bedford. | Saint Leonard. — H | — | — | 0016 06 08 00 0 q |
| Biggleswade. | Sainte Tru. — C | Ecc ^{le} So. Andre. | — | 0007 00 00 00 0 |
| Bulco. | — M. | — | — | 0141 18 03 00 0 |
| Bulhemede alias
Bilhemed. | — P | { Hoge de Belle Campo, and Roger his bro-
ther. | { Canons Augustines. | 0081 13 05 00 0 |
| Caldecot. | S. Iohn Baptist. — P | The Lord Latimer, Alij Iohn de Wyddesley. | Blacke Canons. | 0148 15 10 00 0 |
| Chickford. | Saint Mary. — P | Paine de Beauchamp. | White Canons, Nunnes. | 0130 03 04 00 0 |
| Eaton. | Corpus Christi. — C | — | Blacke Canons. | 0007 16 00 00 0 |
| Dunstable. | Saint Peter. — P | King Henrie the first. | Foris Preachers. | 0404 14 07 00 0 |
| Dunstable. | — F | — | — | 0009 08 07 00 0 |
| Fraterstraitheden
Eloeflowe alias
Helenflow. | — N | Indich wite to Walthers E. of Huntingdon. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0335 03 01 00 0 q |
| Harwood alias
Hartwood. | Saint Peter — P | Samson surnamed Fertie. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0047 03 03 00 0 |
| Markeyse. | Saint Giles — N | { Gilbert de Clare Earle of Gloucester and
Hereford. Anno 6. E. 1.
Kass the wife of Paine de Beauchamp. | { Nunnes. | — |
| Neneham. | — P | — | Canons Augustines. | 0142 15 01 00 0 |
| Nunhyle. | — C | — | — | 0001 03 08 00 0 |
| Sanctingfield
near Wickand. | — H | King Henrie the second. | — | — |
| Wardon. | Saint Marie — M | King Henrie the first, and Walter Effes. | White Monks. | 0441 11 11 00 0 |
| Woburne. | Saint Mary — M | { Hoge de Bullock, Alij Robert de Vere Earle
of Oxford by licence of King Richard. | White Monks. | 0430 11 11 00 0 |

CCCCC

Alibury

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

| Places | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------------------------|------------------|---|---|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Ailteburia. | — | Edith daughter of Frewald. | { Friars Minor; also }
{ 40 Grey Friars. } | 0003 01 05 0 0 |
| Ankermicke. | — | — | Nunnes. | 0045 14 04 0 0 |
| Altheridge. | Saint Angustine. | { Edward Earle of Cornwall gave to }
{ Richard King of the Romans. } | { Benedictine Monks. } | 0477 18 00 00 0 |
| Bordelley. | Saint Marie. | Made the Empress. | Ermites. | — |
| Bradewell. | Saint Mary. | Alansfelms. | Cherians. | — |
| Burnham. | — | — | Black Monks. | — |
| Byntelfden. | Saint Mary. | Arnald de Befse, A.D. 1137 | — | 0021 05 11 00 0 |
| Easton. | — | King Henry 6. | Cisteris white Monks. | 0143 01 03 0 |
| Lansden. | Saint Marie. | John de Bedon. | { Benedictine Monks. } | — |
| Luffeld. | Saint Mary. | Robert Earle of Leicesters. | White Canons. | 0021 08 03 00 |
| Medmenham. | — | — | White Canons. | — |
| near Mendham. | — | The Ancestors of the Earls of Suffolk. | — | 0013 17 01 0 |
| Meclowe parva. | — | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0017 06 11 0 |
| Myldene. | Saint Mary. | D'Oster sui Daily. | Blacke Canons. | 0013 15 09 0 |
| Newport painel. | Saint Leonard. | John Peyton of Newport. | — | 0005 06 08 0 |
| Notley. | Saint Marie. | Walter Giffard Earle of Buckingham. A. 1111 | Blacke Canons. | 0493 18 05 00 |
| Parcendune. | — | — | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Rauesonston. | — | Dominus Regis progenitor. | — | 0066 11 04 0 |
| Sandewell. | — | The Ancestors of Thomas Stanley of Salford. | — | 0018 08 04 0 |
| Snellshill. | — | — | — | 0024 00 00 0 |
| Stoke-Pogis. | — | Edward Baron Hastings of Loughborrom. | Poore people. | — |
| Tekesford. | Saint Marie. | John Paganell, Alij. Dominus Regis progenitor. | Blacke Monks. | 0126 17 00 0 |
| Wiccombe, or high Wickham. | — | — | — | 0007 15 03 00 |
| | S. Margaret. | — | — | 0011 06 07 0 |

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------------------------|--|--|--|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Cambridge. | — | { K. Edward the first, and Sir Guy Marsmore }
{ Thomas de Hereford a great Benefactor. } | White Friars. | — |
| Cambridge. | — | King Edward 1. | { Friars Minor, a }
{ 40 Grey Friars. } | — |
| Cambridge. | — | — | Friars Angustines. | — |
| Cambridge. | — | — | Blacke Friars. | — |
| Cambridge. | Saint Andrew. | — | Black Nunnes. | — |
| Cambridge. | — | — | Canons. | — |
| The Colledges in Cambridge. | | | | |
| Peterhouse. | — | Hugh Bassham Bishop of Ely. An. Dom. 1284. | — | — |
| Clare-hall. | — | { Rich. Badon and Ebor. Clara Countesse }
{ of Willet. Anno Dom. 1340. } | — | — |
| Pembroke-hall. | — | { Maria de St. Paul Countesse of Pembroke. A. 1345. } | — | — |
| Corpus Christi ca. | — | Societas fratrum Corporis Christi. A.D. 1346. | — | — |
| Bennet Colledge. | — | William Barreman Bishop of Norwich. 1353. | — | — |
| Trinity-hall. | — | Edmund Greville and John Cairn. A. 1348. | — | — |
| Gonville and Caius Colledge. | — | — | — | — |
| King's Colledge & Chapel. | — | King Henry the first. A.D. 1441. | — | — |
| Queens Colledge. | — | Queene Margaret wife of H. 6. A.D. 1448. | — | — |
| Katherine-hall. | — | Robert Woodwidge. A.D. 1459. | — | — |
| Jesus Colledge. | — | John Auckley Bishop of Ely. A. D. 1467. | — | — |
| Christ's Colledge. | — | { Lady Margaret Countesse of Richmond }
{ mother to K. Henry the seventh. A. 1506. } | — | — |
| St. John's Colledge. | — | { Thomas Audley Chancellor of England }
{ A. D. 1542. } | — | — |
| Magdalen Colledge. | — | { Christopher Wray Lord Chief Justice of England. } | — | — |
| Trinity Colledge. | — | { King Henry the eight. Anno Dom. 1546. } | — | — |
| Emmanuel Colledge. | — | { Tho. Newt Deane of Canterbury, the Master thereof most magnificently enlarged } | — | — |
| St. John's Colledge. | — | { Sir Walter Mordaunt Knight, a Counsellor to Queene Elizabeth. } | — | — |
| St. John's Colledge. | — | { Lady Frances Countesse of Suffex gave five thousand pound to build it. } | — | — |
| Ely. | { St. Peter and }
{ St. Ethelred }
{ Ekefel. Cath. } | { Audley writ to King Edward, placed Priests in it. Ethelred Bishop of Winchester founded it with Monks: King Henry 1. made it a Bishop's See: King Henry 8. in feed of the Monks placed a Dean, Prebends, and a Grammar Schoole, with maintenance and teaching for 24. Schollers. } | Blacke Monks. | 1301 08 02 0 |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------------|--|--|--------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Ely. | { S. John & S. Mary Magd. } H | Thomas Bishop of Ely. | | 0035 05 03 ob q |
| Anglicy. | — | Richard de Clare. | | 0140 18 06 ob |
| Barnwell. | { S. Andrew. S. Egidius. } P | Sir Pance Penwell Standard - Beiter to Robert Duke of Normandy, in the Holy Warres against Infidels, in the time of Henry the first. | Blacke Canons. | 0351 15 04 00 0 |
| Chatters. | { Saint Mary annexed by H. 1. to Ely. } N | { Alfonsa a devout woman, and her brother Edmunde Abbot of Ramsey. }
{ Maria de Sancto Paulo, wife of Adamar Earle of Pembroke. Anno Domini 1341. } | Blacke Nunnes. | 0111 03 06 00 q |
| Denby. | Saint Clare. — N | King Canute. | Nunnes. | 0118 00 01 ob e |
| Saint Edmund. | — P | Henry Deuon Dew. | White Canons. | 0016 16 00 00 0 |
| Fordham. | — P | — | De ordine Sumptham | 0046 03 08 00 0 |
| Ilkington. | — P | — | Canons. | 0080 01 10 ob 0 |
| Marmond. | — P | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0046 10 05 00 0 |
| Soffam Balbecke. | — N | — | — | — |
| Shengaye. | { A Conide & Præceptorio S. Iohn of Ierusalem. } — | { Sybil daughter of Roger Monmouth. }
{ Earle of Shrewsbury, and wife of L. de Paines. A.D. 1130. } | Knights Templers. | 0175 04 06 00 0 |
| Swanley. | — | { Alan la Zouch brother to the Vicount. }
{ Rohan in the first Britains. } | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Thorney. | { Saint Mary and Saint Bernph. } M | { Seruolph a devout man for Eremites, Arthureld B. of Winchester for Monk, and King Edgar. } | — | 0508 03 05 00 0 |

CARLIOL

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------------------------|------------------------|---|---------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Apelby in Westmorland. | — F | { Lord Percy, Lord Percy, and Lord Clifford. A.D. 1381. } | White Friars. | — |
| Armeham in Cumberland. | — N | { King William the Conquerour, Anno Reg. 2. m. 2. } | Nunnes. | 0018 18 08 00 0 |
| Carlisle in Cumberland. | Saint Mary. — P | Dominus Regis Progenitor. | — | 0481 08 01 00 0 |
| Holme Cultray in Cumberland. | Saint Mary. — M | { David King of Scots, and Henry Earle of Huntingdon his sonne. } | — | 0535 03 07 ob q |
| Luercost in Cumberland. | { Saint Mary Magd. } P | Robert de Uanle, Lord of Gildesland. | — | 0079 12 00 00 0 |
| Sharpe in Westmorland. | — M | { Thomas the sonne of Gospatrick, sonne of Orms. } | — | 0166 10 06 ob 0 |

CHESHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Chester. | { Saint Iohn, Euseb. } — | King Henry the eight. | Secular Canons. | — |
| Chester. | Cuth. | Thomas Stadham Gentleman. A.D. 1379. | White Friars. | — |
| Chester. | — F | King Iohn. | Gray Friars. | — |
| Chester. | — F | — | Blacke Friars. | — |
| Chester. | { Saint Werburg. } M | { Hugh the first of the Norman blood that was Earle of Chester. } | Blacke Monkes. | 1073 17 07 ob 0 |
| Chester. | The virgin Mary. — | Founder Dominus Regis Progenitor. | Blacke Canons. | 0079 16 02 00 0 |
| Chester. | Beata Maria. — N | — | Nunnes. | — |
| Chester. | { Saint Iohn C. } — | Founder Dominus Regis Progenitor. | — | 0013 07 10 00 0 |
| Birkhead. | { Baptis. alth. } — | Founder Comiti Derby Antecessor. | Blacke Canons. | 0102 16 10 ob 0 |
| Barnbury alias Bonifac-bury. | S. Lamer. — M | Hugh Calowley and the Egertons. | Priests. | — |
| Comberconere. | — M | William de Mallesbury. A.D. 1134. | White Monkes. | 0158 06 06 00 0 |
| Macclesfield. | — C | { Thomas Sangerth Bishop of London, }
{ 2nd afterwards Archbishop of York. } | — | — |
| Norton. | Saint Mary — N | William Fitz-Nigel a Norman. | — | 0158 11 08 00 0 |
| Stanlaw. | — | Iohn Lacy Constable of Chester. A.D. 1173. | Monkes. | — |
| Valle Regalis. | — M | King Edward the first. | — | 0540 06 02 00 0 |

CORNWALL.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------------|------------------|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Saint Anthony. | — M | — | { Blacke Monks of the Angels. } | — |
| — | Saint Peter. — M | { First by K. Adelstan, after William Wernagh Bishop of Exeter, & confirmed by king Iohn. } | { Blacke Canons after Grey Friars. } | 0189 11 11 00 0 |
| — | Saint Peter. — M | King Athelstan. | Blacke Canons. | — |

| Places | Dedication | Founder and Time | Order | Value |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | L. s. d. ob. q. |
| Crantocke | — C | — | — | 0089 14 08 00 0 |
| Saint German | — M | — | — | 0243 08 00 00 0 |
| Glastoncy | Saint Thomas — C | Walter Brantford B. of Oxford, A.D. 1288 | — | 0204 10 06 00 0 |
| Heliton | S. John Bapt. — P | — | — | 0014 07 02 00 0 |
| Launceston | Saint Stephen — M | Reginald Earl of Cornwall, A. D. 1150 | Blacke Canons, Aug. | 0398 11 2 00 q |
| Saint Mary de wal. | — M | — | Blacke Monks of the Angels. | — |
| Saint Michael de Mene | — M | William Earl of Cornwall and Merion. | Blacke Monks of the Angels. | — |
| Saint Michael de magus mount | — M | — | Black Monks. | — |
| Sullis Ile. | Saint Nicholas — M | — | Blacke Monks. | — |
| Saint Syrrace | — M | — | Blacke Monks of the Angels. | — |
| Talcum | Saint Andrew — M | — | Blacke Friars. | — |
| Trury | — F | — | — | — |
| Tynardreth. | Saint Andrew — P | — | — | 0151 16 01 00 0 |

DARBY-SHIRE.

| Places | Dedication | Founder and Time | Order | Value |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | L. s. d. ob. q. |
| Darby. | Onesham San-Baron. Eccl. Collegiat. | — | — | 0038 14 00 0 0 |
| Lower Darby. | Beata Maria — M | — | — | 0018 06 01 0 0 |
| Darby. | Saint James — Cella | Founder Dominus Rex in Progenitor. | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Darby. | Saint Maria — P | — | Blacke Monks. | — |
| Darby. | Beata Maria — N | Founder Dominus Rex in Progenitor. | Nunnes. | — |
| Darby. | — H | The Countesse of Shrewsbury. | Eight poore men, & four women. | — |
| Bello-Capite. | Saint Thomas — M | Robert the son of Ranulph L. of Afferne, a Canon there. | — | 0157 10 01 00 0 |
| Bredfall or Belfol Park | — M | Founder Antecessor 'obauis Dirleke, alias Dutch Armigeri. | — | 0010 17 09 00 0 |
| Brend in the Peake | — M | Sir Robert Daun Knight. | — | — |
| Chesterfield. | Saint Croys — C | — | — | 0019 00 00 00 0 |
| Dale. | Beata Maria — M | William Fitz-Ralph Antecessor Germanus Kingdon. | — | 0144 12 00 0 |
| Devele or Dauligh. | Beata Maria — M | — | Blacke Canons. | 0158 14 03 00 0 |
| Fauerwell. | Saint Maria — N | — | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Greif. | Saint George — M | William de Lyons called Fitz-Nigel of Greif. | — | 0039 13 08 0 |
| Pollweike. | Saint Edm. — N | — | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Rapingtonsalu Repton. | Saint Maria — M | Founder Dominus Rex in Progenitor, a King of Valence & Randolph E. of Chester. | Blacke Canons. | 0167 18 01 0 |
| Yewley or Iuc-lay and Barrow. | — P | — | — | 0107 03 08 00 |
| Yewley or Iuc-lay, and Barrow. | Procurator. | — | — | 0093 03 04 00 0 |

DEVON-SHIRE.

| Places | Dedication | Founder and Time | Order | Value |
|--------------|-------------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | L. s. d. ob. q. |
| Excester. | S. Peter, Episcopus — M | King Athelstan. | Secular Canons. | — |
| Excester. | Saint James — M | — | Blacke Monks. | — |
| Excester. | Saint Nicholas — P | — | Black Monks Benedict. | 0154 12 00 00 0 |
| Excester. | Saint John — P | — | Grey Friars. | 0102 12 02 0 |
| Excester. | S. Nicholas — H | — | — | 0147 11 00 0 |
| Barstaple. | Saint Mary — P | Isabel, Countesse of Alred. | Black Monks Benedict. | 0119 15 04 00 q |
| Berdeston. | — P | — | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Buckland. | Saint Mary — M | Amice Countesse of Devonshire, Isabel de Furtham, & Lady of the Isle a benedict. | — | 0241 16 09 00 q |
| Buckfast. | Saint Maria — P | — | — | — |
| Canonleigh. | Beata Maria — M | — | — | — |
| Clue. | Saint Mary Magd. — M | — | — | — |
| Cornworthy. | Saint Andrew — P | — | — | — |
| Croyke. | S. Crux — C | — | — | — |
| Credon. | Saint Andrew — M | — | — | — |
| Culch. | — M | — | — | — |
| Dunkiswel. | — M | — | — | — |
| Ford. | Saint Mary — M | — | — | — |
| Freetheloke. | Saint Gregory — P | — | — | — |

| Places | Dedication | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|--|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Hardland. | { S. Nethan } M | { Githa Earle Goodwin's wife, Richard Pillanewise Archdeacon; and Geoffrey de Dynas Seneor, & Oliver his brother benefactors. | Blacke Canons. | 0306 13 02 00 q |
| Saint Michael de Monte. | — P | — | { Blacke Monkes Malm. | — |
| Molery. | Saint Gregory. — M | { Reginald Mohun, Earle of Dunfer, Anne Dowry, 1246 | Black Monkes. | — |
| Newham, alias Newenham. | — M | { John Grandison Bishp Excefter, tempore Ed. 3. | — | 0311 14 04 00 0 |
| Ostery. | Saint Marie. — C | — | Blacke Monks. | 0303 03 09 0 0 |
| Pitron. | { the Virgin } F | King Adelfon. | { Benedictines, } Gery Friars. | 0006 11 08 00 0 |
| Pimouth. | — F | — | — | — |
| Pimpton. | { Saint Peter } P | { Baldwin de Redours, Earle of Deneshire, & Demetrius de Isafala, in Henry 3. time. | { Blacke Canons Augustines. | 0313 13 08 00 q |
| Polloo. | Saint Katherine. N | — | Blacke Nuns. | 0170 06 03 00 q |
| Syon. | — M | — | — | — |
| Tasyflecke. | { Saint Mary } M | { Ordolph the son of Ordore, Earle of Deneshire, Anno Dom 964. | { Blacke Monkes Augustines. | 0903 01 07 00 q |
| Torre. | Saint Saviour. — M | William de Strouer. | { White Canons Augustines. | 0196 00 11 00 0 |
| Totenes. | { Saint Mary } P | Roger Newman. | { Blacke Monkes Benedictines. | 0124 10 04 00 0 |
| Twynham or Grist Church Twynham. | { Aliens. } M | { Isabel de Fortham sometime Countesse of Alhermarle and Deneshire, and Lady of the Isle founded it for William de Fortham Earle of Alhermarle, and Richard de Redours Earle of Deneshire. A.D. 1161 | { This replaced also in Hampshire. | — |

DORSET-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Dorset. | — M | The Ancestors of Sir John Chetok Knight. A Bishop's See under Adelmar the first Bishoppe thereof, A. D. 704.
{ Among, another See translated to it by Hermannus Bishoppe, tempore Ethelredo Regis. After that by the said Hermannus translated to Salisbury, left for a retiring place to them, tempore Galuani Conqueroris, the Church where the Bishop's seat was, became a Monastery. Robert Naul Bishop of Salisbury, a chief founder. | Franciscan Friars. | — |
| Shorborne. | Saint Peter. — M | — | { Black Monks Benedictines. | 0081 14 07 00 0 |
| Abbeotsbury. | Saint Peter. — M | Orkyng King of Denmark. | Blacke Monkes. | 0485 03 03 00 q |
| Bindon. | Saint Mary. — M | — | { White Monkes. } Cisterians. | 0129 03 01 00 0 |
| Brydport, alias Burport. | — P | — | — | 0006 00 00 00 0 |
| Brydport, alias Burport. | Saint John Bap. — H | — | — | 0028 06 01 00 0 |
| Carnelham. | S. Mary Magd. N | — | White Nunnes. | — |
| Cerne. | { Saint Peter } M | { M. Camde larch, Augustin the English Apo. } Ric. Others, Age wald a rich m. Son say, Almarus E. of Dorset, or rather of Cornwall Atward a noble Gentleman. A.D. 930. | Blacke Monkes. | 0613 13 03 00 q |
| Cranborne. | — PH | — | — | 0011 10 04 00 q |
| S. John Baptif. | — H | — | — | 0 10 18 00 0 |
| Kalendarum. | — D | — | — | 0031 11 03 00 0 |
| Beata Maria Magdalen. | — D | — | — | — |
| Saint Marke alias Le Gannes. | — H | — | — | 0113 09 09 00 0 |
| Melcombe. | — | — | Blacke Friars. | — |
| Middleton alias Milton. | { Saint Mary. } M | Atwellam Rex. | Blacke Monkes. | 0730 04 01 0 |
| Shalton. | S. Saviour. — | — | — | 1339 01 03 0 0 |
| Shafesbury. | { Saint Edward } N | { Elfgina wife to Edmond King Atwilde nephewes soone. | { Blacke Nunnes Benedictines. | — |
| Tarent. | A Cel. | Richard Paer Bishoppe of Sarisbury. | Virgins Vizieries. | 0339 11 10 0 |
| Warham. | S. Peter. S. Adelwald | — | Blacke Monkes. | — |
| Winburn Minster. | — N | { Cuthberta sister to Isa King of the West Saxons, and husband to the King of Northumberland. A.D. 713. | Nunnes. | — |

DVRHAM DIOCES.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---------|------------------|--|---------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Durham. | S. Cuthbert. — P | { Bishop Aldwin the first builder William de Cereley B. gathered againe the dispersed Monkes. Ralph his Successor finished what he had begun. N. Ferruham Bishop Thomas Melcombe Prior enlarged it. A.D. 743. William Skirlaw Bishop builded that part called Galilee. | Blacke Monks. | 1615 14 10 00 0 |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---------------------------|----------------|---|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Durham in Os-
ton. | — | Founder Dennis Regis Prebendar. | — | 0115 04 04 0 0 |
| Chester in the
Street. | — | Anthony Bee Bishop and Patriarch of Je-
rusalem. | { A Deane and
7. Prebends. } | — |
| Epworth. | — | Canon Eustace of Brittain, and Richmond, &c.
after by Ralph de Melton. | — | — |
| Finchale. | — | R. brother voto that rich Bishop, Hugh
Padfy. | — | 0146 12 01 00 |
| Gateshead. | Saint Edmund. | H | — | 0102 00 04 00 0 |
| Gresham. | — | Robert Bishope of Durham. | — | 0097 06 03 00 0 |
| Hartlepool. | — | M | — | — |
| Jarrow. | — | Cells | — | — |
| Kepey. | — | Cells | — | — |
| Leicester. | Saint Egidius. | H | — | 0040 07 08 0 0 |
| Leham. | — | C | — | 0167 01 11 00 0 |
| Monks Were-
mouth. | — | Cells | — | — |
| Monks Were-
mouth. | Saint Peter. | M | — | 0093 13 10 00 0 |
| Nesbith. | — | Cells | — | — |
| Sherborne. | Saint Paul. | M | — | — |
| Standedy. | — | N | — | — |
| Scampford or
Sampford. | — | C | — | — |
| Warmouth. | — | Cells | — | — |

ESSEX.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Colchester. | S. John Baptist. | — | Blacke Monkes. | 0008 01 04 0 0 |
| Colchester. | Saint Barnaby. | P | — | 0113 12 08 0 0 |
| Colchester. | Sanile Cruci. | F | Frateri Sancta Cruci. | 0007 07 08 0 0 |
| Colchester. | S. Mary Magd. | H | — | — |
| Barking. | Saint Mary. | M | Blacke Nannes. | 1044 06 01 00 0 |
| Barking. | de S. Anthony. | S | — | — |
| Barking. | — | H | { The Ancestors of Sibel de Felton Abbelle
of Barking. } | — |
| Bierdon. | — | P | — | — |
| Bileigh. | — | M | { Built by Robert Meruile, after by Henry
de Monte-Merenciann. | 0031 05 01 00 0 |
| Blakmore. | Saint Lawrence. | M | — | 0196 06 05 0 0 |
| Brenwood. | S. Thomas chap
the martyr. | Pell. | — | 0085 04 07 0 0 |
| Chelmsford. | — | Donau | — | — |
| Chich. | Saint Peter | M | — | — |
| Coggeshall. | Saint Peter | M | — | — |
| Dimmowe. | Saint Marie. | P | — | — |
| Eatles-colne. | Saint Marie. | P | — | — |
| Ginge-amellon. | — | P | — | — |
| Halldie fue | — | C | — | — |
| Halldie. | — | C | — | — |
| Hatfield Regis. | — | P | — | — |
| Heveningham castel. | — | P | — | — |
| Horkingh. | — | M | — | — |
| Ilford. | — | P | — | — |
| Lyghes. | — | P | — | — |
| Maldon. | — | F | — | — |
| Merry. | — | P | — | — |
| Newport. | — | H | — | — |
| Saint Olshe. | — | M | — | — |
| Pipewell or
Pritwell. | Saint Mary. | P | — | — |
| Plecy. | — | C | — | — |
| Stanefosse. | — | P | — | — |

| Pla. cer. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|--|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Stratford Langthorne. | Saint Mary. — M | Guthelmus Monasterii primus Fundator
et postea Richardus secundus Rex Ang.
1154. regis 10. | — | l. s. s. ob q |
| Thoby. | — P | Michael de Capra Knight: the ancestor
of John Mountney, Finsbury and
Jermin. | — | 0573 15 05 ob q |
| Tipster. | — M | The Ancestors of Anthony Darcy. | — | 0033 16 04 0 0 |
| Tillic. | Saint Marie. — M | Maurice the sonne of Gilbert. | { White Monks
Benedictines. | 0177 09 04 0 0 |
| Trenbale, alias
Trenchale. | — P | — | — | 0070 19 03 0b 0 |
| Walden parva. | Saint Jacob. — M | Gulfridus de Magna-villa. | Blacke Monks. | 0406 15 11 0 0 |
| Walham. | Santa Crucis. — M | King Harold the last after by King Henry
the second. | Blacke Canons. | 1079 11 01 0 0 |

GLOUCESTER-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|-------------------------------|---|--|-----------------|
| Gloucester. | Saint Peter. — M | King Offick of Northumberland first made
its Nunnerie: after ward Aldred Archb.
of York and B. of Worcester. A.D. 633. | { Blacke Monks
Benedictines. | l. s. s. ob q. |
| Justa Gloucester. | Saint Oswald. — P | Egfrida Daughter of King Alfred,
first Foundresse, Anne Damer. | { Blacke Canons,
aly Friars Prea-
chers. | 1550 04 05 0b 0 |
| Gloucester. | Saint Barth. — H | — | — | 0090 10 01 0b 0 |
| Gloucester. | Saint Barth. — H | — | — | 0044 07 01 0b 0 |
| Gloucester. | — F | Queen Eleanor wife to King Edward
the first. Six John Giffard, and Six Thomas
Barkley Knights. | { Carmelites or
white Friars. | 0045 11 01 0b 0 |
| Gloucester. | — N | King Athelstan. | Canons Augustines | — |
| Buxley. | — N | — | Nunnes. | — |
| Bromfield. | — P | — | Canons. | 0078 19 04 00 0 |
| Cirencester. | S. John & S.
Lawrence. — H | The Abbot of Cirencester. | — | — |
| Cirencester. | Saint Marie. — M | { First the Saxons, after ward King Henry
the first. | Blacke Canons. | 1051 07 01 0b 0 |
| Dierhest faw
Derhest. | — | { First by King Etheldred, after by Edward
Confessor, after made a Cell to S. Denys
in France, by Edward king of England. | Blacke Monks. | — |
| Fleasley in the
forest of Dean. | — M | { Roger Earle of Hereford in King Henry
the second time. | Cisterians. | 0111 03 01 0 0 |
| Hailes. | — M | { Richard Earle of Cornwall, and King of Ro-
man, A.D. 1246. | — | 0357 07 07 0b 0 |
| Kingfield. | Saint Marie — M | Markise of Dorset. | White Monks. | 0154 05 10 0 0 |
| Lanthorne neere
Glouc. | Saint Marie. — P | Mills Earle of Hereford. | { Blacke Canons
Augustines | 0748 19 11 0b 0 |
| Lanthorne parva
in the Marches
of Wales. | — P | — | — | 0111 00 05 0 0 |
| Mitching-hamptho | — N | — | Nunnes. | — |
| Niwetton. | — H | — | Blacke Monks | — |
| Quinington. | — H | — | — | 0137 07 01 0b 0 |
| Stouley. | Saint Leonard. — M | { S. Manduic Earle of Essex. King Henry the
second. | — | 0116 0 08 0 0 |
| Stow. | — H | Almaric Earle of Cornwall. | — | 0015 14 03 0 0 |
| Tewsbury. | Saint Mary. — M | { Oda & Deda, men of great power in Mercie
founded it at Cranborne, after ward
renowned by Robert Fitzhamon to Tewsbury.
A.D. 1175, made first a Priory, after
an Abbey, A.D. 1102. | { Blacke Monks
Benedictines. | 1558 01 03 0 0 |
| Westbury. | — C | { For Richard Duke of Yorke, and Edmund
Earle of Rutland: K. Edward gave them
the Hospitall of S. Lawrence by Beke. | Deane and Canons. | 1313 14 0 0 0 |
| Winchelscombe. | Saint Mary. — M | Knapth the Mercian King. | Blacke Monks. | 0756 11 09 00 0 |

HAMP-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|-------------|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Winchester. | S. Smith. }
S. Peter. } M | Lucius the first Christian King, after by
Kensalt King of the West Saxons,
Alfred and Edgar circa annum. 670. | Blacke Monks. | l. s. s. ob q. |
| Winchester. | S. Saint Mary }
S. Edm'g. } N | Alfreda the wife of King Alfred, after
by King Edward the first. | Blacke Nunnes. | 1507 17 01 00 0 |
| Winchester. | — F | Peter of Winchester Parson of S. Hel-
low in Winchester, A.D. 1278. | { Carmelites or
White Friars. | 0179 07 01 0 0 |
| Winchester. | — F | — | Auline Friars. | — |
| Winchester. | — F | K. Henry the third. | Grey Friars. | — |
| Winchester. | — F | Peter of Rebur. | Blacke Friars. | — |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|---|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Intra Winchester. | Beata Maria. — C | William Wickham Bishoppe of Winchester. | | 0639 08 07 00 |
| Intra Winchester. | — H | Henry Beauford Cardinal of Winchester founded it and gave it lands to the value of 12000 l. and 5000 s. John de Fordbridge on Holypal was gise to it | Two Chaplens.
15 Poore Men.
3. Women. | |
| Intra Southampton, Le-terley, alias Lito loco. | S. Edward and S. Mary. — M | Henry the third, and Peter de Rupibus. | Augustine Eriens. | 0260 01 09 00 0 |
| Intra Southampton. | S. Sanctis Diom. — P | K. Richard the first, called Corder-Lion, Anno Dom. 1179. | Blacke Canons. | 0091 09 00 0 |
| Southampton. | Beata Maria Magd. — H | Confirmed by Pope Alexander, Anno Dom. 1179. | | 0026 16 01 00 0 |
| Apple-derwell, in the Isle of Wight. | — — P | Nicholas Spenser, and Margerie his wife. | | |
| Bodley. | Prætoriana. — M | King John. | | 0128 16 7 00 |
| Bello-loco. | — — M | King John. | | 0428 06 08 00 0 |
| Bromere. | S. Trinity, S. Mary, S. Michael. — P | Baldwin Earle of Rivers, and Deneshore. | Blacke Canons. | 0020 05 01 00 0 |
| Chirwynham, or Christ church of Wygham. | — — P | Isabel de Fortibus, sometime Countesse of Albemarle and Deneshore, and Lady of the Isle founded it for William de Fortibus Earle of Albemarle, and Richard de Reduers Earle of Deneshore, A.D. 1161. | This is placed also in Deneshore. | 0544 06 00 00 0 |
| Carebroc in the Isle of Wight. | S. Mary Magd. — P | — | Blacke Monks. | |
| Deneshore in the Isle of Wight. | S. Elizabetha. — P | King Edward the third. | | |
| Hamele. | Salot Andrew. — P | — | Grey Monks. | |
| Hide. | S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Grimbail. — M | First King Alfride, after performed by K. Edward Senior, and lastly the Monks themselves removed from the old temple Henrici prims. | Blacke Monks. | 0065 01 06 00 0 |
| Mottingham. | S. Sanctis Trinitat. — P | Ranulph Flammard Bishoppe of Durham, Richard de Ripary Earle of Deneshore, and William de Brures, tempore Gulielmi Regi. | Blacke Canons or Augustines of Beeton. | 0167 15 08 00 0 |
| Portsmouth. | A Church and Hospitall. — M | Peter de Rupibus. | | 0033 19 05 00 0 |
| Quenre in the Isle of Wight. | S. Mary Magd. — M | Baldwin Earle of Deneshore, and Richard his sonne, About the time of King Stephen. | White Monks. | 0124 01 10 00 0 |
| Redford or Redbridge. | — — M | — | | |
| Romsey. | — — N | King Edgar and Earle Alwyn. | Nunnes. | 0518 08 10 00 0 |
| Southwyke. | Saint Mary. — P | William Ponslerge, late Pont-le-arch, and William Darcy Normans. Also William de Tostey a Benedictine. | Regular Canons. | 0314 17 10 00 0 |
| Tycheffeld. | Saint Maria — M | Peter de Rupibus Bishop of Winchester. | | 0120 19 10 00 0 |
| Whorevall. | S. Sanctis Crucis — N | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0403 13 10 00 0 |
| Wydney. | S. Sanctis Peter — P | Queene Ansfrit. | | 0059 01 00 00 0 |
| | S. Elizabetha — H | — | | 0112 17 04 00 0 |
| | S. Sancta Crucis. — H | Henry Blais brother to King Stephen. | | 0084 04 01 00 0 |

HEREFORDSHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Hereford. | S. Mary — Ep | S. Melford a petty King of the Country. | Secular Canons. | |
| Hereford. | S. Ethebertus — M | Ranulph Bishop, tempore Henrici prims. | Grey Friars. | 0121 03 03 00 0 |
| Hereford. | S. Gualter. — F | Henry Peabrigge. | Blacke Monks. | |
| Accomebury. | S. Peter S. Paul. — P | John Peabrigge. | White Nunnes. | 0075 07 05 00 0 |
| Barnone. | S. Katherine. — N | — | Blacke Monks. | |
| Clyfford. | Saint Maria. — P | — | Blacke Monks. | 0065 11 11 00 0 |
| Dore. | Saint Mary. — M | Robert Lord of Ewlar. | White Monks. | 0111 00 01 00 0 |
| Flanefford. | — — M | Richard Talbot. | Regular Canons. | 0015 08 09 00 0 |
| Kilpeke. | — — P | — | | |
| Leobery. | S. Katherine. — H | John Bishop of Hereford | | 0023 05 00 00 0 |
| Leomenestre. | Saint Jacob. — P | Merwald a King of the Mercians, and K. Henry the first. | Blacke Monks of Reding. | |
| Lymbrook. | — — N | — | White Nunnes. | 0023 17 08 0 |
| Wiggenmore. | S. Sancta Lucie. — P | — | Blacke Canons. | |
| Wormicly. | — — P | — | | 0083 10 03 |
| Hereford, a Colledge S. Albani. | — — P | — | Blacke Monks. | 0086 14 8 |
| Saint Albani. | S. Saint Albani — M | S. Offa King of the Mercians, Anno Dom. 795. | Blacke Monks. | 2510 06 01 00 0 |

HERTFORDSHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|---|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| Belverio, a Cell to S. Albans. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Job. Baptist. } | — | Blacke Monkes. | l s. s. ob. q.
0133 05 10 00 0 |
| Boico, a Cell to Flamsted. | { S. Egidius. }
{ Saint Marie. } | — | Nunnes. | 0046 16 01 00 0 |
| Burton. | — | — | Monkes. | — |
| Bonham, a Cell to S. Albans. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Job. Baptist. } | — | — | 0160 01 00 00 0 |
| Cheshunt. | — | N { <i>(Here, Rex Anglia, Dominus Hibernia, Dux Norm. Aquitan. & Comes Arund. confirmed the following Monks to the tower of Dunstun, cum pertinentiis que Canonici de Cathedrali, quos amoverat fecimus. Act. Willelm. 11. Ang. 14. Regis nostri.</i>) | Nunnes. | 0017 06 8 |
| Chille. | — | N | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Chilre. | — | N | Blacke Nunnet. | — |
| Hatfield Peverel, a Cell to S. Albans. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Job. Baptist. } | { Daughter of Ingelrick, and wife to Prælat. in K. William the Conquerors time. } | { Blacke Monkes of S. Albans. } | 0033 19 07 00 0 |
| Hychin. | — | F { <i>(Edward the second; John Blound, and Adam Rasse, and John Cobham. Robert, son of Roger Helle Baron. Founder Antecessor uxoris Franciscus Regis. Alsius, & confidens uxoris Saraceni.</i>) | { Carmelites or White Friars. } | 0004 09 04 |
| Langley Regis. | — | F | Preaching Friars. | 0150 14 03 00 0 |
| Langley, a Cell to Langley Regis. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Job. Baptist. } | N | Nunnes. | — |
| Messey. | { S. Hilary. }
{ S. Irenæus. } | P | — | — |
| Mirdiall. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Irenæus. } | P | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Monkeno, a Cell to S. Albans. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Irenæus. } | P | — | 0113 03 06 00 0 |
| New-biggings, a Cell to S. Albans. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Irenæus. } | P | — | 0013 01 11 00 0 |
| Roydon, alias Crax Roby-fa. | { S. John Baptist. }
{ S. S. Thomas. } | P { <i>(Eustach de Marc Knight, Lord of Nareth, and Radolphus de Ramester, and others renosed it.</i>) | Canons. | 0106 03 01 00 0 |
| Roydon. | { S. Irenæus. }
{ Ap. Wic. } | H | — | 0005 06 10 00 0 |
| Roweney. | { A Free Chappel }
{ or Hospital. } | — | — | 0013 10 09 00 0 |
| Sapewell. | { Saint Mary. } | N | Blacke Nunnes. | 0048 08 00 00 0 |
| Thel. | — | C | { A Master. } | { 4 Chaplains. } |
| Tymouth, a Cell to S. Albans. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Irenæus. } | P | — | 0111 04 01 00 0 |
| Ware. | — | P | The Progenitors of King Richards mother. | — |
| Wymondley. | — | P | Richard Argenteus. | Canons.
0037 10 06 00 0 |

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Huntingdon. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. John Baptist. } | P | { Blacke Canons }
{ Augustines. } | l s. s. ob. q.
0232 00 00 00 0 |
| Huntingdon. | — | H | — | 0006 07 00 00 0 |
| Hitchingbrooke. | — | N | Nunnes. | 0019 09 03 00 0 |
| S. Neot, a Cell to Becco in Newm. | — | P | Blacke Monkes. | 0156 01 03 00 0 |
| Ramsley. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Benedicte. } | M | { Blacke Monkes }
{ Benedicte. } | 1983 15 03 00 0 |
| Salry. | { Saint Mary. }
{ S. Benedicte. } | M | { White Monkes }
{ Cisterians. } | 0199 11 08 00 0 |
| Stoneley. | — | P | { Blacke Canons }
{ Augustines. } | 0046 00 03 00 0 |
| S. Yoo, a Cell to Ramsley. | — | P | { Blacke Monkes }
{ Benedicte. } | — |

KENT.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------------------------|---|-------------------|--|--|
| Canterbury, Christ Church. | { Saint Trinity. }
{ S. Benedicte. } | P | { Faithfull beleueing Romans, after Ethelred King of Kent. } | Blacke Monkes
l s. s. ob. q.
1429 04 09 00 0 |

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| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|-----------------|
| | | | | l s. d. ob q |
| Intra Canter-
bury. | Saint Augu-
stine. | M King Ethelbert, and about King Edward
the second. | Blacke Monkes. | 1412 04 07 ob q |
| Intra Canter-
bury. | S. Gregory, or
S. George. | P Leofric Archbishop there. | Blacke Canons. | 0166 04 05 ob 0 |
| Intra Canter-
bury. | Saint Sigal-
cheri. | N — | Black Nunnes. | 0038 19 07 ob 0 |
| Canterbury. | — | F King Henry the third. | Grey-Friers. | — |
| Intra Canes-
bury. | — | H — | Poore Priests. | 0010 13 08 ob 0 |
| Canterbury extra
Murus. | Saint Laurence. | H — | — | 0031 07 10 0 0 |
| — | Saint Iacob. | H — | — | 0023 11 01 ob q |
| Adefford. | — | F Richard Lord Grey of Codr. in the
time of King Henry the third, Anno
Dom. 1240. | S Carmelites or
white Friars. | — |
| Alford. | — | C Sir J. Fegge Knight. | Priests. | — |
| Beigham. | Saint Mar. — | P The Ancestres of Thomas Sakile, Ath
Sir Robert Thornham. | White Canons. | 0152 19 04 ob |
| Balfen or
Bilfington. | Saint Mary. | P John Maunsell Proprietor Benefice-
for King Henry the third, and Edwar
his wife. | Blacke Canons. | 0081 01 06 0 0 |
| Bradgate. | — | C Robert de Bradgate, T. Isidore Cleric and
John de Wile. | — | — |
| Bradstoke. | S. Radgundis. | M Hugh the first Abbot | White Canons. | 0143 08 09 0 0 |
| Bosley. | Saint Mar. — | M William de Ipres a Fleming, Earle of Kent,
tempore Regis Stephani. | White Monkes. | 0218 19 10 0 0 |
| Cobham. | — | C John Baron Cobham. | Blacke Canons. | 0018 01 09 ob 0 |
| Combevell. | S. Mary Magd. | M — | — | 0080 17 5 0 q |
| Dartford. | — | N King Edward the third, Anno Regni Ang-
lie 30, Francis vero 17. | Nunnes. | 0400 08 00 00 0 |
| Dunton. | — | N — | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Douer. | Saint Marie, P
Saint Mar. — | M King Henry the first. | Blacke Monkes. | 0212 01 05 ob 0 |
| Douer, Denu
Dni. | — | H Memoriam Iustitiam Rex Anglia. | Knights Templars. | 0159 18 06 ob q |
| Eastbridge. | — | H King Henry the first gave for William
his Father, quicquid Robertus Bra-
deratus Ecclesia de Edeburgh, &
fratribus ibidem Regularibus. | — | 0023 18 09 ob q |
| Elstia. | — | N Domus. | Nunnes. | — |
| Feuttham. | S. Samson. | M King Stephen and Maud his wife. | S Blacke Monkes
Cistercienses. | 0286 12 06 ob 0 |
| Folkestone. | S. Eanfride. | N Eanfride daughter to Eadwald King of
Kent; Alcei Roger Segraue and Salme
his wife, and John Cloten Baron. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0063 00 07 0 0 |
| Greenwich. | — | F King Henry the seventh. | Observant Friars. | — |
| Greenwich. | — | C William Lambard. | Queen Elizabeth
poore people. | — |
| Greenwich. | — | F S. Edward the third, Anno Regni 35.
Alcei | Friar Monks. | — |
| Hazballdowne. | — | H John Stratford, or Stratford, Archbishop
of Canterbury. | — | 0109 07 01 00 0 |
| Heyham. | — | N — | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Horton. | Saint John
Evangelist. | P — | S Blacke Monkes
Cistercienses. | 0111 16 07 ob 0 |
| Langton. | S. Thom. Martyr. | M — | White Canons. | 0056 06 09 0 0 |
| Leeles. | Saint Nicholas. | P Robert Cromeguar. | S Blacke Canons
Augustines. | 0264 07 07 0 0 |
| Leitst open
Thames. | S. Augustin or
S. J. Martyr. | P S. Richard de Linc. Chief Justice of Eng-
land. Anno Dom. 1179. | Blacke Canons. | 0186 09 00 0 0 |
| Lewesham. | — | P John Norbury. | Blacke Monkes. | — |
| Maidstone. | Oswald Sanctus. | C Benefice of Sanoy. | — | 0159 07 10 00 0 |
| Malling. | Saint Mar. — | N Gundulph Bishoppe of Rochester. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0245 10 01 ob 0 |
| Mostyndon. | — | M — | — | 0060 13 00 ob 0 |
| Newenden. | — | F Built at the charges of Sir Thomas Al-
lenger Knight, A.D. 1241. | S Carmelites or
White Friars. | — |
| Northgate. | Saint John. | H — | — | 0091 16 08 ob 0 |
| West Peccan. | — | Fracturatus | S Johannes Calpeper, Iustic. de commun
Baco, Anno 10. H. 4. | 0063 06 08 0 0 |
| Reguler. | — | M Bafaan English Saxon. | — | — |
| Rochester. | Saint Andrew. | M Bishop Gundulph a Norman, A.D. 1080. | Blacke Canons. | 0486 11 05 0 0 |
| Rochester. | S. Bartholomew. | H King Henry the third confirmed it, and
Edward the third discharged them of
all Taxes, Tallages, &c. | Lepros. | — |
| Rumney. | — | P — | — | — |
| Sandwich. | — | F Henry Constable an Almanac, Anno Dom.
1272. | S Carmelites or
White Friars. | — |
| Sandwich. | Saint Thomas. | H Thomas Ralyng Clerke, William Swane
Clerke, John Goldard and Richard
Long. | — | — |
| Serode or Strawde | — | H Robert Glanville. | — | 0051 19 10 ob 0 |
| Swingfield. | — | Fracturatus | — | 0087 03 03 ob 0 |
| Sheppy. | S. Seaburg. | N Sexburga wife of Erconbert King of Kent
or East Angles, Anno Dom. 710. | Nunnes. | 0119 07 10 ob 0 |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------|---------------|--|----------------|----------------|
| | | | | L. s. s. ob q. |
| Shepey. | Saint Marie. | William de-la-Poole Marquisse of Suffolke,
by the name of William de-la-Poole
Earle of Suffolke. | Blacke Canons. | 0169 10 03 0 0 |
| Tunbridge. | S. Mary Magd. | Richard Clare Earle of Gloucester. | Canons. | 0093 01 0 46 0 |
| Wingham. | — | Founded by Archbishop Pechem. | Priests. | — |
| Wye. | — | John Kempe Archbischoppe of Canterburie. | — | — |
| | S. Mary | Sir John Segraue. | — | — |
| | S. Iuyshan. | — | — | — |

LANCA SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|-------------|--------------|---|--------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | L. s. s. ob q. |
| Lancaster. | Saint Marie. | John Earle of Morison, and confirmed by
him afterward when hee was King of
England. | Monkes. | — |
| Lancaster. | — | Roger of Poiliers. | Monkes Alien. | 0159 02 00 0 0 |
| Burrough. | A Cell | — | Canons. | — |
| Caldar. | — | Founder Antecessor Domini de Copeland. | — | — |
| Cartmelle. | — | William Marshall the elder, Earle of Pen-
broke for King Henry the second, Anno
Dom 1118. | — | 0113 19 07 00 0 |
| Cokerfeld. | — | Raualph de Meschines. | Monks Chmicks. | 0128 05 04 0b 0 |
| Conynged. | — | Founder Antecessor Galsteri Pennington. | — | 0124 01 01 0 0 |
| Furnes. | — | Stephen Earle of Ballin, afterward King
of England. | Monks Cisterciens. | — |
| Holland. | — | Robert Holland and Mandhis wife, Alix
Antecessores Comiti Derbie. | — | 0061 03 04 0 0 |
| Horneby. | Cells | Founder Antecessor Domini Montsegle. | — | — |
| Ietusus. | M | — | — | — |
| Manchester. | C | The Greykes Antecessors to Thomas Wyll
Lord La Ware, tempore H.3. | — | 0114 16 09 00 0 |
| Peowortham. | M | The Antecessors of the Lacyes Earles of
Lincolne, Anno Dom. 1196. | White Monkes. | 0551 04 06 00 0 |
| Whalley. | M | — | — | — |

LEICESTER-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------------------------|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | L. s. s. ob q. |
| Leicester. | Saint Mary. | Robert de Be Sa, Earle of Leicester. | Blacke Canons or
Friers Preachers. | 1063 00 04 46 q |
| Imaza Leicester
Castle. | Saint Mary. | Henry Duke of Lancaster. | — | 0033 11 11 0 0 |
| Bredon, A Cell. | — | Founder Domini Regis Progenitor, Alix
Almar Earle of Cornwall. | Blacke Canons. | 0035 08 01 0 0 |
| Bradley. | — | — | — | 0030 15 07 00 0 |
| Burton. | — | Antecessores Sand by a common contributi-
on ouer all England. | Lepros. | 0265 10 03 4 q |
| Canwell. | — | The Antecessors of the Lord Lisle. | — | 0035 10 03 00 0 |
| Croxson. | — | The Lord Barkyges Antecessors. | Præmonstratenses. | 0458 19 11 0b q |
| Castledonington. | S. John Baptis. | — | White Monkes. | 0403 13 04 0 0 |
| Cumbe. | Saint Mary. | — | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Cale. | — | — | — | — |
| Dalby-Rothley | — | — | — | — |
| Heyther. | Proceperia. | — | — | 0331 07 10 00 0 |
| Garradon. | — | Founder Antecessor unac Comitiſſa Oxford. | — | 0186 15 01 0b 0 |
| Gracedon, near
Donington. | — | Roske wife of Bertram de Verdon. | Nunnes. | 0101 08 03 0b 0 |
| Gerwerdon. | Saint Mary. | — | White Monkes. | — |
| Hinkley. | P Alien | — | — | — |
| Kirkby Bellers. | — | Roger Bellers and Auschis wife. | — | 0178 07 10 00 q |
| Laucha. | — | Richard Basse Duce Lovel. | Blacke Canons. | 0510 16 05 0b q |
| Langley. | — | Founder Antecessor Uxoris Franc.
Bigot Mil. & eiusdem F. zonis Sere-
ram. | Nunnes. | 0034 06 01 00 0 |
| Litterworth. | Saint Iohas. | — | — | 0.16 09 3 0 0 |
| Novi-Opetis. | H | — | — | 0595 7 04 0 0 |
| Oleclon, or
Olecliffon. | — | Robert Grimbold. | — | 0173 18 09 00 q |
| Ssue. | — | — | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Winecroft. | N | Roger Quincy Earle of Winton. | Blacke Canons. | 0101 03 10 0b 0 |
| Werwerdon. | M | — | — | — |
| | Saint Ursula. | — | — | 0068 00 00 00 0 |

LINCOLNE SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---|--|---|--|-----------------|
| | | | | L. s. d. ob q. |
| Lincoln Episcopium. | Saint Marie. — M | | Secular Canons. | |
| Lincolne. | — F | { M. Odo de Kilkenny, a Scottishman, A.D. 1269. | { 5 Carmelites or }
5 White Friars. | |
| Lincolne. | Saint August. — F | | Priest Eremites. | |
| Lincolne. | — F | John Pickering of Stampwile. | Priest Minors. | |
| Nexte Lincolne. — | S. Katherine. — P | Robert de Caneto Bishop of Lincoln. | Gilbertines. | 0370 08 03 00 0 |
| Abingham. | Saint Mary. — P | { Archbishop de Bee Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem. | { White Canons and }
Nuns Gilbertines. | 0141 15 00 00 0 |
| Balwatts Aquin-
in. | — | — | — | 0134 03 00 00 0 |
| Be-lo-vero, fine
Beauvoir. | { Saint Marie. — | Ralph de Todenev. | { Black Monks }
{ of S. Albans. | 0129 17 06 00 0 |
| Berlinges. | — M | Radulphus de Haya. | — | 0307 16 06 00 0 |
| Bolynghon. | Saint Marie — M | — | { White Canons and }
Nuns Gilbertines. | 0187 07 09 00 0 |
| Bothon. | — M | S. Bualph in the Saxons time. | — | |
| Bothon. | — F | Sir Orby, A.D. 1300. | { Carmelites or }
White Friars. | |
| Bothon Nexte
Mare. | { Saint Mary. — P | { T. Morley Knight, John Bacon Esquier,
John Hagen, Thomas Hake de Shynham,
and John Myrd of Bothon. | — | |
| Bothon. | Beata Maria. — C | — | — | 0034 00 00 00 0 |
| Bothon. | Corpus Christi. — C | — | — | 0033 00 00 00 0 |
| Bothon. | Saint Peter. — C | — | — | 0000 13 04 00 0 |
| Bradock. | Saint Oswald. — M | { Confirmed by William de Ganot, Souer
and heire of Gilbert de Ganot, Anno
Dom. 1115. | — | 419 07 00 00 0 |
| Brunoe. | Blacke Canons. — | — | — | |
| Byggred. | — P | — | — | 0108 11 00 00 0 |
| Cateley, or Cat-
lin. | Saint Marie. — M | John Spanle Esquier. | { White Canons & }
Nuns Gilbertines. | 0038 13 08 00 0 |
| Croyland or
Crowland. | { — M | { Adelbald King of the Merchants, Anno
Dom. 716.
It was new built at the benevolence of
the whole land, given vpon pardon for
their finnes. | Blacke Monks. | 1317 05 11 00 0 |
| Eltham. | — P | William Dyne. | Blacke Canons. | 0083 17 10 00 0 |
| Eppworth in the
Isle of Axholme. | { A Conuensual }
Houfe. | { Thomas Mowbray Earle of Nottingham &c }
Marshall of England. | Carthusians. | 0390 14 07 00 0 |
| Fosse. | — N | Mauritius de Creou Baron. | Nunnes. | 0008 05 04 00 0 |
| Fristeton. | — | — | Blacke Monks. | |
| Glanfordbridge
in Parochia de
Wrayby. | — H | William Turbit. | — | |
| Goylew ell. | — N | — | Nunnes. | 0019 18 06 00 0 |
| Greenfield. | Saint Mary. — N | Dudon de Granerby. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0079 15 01 00 0 |
| Grimmby. | Saint Leonard. — N | { Robert Grosseff Bishop of Lincoln, and }
Thomas Heferton Knight. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0013 03 07 00 0 |
| Grimmesby. | { S. Angulfine. }
{ & S. J. alog. } | Founder Dama Regis Progenitor. | Blacke Canons. | |
| Hagooby. | — M | Herbert of Orbea or Orreby. | — | 0098 08 04 00 0 |
| Hauerholm. | Saint Mary. — M | Alexander Bishoppe of Lincoln. | { White Canons & }
Nuns Gilbertines. | 0088 05 05 00 0 |
| Hewings. | — N | — | — | 0058 13 04 00 0 |
| Hamilton or
Humberbo. | { Our Lady & }
{ S. Peter. — M | Founder Dama Regis Progenitor. | — | 0043 11 03 00 0 |
| Isford. | — | — | — | 014 13 04 00 0 |
| Kirksted. | Saint Marie. — M | Hugh Britay. | White Monks. | 0338 13 11 00 0 |
| Kyme. | — M | Philip de Faloby. | — | 0158 04 09 00 0 |
| Letherfoke. | — | John Gifford Clerke. | — | |
| Leyborne. | Our Lady — M | Robert Fitz Gilbert. | — | 0057 13 03 00 0 |
| Loulpakej. | Saint M. gy. — P | — | White Monks. | 0169 05 06 00 0 |
| Markeby. | — M | — | — | 0163 17 06 00 0 |
| Nenebo. | — M | — | — | 0115 11 08 00 0 |
| Newhouse. | S. Mariell. — | Peter de Gaultia. | { White Canons the }
first house of the }
Order Premon- }
stratenses in Eng- }
land. | |
| Newenbury, or
Nun-ormby. | — P | — | { White Canons & }
Nuns Gilbertines. | 0098 08 00 00 0 |
| Newfom. | — M | — | — | 0114 01 04 00 0 |
| Newsted nere
Stanford. | — M | — | Gilbertines. | 0043 01 03 00 0 |
| Newsted nere
Axholme. | — P | — | — | 0055 11 08 00 0 |
| Nuton, or Nac-
ton Parky. | S. Mary Magd. M | Robert D'Arcu. | Blacke Canons. | 0053 19 03 00 0 |
| Nun-Cotton. | Saint Mary. — P | — | { White Canons and }
Nunnes. | 0046 17 07 00 0 |
| Oreocycs. | — | — | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Raueston. | Saint Angulfine. — C | — | — | — |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Revesby, or
Reufway. | — | M William Remyer. | Nunnes. | 0149 04 10 00 0 |
| Sempingham. | Saint Gilbert. | M Saint Gilbert he glonor of the said Order. | 5 White Canons & 2
Nuns Gilbertines. | 0159 11 07 00 0 |
| Sirle. | Saint Marie. | — | White Canons & Nuns. | — |
| Spalding. | Saints Mary
and
Saint Nicholas. | M { Ina Talbot comes Andegawes, and
William de Remyer, and Lucy Count-
ess of Chester and Lincoln. } | { Andegawes Ma-
nachi. } | 0578 18 03 00 0 |
| Intra Stanford. | Saint Michael. | M — | Blacke Monkes. | 0073 18 10 00 0 |
| Stanford. | Saints Mary &
Saint Nicholas. | — | Blacke Monkes. | 0065 19 09 00 0 |
| Stanford. | — | F King Edward the third. | { Carmelites or
White Friars. } | — |
| Stanford. | — | H William Brown Citizen there. | — | — |
| Stanford. | — | H The L. Boughby L. Treasurer of Exanch. | — | — |
| Staryfield. | — | P { Confirmed by K. John for his Father Hen-
ry the second. } | Blacke Nunnes. | 0113 05 10 00 0 |
| Scirewold or
Seirewell. | Saint Marie. | M Lucan first Countesse of Perce. | { White Canons
and Nunnes. } | 0163 01 02 00 0 |
| Swindesh to
Holland. | Saint Marie. | M Sir Robert Griffey. | White Monks. | 0175 19 10 00 0 |
| Synhill. | — | P — | Gilbertines. | 0170 08 09 00 0 |
| Tatthill. | — | C Sir Ralph Cromwell Knight. | — | 0148 05 11 00 0 |
| Temple-Bruer. | Præceptoria. | — | — | 0184 06 08 00 0 |
| Tloeneholme. | — | P — | — | 0155 19 06 00 0 |
| Thornton. | — | M — | — | 0130 17 03 00 0 |
| Torington. | Saint Marie. | P William de Arundell. | Blacke Canon. | 0037 03 08 00 0 |
| Torkley. | — | P — | Blacke Canons. | 0119 02 08 00 0 |
| Tupholme. | Saints Mary. | M Alan Nevill. | White Canons. | 0177 15 07 00 0 |
| Valla Dei. | Saints Mary. | M Gilbert Gaunt Earle of Lincoln. | { White Monkes
Gilbertines. } | 0153 07 04 00 0 |
| Wello. | — | M — | — | 0174 11 02 00 0 |
| Willoughton. | Præceptoria. | — | — | 0197 17 05 00 0 |
| | { Saints Peter
& Saint Paul } | — | — | 0018 16 00 00 0 |
| | Omnia Sæter. | — | — | — |

MIDDLESEX.

London within the VVals.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|--|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Eccles Cath. | Saint Paul. | — | Secular Canons. | — |
| Intra Ludgate. — F | — | — | Blacke Friars. | 0104 15 04 00 0 |
| Intra Newgate. F | — | — | { Friars Minor, or
Grey Friars. } | 0031 19 10 00 0 |
| Intra Alder-
gate. | C Saint Martin. | — | Secular Clerks. | — |
| Guild-hall. | — | — | { A Chappell and 4
Chapellaces. } | 0013 18 09 00 0 |
| In Chesep-side. — H | S. Thom. of Acon. | — | — | 0177 03 04 00 0 |
| In Candlewyke
street. | C Corpus Christi. | — | — | 0079 17 11 00 0 |
| S. Laurence
Parsonage. | — | — | — | — |
| VVhittingdon. — C | — | — | — | 0020 01 10 00 0 |
| In Gay spae
lane. E. of
Spittle. | H — | — | { Canons Regular, A
21y 100. blind men. } | 0139 13 11 00 0 |
| In Louthburie. | — | — | Fraters de Sacra. | — |
| In Broadstreet. — F | S. Angustin. | — | Angline Friars. | 0057 00 04 00 0 |
| In j. Needle
street. A. Co
to S. Andro-
wey of Uxena. | H S. Anthony. | — | — | — |
| In Bishopsgate
street. | N Saint Helier. | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0176 06 00 00 0 |
| In Leaden-hall. — H | S. Trinitatis. | — | 60. Priests. | — |
| Intra Aldgate
Church Church. | P The holy Trinity. | — | { Blacke Canon or
Canons Regular. } | 0053 13 02 00 0 |
| In Hamstreet. | — | — | Fraters Sancta Crown.
C.C.C.C.C.C. | 0053 13 02 00 0 |

Barking

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------------|-------------|--|--------|---------------|
| Barking Chappel. | Our Lady. | John Earle of Worcester, made it a fraternity. King Richard the third made it a Colledge of Priories, and rededified it. | — | l. s. s. ob q |

London without the VValls, in the Suburbes.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------|---|---|------|----|----|----|---|
| Westminster. | M | Saint Peter. | Sebert King of the East-Saxons, Dunstan Bof London, K. Edward Confessor. | Becke Monkes. | 3977 | 06 | 04 | ob | q |
| Westminster. | C | Saint Stephen. | King Stephen's sister by King Edward the third. | Secular Canons. | 1085 | 10 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Westminster in Tate-hill street. | H | — | The Lady Anne Dacre. | — | 0100 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 0 |
| Westminster. | H | Saint James. | The Citizens of London. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Westminster near Charing Crosse, A Cell to our Lady of Rowntown in Nanawre. | H | Saint Marie. | Anne 15, Edward 4. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Westminster, S. Giles in the fields. | H | — | Queene Matilde, wife to King H. 1. A.D. 1117 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Westminster, The Swaney. | H | Saint John Baptist. | King Henry the seventh. A.D. 1509. | — | 0519 | 15 | 07 | 0b | 0 |
| In Fleetstreet. | S | Our Lady. | Founded by themselves in the reignes of Henry the second. | Knights Templers. | — | — | — | — | — |
| In Fleetstreet. | S | — | Richard Grey of Colcestre A.D. 1141. | VVhite Friers. | 0063 | 11 | 04 | 0 | 0 |
| In Fleetstreet. | — | — | Henricus Rex Anglia primus fundavit Ecclesiam. | Blacke Canons or Canons Regular. | 0757 | 08 | 04 | 0b | q |
| In Smithfield. | M | S. Bartholomew. | After by Rahere first Prior of the same. Anne Dom. 1102. | — | 0305 | 06 | 07 | 00 | 0 |
| In Smithfield. | H | S. Bartholomew. | Rahere's Prior, A.D. 1102. | — | 0736 | 02 | 07 | 00 | 0 |
| The Charter-house in Saint Johns street. | S | — | Sir Walter Mauny of Cambrey Knight, A.D. 1340. or 1371. | Carthusians. | — | — | — | — | — |
| In Saint Johns street. | P | S. Saint John of Jerusalem. | Jordan Brytes Baron, and Mariel his wife. A.D. 1500. | — | 3385 | 19 | 08 | 00 | 0 |
| Clerken-well. | N | Saint Mary. | Jordan Brytes Baron, the sonne of Ralph. Anne Domini 1100. and Mariel his wife. | Black Nunnies. | 0282 | 16 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| East Creeple-gate, Corpus Christi. | H | Our Lady, S. S. Giles. | Mariel Regina, Henrici secundi Ama. After by John Belanor, 35. Edw. 3. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| In White Crosse street. | H | Saint Giles. | King Henry the fifth. | Of the French Order. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Holywell. | N | S. John Baptist. | A Bishoppe of London. | Blacke Nunnies. | 0347 | 02 | 03 | 00 | 0 |
| Extra Bishopsgate, New-Hospitall. | P | Beate Marie. | Walter Brunne and Rajsa his wife, A.D. 1135. | Canons Regular. | 0557 | 14 | 10 | 0b | — |
| Extra Algate. | N | Saint Clare. | Blanch Queene of Nanawre, and her husband Edmond E. of Lancaster, Leicester. & Derby, brother to K. E. 1. 1292. 2. E. 1. 1. | Nunnies Minors. | 0142 | 05 | 10 | 0b | 0 |
| In East Smithfield neere the Tower. New Abbey. | M | S. S. Marie & Grace. | King Edward the third, Anne regni eius 25. A.D. 1359. | White Monkes Cisterciens. | 0602 | 11 | 10 | 0b | 0 |
| Neere the Tower. | H | S. Katherine. | Matilde wife to King Stephen, and after by Adelmar, wife to King Edward the first. | A Custon. 1. Chappels. 2. Sisters. 3. poor women. 4. poor Clerks. | 0315 | 14 | 02 | 00 | 0 |

Middlesex.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|-----------------------|------|----|----|----|---|
| Isle of Brainford. | F | S. Eustache & S. Anne. | John Sumner first Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Kings Chaplaine. | Nunnies. | 0086 | 07 | 6 | 00 | 0 |
| Kylborne. | N | Saint Mary. | — | Capucins. | 0040 | 15 | 00 | 0b | 0 |
| Hornlow, Dunst. | — | — | The Earle of Derby. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Langley. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Okeborn, P. Allen. | — | — | Ralph Stafford. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Stanes. | P | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Stratford Bow. | M | S. S. Leonard. | King Henry the second. | Nuns or white Monkes. | 0121 | 16 | 00 | 00 | 0 |
| Syon. | M | — | King Henry the fifth, Anne. 2. of his 2. reignes. | Nuns & Priests. | 1944 | 11 | 08 | 0 | q |
| Vabridge. | M | Saint Mary. | Hugh Kempe. | Augustines. | — | — | — | — | — |

NORFOLKE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|--------------------------|--|-----------------------------|------------------|
| | | | | L. s. d. ob. q. |
| Norwich produced from the Abbey of Fischung in Normandy. | Etc. Cat. | Elbert de Lefing. Bishop Herbert of Thetford, Anno Dom. 1096. in the reign of King William Rufus. | Black Monks, Benedictines. | 1061 14 03 ob q. |
| Norwich. — F | — | Philip Compass Citizen & Mayor of Norwich, A.D. 1508. | Carmelites or White Friars. | — |
| Norwich. — F | — | John Hopyford. | Grey Friars. | — |
| Norwich. — F | — | — | Black Friars. | — |
| Norwich. — H | Saint Egidius. | Remigius, of the King. | Austine Friars. | — |
| Linne. — F | — | Lord Bardolf, Lord Sealer, and Sir John Wyghall, Anno Dom. 1269. | Carmelites or White Friars. | 0090 12 00 00 0 |
| Linne. — F | — | Thomas Gedyary. | Black Friars. | 0001 15 08 00 0 |
| Linne. — H | Saint John. | T. de Feltham. | White Friars. | — |
| Attillburgh. — C | Santa Crucis. | Robert Martimer. | — | 0007 06 11 0 0 |
| Beoston. — P | — | — | — | 0011 16 00 ob 0 |
| Blakburgh. — N | — | — | — | 0090 06 04 ob q |
| Blakeney. — F | — | Lord Refo, Sir Robert Bacon, and S. John Bre Knight, A.D. 1331. | Nunnes. | 0076 03 09 ob 0 |
| Bokenham, alias Bickham. | Saint Jacob. | — | Carmelites or White Friars. | — |
| Bemhall in Wadfor Paroch. | — | — | Black Canons. | 0131 11 00 00 0 |
| Bromholme. — P | S. Sepulchre. | Edward the Black Prince. | — | — |
| Bromholme. — | Saint Andrew. | G. Glanville. | Black Monks | 0144 19 00 ob q |
| Brunham. — | — | William Glanville. | Clunienfes | — |
| Budham. — | — | Sir Ralph Hempsall, and Sir William Calthrop, Anno Dom. 1412. | Benedictines. | — |
| Carow. — N | Saint Mary. | — | Carmelites or White Friars. | 0005 05 04 00 0 |
| Carbroke. — C | S. John Ierusalem. | King Stephen. | Black Canons. | — |
| Castell-acre. — M | Saint Marie. | — | Black Nunnes. | 0084 12 01 ob q |
| Crobbenhurst. — N | — | — | — | 0005 01 09 ob 0 |
| Flytham, A Cell in Walsingham. | — | — | Black Monks Clunienfes. | 0324 17 05 ob q |
| Hempton or Hempton. — P | Our Lady and S. Simeon. | — | Nunnes. | 0031 16 07 00 0 |
| Heringby. — C | — | Richard Ward Chacon here. | — | 0003 10 06 ob 0 |
| Hildelands. — H | — | — | — | 0039 00 09 00 0 |
| Hoeftelam. — P | Saint Fidis. | — | — | 0023 06 05 00 0 |
| Hulme. — M | Saint Benedict. | Robert Fitz-Walter. | Black Monks. | 0000 14 00 00 0 |
| Hyckelyng. — P | — | King Kanute the Dane After K. Edward Confessor. | — | 0193 01 03 ob 0 |
| Kockelforth or Cokelford. — M | — | — | Black Monks. | 0677 09 08 00 q |
| Langley. — M | — | Sir William Cheyney Knight. | Black Canons. | 0137 00 01 ob q |
| Marmound. — N | — | — | — | 0153 07 01 00 0 |
| Markham Bar. — M | — | Founder Ancestress was Francis Fitz Roger Hertf. & Leicester. | Nunnes. | 0128 19 09 ob 0 |
| Pentney and Wornegay. — M | S. Mary Magd. | — | White Nuns Gilbert. | 0013 06 01 ob 0 |
| Ruthworth. — C | — | Reginald de Warrenne. | — | 0043 04 07 ob q |
| Shuldeham. — P | Santa Crucis & S. Marie. | Sir Robert Wingfield Knight. | Black Canons. | 0215 18 08 00 0 |
| Thetford. — F | Santa Trinitatis. | — | White Nunnes Gilbertines. | 0085 15 00 ob |
| Thetford. — F | — | Bishoppe Arfolf of Elmham, in the reign of King Edward Confessor, made it a Bishoppes See. After Henry Duke of Lancaster, made a Society of Preachers. | — | 0171 06 08 00 0 |
| Thetford. — F | S. Sepulchre. | John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster. | Friers Preachers. | — |
| Thetford. — P | S. Mary & S. John. | The Earle of Warren. | Augustine Friars. | — |
| Thetford. — N | Saint Gregory. | Roger Bigod Earle of Norfolk. | Black Friars. | — |
| Thetford. — M | Saint Andrew. | — | Black Canons. | 0049 18 01 00 0 |
| Thetford. — C | Beata Marie. | Hugh Bigod Steward to King Henry. | Black Nunnes. | 0090 09 08 0 0 |
| Thetford. — C | S. Mary Magd. | — | Black Monks | — |
| Thetford. — C | S. John Bapt. | John Warren Earle of Surrey. | Clunienfes. | 0418 06 03 ob 0 |
| Tomefton. — C | — | — | — | 0109 00 07 00 0 |
| Wabburne. — P | — | Thomas de Sherdlow and John his brother A.D. 13. | 6. Clunienfes. | 0093 15 07 ob |
| Wiffingham. — M | Saint Marie. | — | — | 0018 07 01 00 0 |
| Wending. — F | — | Edmund Earle of March, and Elizabeth de Berge. | Black Canons | — |
| Westacre. — P | S. Mary & al Saints | William de Wending Priest. | Friers Minor. | 0446 14 04 ob q |
| | | | Austine Friars. | 0095 18 04 ob q |
| | | | Black Canons. | 0308 19 11 ob q |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|---|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Welldechan. M | — | — | V White Canons. | 0353 12 11 06 0 |
| Weybridge or Wexbridge. S | Saint Margaret. | { Robert Oliart, Thomas Mardey, John Palmer and John Barford. | — | 0007 13 04 00 0 |
| Winham. — P | V Visewald. | William D Albney, Butler to King Henry the first. | Black Canons de married | 0072 05 04 00 0 |
| Wymondham. — | Saint Marie | { King Edward the first, Anne Danne, 1278 | { Black Monks of S Albans. | — |
| Yarmouth. — F | — | Galfridus Pilgrim, and Thomas Fastolfe | { Carmelites or white Friars. | — |
| Yarmouth. — F | — | Sir William Goringe. | Black Friars. | — |
| Isle of Yarmouth in Ceftralg. } C | S. John Baptif. | { First Robert de Ceftr, after by John Fastolfe. | Grey Friars. | — |
| Yorham. — P | Saint Marie. | — | { Blache Monks of Saint Albans. | 0074 02 07 06 0 |
| — F | — | — | Friars Preachers. | 0000 18 00 0 0 |
| — f | — | — | Antline Friars. | 0001 04 06 00 0 |

NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE.

| Place. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---|---|---|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Northampton. — M | Saint Jacob. | — | Blache Canons. | 0313 17 01 06 0 |
| Northampton. — P | Saint Andrew. | Simon de Sanctis Licio first E of Northampton. | Black Monks. | 0334 13 07 00 0 |
| Isle of Northampton. } C | S. Mary de pro-
viciu, oc de la pro-
viciu. | { Simon de Sanctis Licio second E of Northampton. | Nunnes. | 0119 09 07 00 0 |
| Northampton. — F | — | — | { Friars Minors or Grey Friars. | 0006 17 04 0 0 |
| Northampton. — F | — | — | Friars Preachers. | 0005 07 10 00 0 |
| Northampton. — F | — | { Simon Mansfere, and Sir T. Chirwood }
Knights. A. D. 1371. | { Carmelites or white Friars. | 0010 10 00 00 0 |
| Northampton. — N | Saint Mary. | John de Glanville. | Black Nunnes. | — |
| Northampton. — F | — | — | Augustine Friars. | 0117 19 00 00 0 |
| Asheby. — P | — | — | Nuns of Sempringham. | 0145 00 06 00 0 |
| Catby. — N | S. The. & S. Mary. | William Kneles, Sir Hugh Arvesey. | Black Canons. | 0091 06 03 06 0 |
| Chaceby. — F | S. Peter & S. Paul. | John Gifford Clerk, A. D. 13. | — | — |
| Cotesfolke. — C | — | — | { Black Monks }
Clunics. | 0136 07 06 00 0 |
| Daintree. — P | { Saint Anthon.
Augl. Apof. } | Founder Daniel Regis Prebender. | — | — |
| Eymouth the Church of Saint Maries of the Castell of Eymouth. } M | S. Mary the Virgin | Richard Engaige. | — | 0062 16 00 00 0 |
| Foderinghy. — C | — | { Edmund de Langley Duke of York, King }
H. 4. and Queen Isauhis wife, ca. 13. Jaffly.
H. 5. and Edward Duke of York. | — | 0419 11 10 06 0 |
| Gare. — N | S. Mary Magd. | — | Black Nunnes. | — |
| Higham-Petrars. — C | — | Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury. | — | 0156 01 07 06 0 |
| Brackley. — C | — | The L. Zouche. | — | — |
| Irclingburgh. — C | — | John Pool. | A Dean & 6 Clerks. | 0064 12 10 06 0 |
| Isle of Kingesthorpe. H | Saint David. | — | — | 0024 06 00 00 0 |
| Peterborough. M | Saint Peter. | { Waltherm. }
{ Estredredm. }
{ St. Regis }
{ Rofhami }
{ Eithewaldi. } | Black Monks. | 1972 07 00 06 0 |
| Pipewell. — P | Saint Mary. | William Secanville, & Robert Botemille, & Rannulph Eale of Chester. A. H. 2. | { White Monks }
Cisterians. | 0347 08 00 06 0 |
| Rothwell. — N | S. John Baptif. | — | Nunnes. | 0010 10 04 00 0 |
| Saint O. Davy. — P | { S. Sains Trinity }
{ & Saint Mary } | — | Black Canons. | — |
| Sevesby or Sewardelley. } N | S. Mary Magd. | — | Black Nunnes. | 0018 11 01 00 0 |
| Stanford. — N | — | — | Nunnes. | — |
| Sulby. — M | Saint Mary. | — | Black Monks. | 0305 08 05 06 0 |
| Towerce. — C | — | — | — | 0019 06 08 00 0 |
| Witborpe. — M | — | — | Black Monks. | — |
| H. Saint Leonard. | — | — | — | 0010 00 00 00 0 |
| H. Saint Iohar. | — | — | — | 0015 06 01 06 0 |
| C. Ommun fardrum | — | — | — | 0001 19 04 00 0 |
| P. S. Michael. | — | — | Black Monks. | — |

NOT.

NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|-------------|---|--|----------------------------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Nottingham. | F | { Sir Reginald Grey of Wilton, and I. Shier-
ley, Anno Dom. 1276. | White Friars. | — |
| Nottingham. | F | King Henry the third. | Grey Friars. | — |
| Nottingham. | H | John Plumtree. | — | — |
| Bawtry. | H | — | — | 0006 05 08 00 0 |
| Bella valls. | P | { John Cantelap, and Nicholai de Cantelap
Confirmed by Edward the third, Anno 19.
Anglia, & 6. Francis. | { Carthusians
Cistercians. | { 0117 08 00 00 0 |
| Bingham. | C | Beata Maria. | — | 0040 11 00 00 0 |
| Blythe. | P | Saint Mary. | — | 0116 08 01 00 0 |
| Blythe. | H | Roger Boly, and Famili de Lislewys. | Blacke Monkes. | 0008 14 00 0 0 |
| Brodham. | P | — | — | 0016 05 01 00 0 |
| Clyffon. | C | — | — | 0030 01 06 00 0 |
| Felley. | M | Our Lady. | { Founder Antecessor Iohannis Chough
Militar.
John Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury. | Blacke Monkes. |
| Lenton | P | Santa Trinitatis. | { William Penrell the base sonne of King
William the Conquerour. | { Black Monks, Clu-
nicensis. |
| In Marisco,
apud Capell. | Cel. | — | — | 0063 05 08 0 0 |
| Santa Thoma-
sa Ebor. | la. | — | — | — |
| Matterley | — | Founder Antecessor Edwardus Thirland. | — | 0061 17 07 00 0 |
| Newsted, or
Nann-Loco in
Sherwood. | { | Our Lady. | King Henry the second. | 0119 18 08 00 0 |
| Rufford. | M | { Dominus Beamanus Antecessor Domini
Nervys. | White Monkes. | 0154 06 08 00 0 |
| Shelford. | P | Ralph Huxford et H. Norris Antecessor. | — | 0151 14 01 00 0 |
| Southwell. | C | Paulum the first Archbishop of York. | — | 0039 05 06 00 0 |
| Thurgarton. | P | Saint Peter. | { Six Ralph D'encourt, and confirmed per
Regem. | Blacke Canons. |
| Wallingwells. | N | { The Lord Fitz-Hugh, Ancestor to the L.
Dacres. | Nunnes. | 0008 11 06 0 0 |
| Weibbeck. | M | Saint Iames. | — | — |
| Weekespe. | M | { Founder Antecessor Episcopi Elincti. Tho.
de Cokery, or Cokery.
William Lanster, and the Ancestors of the
Earle of Shrewsbury. | Blacke Canons. | 0158 04 08 00 0 |
| | { | Radford. | Blacke Canon. | 0101 06 10 00 0 |

NORTHUMBERLAND.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---|-------------|--|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Alba-Laundis,
or Blanche-
land. | M | { Founder Antecessor. Comitiss Westmerlandia.
Iohs de Turington & Bocefactor. K. Iohs
confirmed it. Anno 16. | Cistercians. | 0044 09 01 00 0 |
| Alnewicke or
Holne. | F | { Iohs Lord Despy, Antecessor Comitiss Nor-
thumbria) brought this Order first in-
to England. A.D. 1240. | { Carmelites or
White Friars. | { 0134 07 00 00 0 |
| Barwicke. | F | Six Iohs Grey, Anno Dom. 1270. | { Carmelites or
White Friars. | { |
| Beckenbourne. | P | { William Bartram the elder, father to Roger
Bartram, pempore Regis Iohannis. | — | 0077 00 00 00 0 |
| Frameland,
Ferne-Elan,
or Finsland. | Cel. | — | — | 0011 17 08 00 0 |
| Hexham. | P | — | — | 0118 01 09 00 0 |
| Hollicombe. | N | — | Nuns. | 0015 10 08 0 0 |
| Isula-lacra-cella | la. | — | — | 0060 05 00 00 0 |
| Lambley. | N | The Lucies. | Nunnes. | — |
| Newcastle. | F | — | Grey Friars. | — |
| Newcastle. | N | — | Nunnes. | 0037 04 01 00 0 |
| Newcastle. | F | King Edward the first. | { Carmelites or
White Friars. | { |
| Newcastle. | H | S. Mary, Magd. | — | 0009 11 04 00 0 |
| New-Mona-
stery, alias
New-Minster. | M | — | — | 0140 10 04 00 0 |
| Oningham | — | — | — | 0013 04 08 00 0 |
| Cella de
Hexam. | la. | — | — | — |
| Tynmouth, a
Cell to Saint
Albane in
Horsford-
stre. | N | — | — | — |
| | { | Founder Antecessor Ducis Northfolcia. | Nuns. | 0511 04 01 00 0 |

OXFORD-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|--------|------------|
| | | | | L. | S. d. q. |
| Oxford, Eccle-
sia Cathedralis. | | King Henry the eight. | | | |
| Oxford. | P. S. Fridewald. | Fridericida filia Alvari, Regine Austrie Esche-
redus Rex & Dom. Regis Progenitrix. | 5 Nuns, afterwards
2 Blacke Canons. | 0214 | 04 08 9 |
| Oxford. | F. | Richard Cary. | Frater Savila Crucis. | | |
| Oxford. | F. | Henricus Rex. | 5 Friars Minors, or
2 Grey Friars. | | |
| Oxford. | F. | K. Edward the second, Anno 12. Edwardi 2. | 5 Carmelites or
White Friars. | | |
| Oxford. | F. | | Blacke Friars. | | |
| Oxford. | F. | King Henry the third. | Augustine Friars. | | |
| Oxford. | M. S. Mary Ovisy. | 5 Rob. the sonne of Ninte, brother of Rob.
5 D. Oly a Norman, A.D. 1119. | Blacke Canons. | 0755 | 12 06 00 |
| Oxford. | M. S. Locen Regalis,
alias Kewley. | Edmund Earle of Cornwall. | Monkes Cisterciens. | 0174 | 03 00 00 0 |
| The Colledges in Oxford. | | | | | |
| Vinnerby Colledge. | | 5 First King Aelfred, after William Archdea-
con of Durham. | | | |
| Balivi Colledge. | | 5 John Balivi Father of John Balivi King of
Scott, tempore H. 3. | | | |
| Merton Colledge. | | Walter Merton B. of Rochester Anno D. 1174. | | | |
| Exeter Colledge. | | 5 Walter Stapledon Bishop of Exeter, tem-
pore Edw. 2. | | | |
| Harts Hall. | | 5 Walter Stapledon Bishop of Exeter, tem-
pore Edw. 2. | | | |
| Kings, now O-
riall, Colledge. | | King Edward the second. | | | |
| S. Maries Hall. | | King Edward the second. | | | |
| Queens Colledge. | | Queenne Philip wife K. Edward the third. | | | |
| S. Edwards Hall. | | Edmund Archb. of Canterbury, et ceteris. | | | |
| Canterbury now
Christ Church
Colledge. | | 5 Simon Ispit Archbishops of Canterbury.
After Cardinal Wolsey, and K. Hen-
ry the eight. | | | |
| S. Mary, alias
New Colledge. | | 5 William Wiccam Bishoppe of Winche-
ster. | | | |
| Gloucester Colledge. | | Benedictine Monkes. | | | |
| Durham, now
Trinity Colledge. | | 5 Thomas de Hatfield, Bishop of Durham.
After in our time, Sir Thomas Pope knight | | | |
| Lincolne Colledge. | | Richard Fleming Bishop of Lincoln. | | | |
| S. Albans Hall. | | | | | |
| Brands Hatch Hall. | | | | | |
| All-Soules Col-
ledge. | | 5 Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury
tempore H. 5. | | | |
| New Inn. | | | | | |
| Bernard now S.
John Baptist
Colledge. | | 5 Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canter-
bury, tempore H. 5. After in our time, Sir
Thomas White L. Maier of London. | | | |
| S. D. Iohannis
Hospital, now
Mary Magda-
len Colledge. | | 5 Founder Henricus Rex, Afterward Willi-
am Wainflet B. of Winchester. | | | |
| Magdalen Hal. | | William Paston, alias Wainflet. | | | |
| Brazen Nose Col-
ledge. | | 5 William Smith Bishop of Lincoln, tem-
pore H. 7. Doctor Nennell Devo of Painter,
Benedictine. | | | |
| Cerpes Christi
Colledge. | | 5 Richard Fox B. of Winchester, Hugh Ol-
dam B. of Exeter, Benedictine. | | | |
| Jesus Colledge. | | High Priore Doctor of the Lawes. | | | |
| Wadham Colledge. | | Wadham, an Elquier, and his wife. | | | |
| Banbury. | H. Saint Iohn. | | | 0015 | 01 10 00 0 |
| Banbury. | C. Beata Maria. | | | 0048 | 06 00 00 0 |
| Brackley. | P. Saint Mary. | | Blacke Canons. | | |
| Brocton. | M. Saint Mary. | Nicholas Basset. | White Monkes. | 0124 | 10 10 00 0 |
| Burcester, now
Bulstet. | Saint Endburgh. | 5 Gilbert Basset, and Egelina Courtney his
wife, tempore Henrici Secunde. | | 0167 | 02 10 00 0 |
| Borford. | | | | 0013 | 06 06 00 0 |
| Chipping Norton
in Ecclesia. | | | | 0007 | 14 00 00 0 |
| Clattercote. | M. S. S. Leonard. | | | 0034 | 19 11 00 0 |
| Coges. | P. | | Blacke Monkes. | | |
| Dorchester. | M. S. Saint Peter and
Saint Paul. | 5 Birinus the Apostle of the West-Saxons,
and after by Nicholas Humbercombe,
heire of William Humbercombe. | Blacke Canons. | 0119 | 11 00 00 0 |
| Ewelme, or
New Elm. | H. | William de la Pole Duke of Suffolke. | | 0020 | 0 0 0 0 |
| Eynsham. | M. Saint Marie. | 5 Arhelmar a Nobleman, King a Arhelmar
confirmed it A.D. 1005. | 5 Blacke Monkes
Benedictines. | 0431 | 16 01 00 0 |
| Godslowby Oxf. | N. Saint Mary. | Dame Ida a rich Widow, Repaired by K. Iohn. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0319 | 18 08 00 0 |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---------------------------|----------------|---|----------------|------------------------------------|
| Goring. | N Saint Marie. | | Blacke Nunnes. | l. s. d. ob. q.
0060 05 05 00 0 |
| Lidmet, alias
Lidmore. | N — | Founder Domini Regis Progenitor. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0033 06 08 00 0 |
| Norton. | P — | Domini Regis Progenitor. Reginald Earle
of Balgoye gave 108; Actes 10 12.
Richard Sergeant. | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Saucombe. | P Saint Marie. | | Blacke Canons. | — |
| Sodley. | N Saint Mary. | Peter Corbylen, and William de Cantelap. | — | 0102 06 07 00 0 |
| Tame. | M Saint Mary. | Alexander Bishopp of Lonsdale, the great
builder of Castles. | White Monkes. | 0256 13 07 00 0 |
| Wroston. | P Saint Mary. | Master Michael Eyles, for Henry Eyles
his Father, and confirmed by K. Iohn. | Canons. | 0078 14 03 00 0 |

RICHMOND-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Richmond. | M Saint Agash. | Realdon Constable of Richmond, and Gra-
con his wife. Founder Antecessor.
Dom. Scrope. A.D. 152. | — | l. s. d. ob. q.
0188 16 02 00 0 |
| Richmond. | H Saint Nicholas. | | — | 0010 00 00 00 0 |
| Courtham, alias
at Somerham. | M — | First founded at Swayste by Halesha
daughter of Ralph Glanville, wife to
Ralph Lord of Middleham, but remo-
ved thither to Courtham. A.D. 1182. | Chanoys Pra-
monstratoses. | 0107 14 08 00 0 |
| Cander. | M — | William Fitz-Pier. | Nunnes. | 0064 01 09 00 0 |
| Ellerton. | N Saint Mary. | First, Stephen Earle of Balgoye. Anno
Dom. 1127. After William de Mon-
bray gave lands to it, which lands hee
had of Richard Merrell, and Anno his
wife. King Henry the 2. confirmed it. | — | 0015 14 08 00 0 |
| Furnesse. | M Saint Mary. | Thurston Archbishoppe of York. A.D. 1132. | White Monkes. | 0966 07 10 00 0 |
| Fountains. | M Saint Mary. | — | White Monkes. | 1173 00 07 00 0 |
| Gilling. | N — | — | Nunnes. | — |
| Ieruell. | M Saint Mary. | Stephen Earle of Britaine and Richmond. | White Monkes
Cisterciens. | 0455 10 05 00 0 |
| Saute Kendall. | H — | — | — | 0006 04 03 00 0 |
| Neere Knares-
brough. | Saint Robert. | Richard King of Romans, Earle of Cor-
wall. A.D. 118. | Friars. | 0035 10 11 00 0 |
| Maryke. | N — | Atkes. | Nunnes. | 0064 16 09 00 0 |
| Middleham, or
Bernards
Castle. | — | Richard Duke of York. | — | — |
| Nun-Manketon. | N — | Founder Antecessor Gail. Gestaigo Melvix. | Nunnes. | 0085 14 08 00 0 |
| Rybleton. Com-
mundry. | — | — | — | 0107 09 07 00 0 |
| Rypon Eccles.
Collegiat. | — | — | — | 0035 03 08 00 0 |
| Rypon. | H S. Mary Magd. | — | — | 0014 00 07 00 0 |
| Rypon. | H S. Iohn Baptist. | — | — | 0010 14 04 00 0 |
| Secon. | N — | Founder Antecessor Henrici Kirkely.
Ralph Lord Nevill. A.D. 1367. | Nunnes. | 0013 17 04 00 0 |
| Welles. | H S. Michayl. | — | — | 0020 17 12 00 0 |

RUTLAND-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---|------------------------------|--------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| Occham, under
the custody of a
Prior of Saint
Anne Cartha-
rius by Coun-
tres. | S. Saint Iohn
Evangelist. | William Dailly of Exton. | 3 Chapiens,
13 poore, each
10 s. yearly. | l. s. d. ob. q.
0043 13 04 00 0 |
| Brooke. | S. Mary the Virg. | — | — | — |

SHROPSHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|----------------|------------------------------------|
| Shrewsbury. | S. Saint Peter,
Saint Paul,
Saint Adth. | S. Roger Earle of Montgomery. Anno
Dom. 1081. | Blacke Monkes. | l. s. d. ob. q.
0615 04 03 00 0 |
| Shrewsbury,
Eccles.
Collegiat. | Saint Chadde. | — | — | 0014 14 04 00 0 |
| Shrewsbury, Ecc.
Colleg. | Saint Mary. | — | — | 0013 01 08 00 00 |

SOMERSET-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. sh. q. |
| Bridlaw. | M Saint <i>Angustine</i> . | { King Henry the second, and Lord Robert the sonne of <i>Hardyng</i> , the King of <i>Demerke</i> sonne. In our time King Henry the 8. made it a Cathedral Church. | { Blacke Canons }
Villagers. | 0767 15 03 00 0 |
| Brislow. | F { Saint Jacob }
or { Saint James. } | { Robert Earle of <i>Gloucester</i> , the base sonne }
of K. Henry the first. | { Blacke Monkes }
Benedictines. | |
| Brislow. | F | King Edward the first. A.D. 1267. | White Friars. | |
| Brislow, Eccl. | | The former by Sir Henry Gant knight. | Orphanes. | |
| Colley, now a Hospitall. | | The other by Thomas Corre a wealthy Citizen. | | |
| Bathe. | M { Saint Peter, }
and { Saint Paul. } | { King Edgar, <i>Edwyn</i> , <i>Ethelred</i> and <i>Wulfstan</i> , }
Athenward Iohn Bishop of <i>Wolter</i> made it a Cathedral Church, tempore H. 1. | Blacke Monkes. | 0695 06 01 00 0 |
| Bathe. | | <i>Reginald</i> Bishop of <i>Bath</i> . | | 0012 16 09 00 0 |
| Wellcs. | M { S. Iohn Baptist }
{ Saint Andrew. } | { King Iohn built the Church and Colledge, }
King <i>Kenelm</i> gave it great possessions, An. 746 King Edward <i>frater</i> made it a Bishop's Sec. Robert and <i>Inclonus</i> Bishops, and Ralph of <i>Shrewsbury</i> . | Secular Canons. | 0041 03 06 00 0 |
| Wellcs. | H | <i>Nicholas</i> Bishop of <i>Bath</i> . | 24. Poore. | |
| Glastenbery. | M Saint <i>Maria</i> . | { Ioseph of <i>Armathea</i> , <i>Draui</i> Bishop of S. }
<i>Danda</i> , Twelve Northern men. King Iohn. <i>Danflane</i> changed these Monkes into <i>Benedictines</i> this Order continued 600. years. | Blacke Monkes. | 3508 13 04 00 0 |
| Ashelme. | M { Saint Peter, }
{ S. Ashelme. } | King <i>Alfred</i> . | Blacke Monks. | 0109 03 00 00 0 |
| Barlyach. | P | Petty-places. | | 0098 14 08 00 0 |
| Scarwe. | N S. Mary, S. <i>Edwin</i> . | | Blacke Nunnes. | 0110 19 01 00 0 |
| Bridgewater. | P | | Grey Friars. | 0513 07 04 00 0 |
| Bridgewater. | H | <i>William</i> Brierley <i>vicar</i> . | Benedictines. | 0480 17 02 00 0 |
| Backland. | P | <i>Amis</i> Countesse of <i>Devonshire</i> . | A Recluse. | |
| Beuron. | M Saint <i>Mary</i> . | The <i>Melmas</i> there entombed. | 7 Chaplaines. | |
| Cadbury, or North-Cadbury. | C Saint <i>Michael</i> . | { <i>Elisabeth</i> <i>Burmann</i> , and her sonne <i>William</i> }
<i>Burmann</i> . | 4 Clerks. | |
| Clue. | M | | VVite Monkes. | 0155 09 05 00 0 |
| Conington. | N Saint <i>Maria</i> . | { <i>William</i> de <i>Remara</i> , Comen to the Earle of }
<i>Lincolne</i> . | Blacke Nunnes. | 0039 15 08 00 0 |
| Dunkeswell. | P | <i>William</i> Brierley <i>vicar</i> . | | |
| Dunster. | P | <i>Iohn</i> de <i>Molan</i> de <i>Dunster</i> . | | |
| Fuley. | P S. Mary, <i>Magd</i> . | <i>Humfrey</i> <i>Baban</i> . | Blacke Monkes | 0037 04 08 00 0 |
| Henton. | | <i>Elis</i> Countesse of <i>Salisbury</i> . | Carthusians. | 0362 11 00 00 0 |
| Keyesham. | M Saint <i>Mary</i> . | <i>William</i> Earle of <i>Gloucester</i> . | Blacke Canons. | 0450 03 06 00 0 |
| Monoguc. | M { Saint Peter & }
{ Saint Paul. } | { Earle <i>Marston</i> brother by the mothers }
side to <i>K. Conqueror</i> , confirmed by H. 1. | { Blacke Monkes }
Chamuscules. | 0524 11 08 00 0 |
| Moundrey. | C | | | 0011 18 08 00 0 |
| Muchelney. | M Saint <i>Peter</i> . | King <i>Alfred</i> . | Blacke Monkes. | 0495 16 03 00 0 |
| Mynchinbarrow. | P | | | 0019 05 08 00 0 |
| Stoke vnder Hamden. | C Saint <i>Andrew</i> . | <i>Gernays</i> . | Blacke Monkes. | |
| Taunton. | N { Saint Peter and }
{ Saint Paul. } | { <i>William</i> <i>Giffard</i> and <i>Henry</i> de <i>Blete</i> Bishop }
of <i>Worcester</i> . | Blacke Nunnes. | 0418 09 10 00 0 |
| Temple-Combe. | | | | 0107 16 11 00 0 |
| Commedery. | | | | |
| Westbury. | | <i>William</i> Canoke <i>Maier</i> of <i>Brislow</i> . | | 0110 18 04 00 0 |
| Woolspring. | P | | | 0117 01 08 00 0 |
| Wytham. | Saint <i>Mary</i> ,
S. Iohn Baptist,
All-Saints. | King Henry the third. | Carthusians. | 0021 15 03 00 0 |
| Yeuley, or Iuell. | H Saint <i>Katherine</i> . | { Iohn <i>Wichorne</i> Petty Canon of <i>Pauls</i> , and }
{ <i>Richard</i> <i>Hewes</i> . | | |

SUFFOLKE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------|--------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. sh. q. |
| Ipswich. | P Saint <i>Trinity</i> . | <i>Norman</i> and <i>Iohn</i> de <i>Oxenford</i> . | Blacke Canons. | 0085 06 09 00 0 |
| Ipswich. | M { Saint Peter and }
Saint Paul. | { <i>Cardinall</i> <i>Walpy</i> , but before him <i>Thomas</i> }
de <i>Lacy</i> and <i>Alice</i> his wife. | Blacke Canons. | 0088 06 10 00 0 |
| Ipswich. | F | <i>Henry</i> de <i>Manerby</i> , <i>Henry</i> <i>Redred</i> , and <i>Henry</i> de <i>Londham</i> . | Friars Preachers. | |
| Ipswich. | F | The Lord <i>Burdeley</i> , Sir <i>Giffrey</i> <i>Hadley</i> , and
Sir <i>Rob. Norton</i> knights. A.D. 1279. | { Carmelites or }
White Friars. | |
| Ipswich. | F | <i>Robert</i> <i>Tilket</i> . | Grey Friars. | |
| Ipswich. | F | <i>Iohn</i> <i>Hares</i> gave ground to build their house
(larger. | Blacke Friars. | D d d d d |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|--|-------------|---|------------------------------------|--------|----|----|------|
| | | | | L | s. | d. | ob q |
| Byburgh. | P | King Henry the first.
Richard Belaus, o. Beanele Bishop of London. | Blacke Canons. | 0045 | 02 | 09 | 00 |
| Brifete. | P | Saint Leonard. | Blacke Canons. | 0061 | 01 | 01 | 00 0 |
| Bury. | N | Roger Glanvil and Goodreda his Wife,
Aly, she Ancestors of The Bretherton,
Earle of Norfolke. | Monks. | 0056 | 01 | 01 | 0 |
| Burth-yed or
Brusfeld. | M | Ralph de Glanville. | Blacke Canons. | 0113 | 17 | 02 | ob q |
| Campey. | N | Saint Marie &
Virgin. | 0111 | 09 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Clare or
Stoke. | P | Saint John, Bapt. | Blacke Monks or
Angline Friars. | 0021 | 08 | 09 | 00 q |
| Croberburg,
or Burgh-
Calld. | C | Henry Earle of Essex, and Isabel his
wife. | 0048 | 15 | 08 | 00 | 0 |
| Denham. | C | Emsey a Scottishman. Also Sigebert
King of the East Angles. | 0021 | 08 | 09 | 00 | q |
| Dodnash. | M | Saint Mary. | 0048 | 15 | 08 | 00 | 0 |
| Dunwich,
Seder Episc.
palis. | C | The Ancestors of the Duke of Norfolke. | 0021 | 08 | 09 | 00 | q |
| S. Edmundsbury. | M | Folke the Burgundian, that reduced
the East-Angles againe vnto the chris-
tian faith, Anno Domini, 630. | 0021 | 08 | 09 | 00 | q |
| Saint Edwards
place, faw
Edwards-
flow. | M | King Canute. | Blacke Monks. | 1336 | 16 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Eye. | M | Peter Bishoppe of Winchester. | 0124 | 09 | 07 | 00 | q |
| Fynton. | M | Robert Malet Lord of Ely. | 0021 | 08 | 09 | 00 | q |
| Heringflete. | M | Saint Olanet. | 0049 | 11 | 07 | 00 | 0 |
| Hoxon. | N | Roger the sonne of Osbert. | Canons Regular. | 0124 | 17 | 01 | 00 0 |
| Leiston. | N | Saint Mary. | 0026 | 18 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Letheringham. | P | 1. Ralph Glanville.
2. Sir Robert Ufford. | Blacke Canons. | 0101 | 07 | 05 | 00 0 |
| Litcomb. | C | Saint Mary. | 0051 | 10 | 00 | 00 | 0 |
| Mettingham. | P | Saint Mary &
Virgin. | 0011 | 01 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Rafford. | M | Saint John. | 0029 | 01 | 00 | 11 | 00 0 |
| Ratford. | H | Saint John. | 0314 | 04 | 01 | 00 | 0 |
| Reddingfield. | M | Saint Mary. | 0111 | 18 | 03 | 0 | 0 |
| Rumburth. | P | Saint Michael. | 0110 | 15 | 07 | 00 | 0 |
| Snapes. | P | Saint Marie. | 0030 | 09 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Stoke. | C | William Martill, Aly, Domini Regis
Progenitor. | 0069 | 14 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Suthbery. | P | Saint Bartholom. | 0050 | 03 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Sybbeton. | M | Saint Mary. | 0021 | 11 | 07 | 00 | 0 |
| Walton. | P | S. Felix. | 0030 | 09 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Wangford. | P | Saint Marie. | 0069 | 14 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Wingefield. | C | — | 0050 | 03 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Woochridge. | M | Saint Mary. | 0021 | 11 | 07 | 00 | 0 |
| Wytes. | M | Saint Bennet. | 0150 | 09 | 05 | 00 | 0 |
| Ykefworth or
Iaworth. | P | — | 0150 | 09 | 05 | 00 | 0 |

SURREY.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|----|----|------|
| | | | | L | s. | d. | ob q |
| Barmondley. | M | S. Saviour. | Blacke Monks
& Chanoys. | 0548 | 01 | 05 | 00 q |
| Chartsey. | M | Saint Peter. | 0744 | 13 | 06 | 00 | q |
| Guilford. | F | S. Crues. | Preaching Friars.
Backe Friars. | 0075 | 00 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Guilford. | F | — | 0075 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Horsham. | P | S. Felix. | 0075 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Lingfield. | C | — | 0075 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Maroon. | P | Saint Mary. | 0075 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Newark, vel
de Nene
Loca. | P | Saint Mary
and S. Thom.
Martyr. | 0075 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 0 |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------|---|--|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Reigate. | P <i>Santa Crois.</i> | <i>William Warren</i> first Easle of Surrey, and
after <i>John Manbray</i> . | Augustines. | l s. d. ob. q
0078 16 08 00 0 |
| Shene. | P | King <i>Henry the fifth</i> . | Carthusian Monks. | 0062 11 06 00 0 |
| Southwike. | M { <i>Santa Maria</i>
<i>Virginis, de</i>
<i>Owry.</i> | First by <i>Swithun</i> a noble Dame, after by
a maiden called <i>Mary</i> , and after
conferred to a Colledge of Priests, by
<i>William Post-le-Arch</i> . Canons first in-
troduced, 1016. | Blacke Canoos. | 0656 10 00 00 0 |
| Southwike. | H <i>Saint Thomas.</i> | <i>Richard</i> Priot of <i>Bermondsey</i> , Anno Dom.
1113. | — | 0166 17 11 00 0 |
| Tanigge. | M | — | — | 0078 15 10 00 0 |
| Waverley. | N <i>S. Mary.</i> | <i>William Giffard</i> Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> . | Whitc Monkes. | 0174 08 03 00 0 |

SVSSEX.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|----------------------------------|
| Chichester
<i>Episc.</i> | 3 Saint Trinity. | <i>Rodolphus</i> Episcopus, primo sanctissimus sanctus,
deinde manifestatus <i>Henricus</i> primo,
postea <i>Seffridus</i> secundus eius nominis
Episcopus tempore Regis <i>Ricardi</i> de pri-
mo. | Secular Canons. | l s. d. ob. q
0004 03 09 00 0 |
| Chichester. | M Saint Peter. | — | Grey Friars. | — |
| Chichester. | F | — | Blacke Friars. | — |
| Santa Chichester. | H { <i>Saint Iacob.</i>
<i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | — | Leprosy. | — |
| Infra Chichester. | H <i>Saint Mary.</i> | — | Papists. | 0011 11 06 00 0 |
| Arundel. | H Saint Trinity. | <i>Thomas</i> Easle of <i>Arundel</i> , & <i>Beatrice</i> his wife. | Elemosynary. | 0043 03 08 00 0 |
| Arundel. | P Saint Nicholas. | <i>Richard</i> Easle of <i>Arundel</i> . | Blacke Monkes. | 0108 00 07 00 0 |
| Accrife. | P Saint Peter. | — | Blacke Monks. | — |
| Batell. | M Saint Martin. | King <i>William</i> the Conqueror. A.D. 1066. | Blacke Monkes. | 0987 00 11 00 0 |
| Bidington. | H <i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | — | — | 0004 00 00 00 0 |
| Bosham, or
Bosham. | 3 M | <i>Disal</i> a Scottish Monke. | — | — |
| Boxgrau. | — Saint Mary. | <i>John</i> Saint <i>John</i> , <i>Ally</i> , <i>Robert</i> de la
<i>Hays</i> . | { Blacke Monkes
{ Benedictines | { 0145 10 03 00 0 |
| Darford. | N <i>S. John Baptist.</i> | — | { White Canons
{ <i>Præmonstratensis</i> . | { 0108 13 09 00 0 |
| Eastborne. | P | — | — | 0047 03 00 00 0 |
| Hastings. | P Saint Trinity. | Founded by <i>John</i> Pelham Knight, when
their lands were denoured by inun-
dation of the Sea. | Blacke Canoos. | 0057 12 00 00 0 |
| Lewis. | P Saint Pancras. | <i>William</i> de <i>Warren</i> , first Easle of
<i>Surrey</i> . | { Black Monks, Clu-
nascentes. | { 1091 09 06 00 0 |
| Lullmesfer. | N <i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | — | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Michelham. | P <i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | — | Blacke Canons Aug. | 0191 12 03 00 0 |
| Occham. | P <i>S. Lawrence.</i> | — | White Canons. | — |
| Remsted. | N <i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | — | Blacke Nunnes. | — |
| Roberts | 3 M Saint Mary. | <i>Abbas</i> de <i>Santa</i> <i>Martina</i> tempore <i>Hen-</i>
<i>rici</i> secundi. | { White Monkes
{ Cisterciens. | { 0231 09 08 00 0 |
| Briggs. | M | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0039 13 07 00 0 |
| Rupper. | N <i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | — | — | — |
| Schey. | 3 M &
3 <i>S. John Baptist.</i> | King <i>Cedwal</i> . | — | — |
| Shulbred. | P | — | — | 0079 15 06 00 0 |
| Souchmalling. | C | — | — | 0045 13 05 00 0 |
| Stenings. | — <i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | — | Secular Canons. | — |
| Shoreham. | F | { King <i>Edward</i> the second and the Lord
<i>Manbray</i> . | { Carmelites or
{ white Friars. | { |
| Toetyng. | P <i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | — | Blacke Canons. | 0101 04 03 00 0 |
| Winchelsea. | F | King <i>Edw. 2.</i> | Friars Preachers. | — |
| — | M Our Lady. | <i>William</i> de <i>Rockingham</i> , confirmed by <i>K. 2</i>
<i>Edward 3.</i> | — | — |

WARRWICKSHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|---|-------------|----------------------------|---|--------|----|----|----|
| | | | | l. | s. | d. | q. |
| Warwicks. | P | Saint Sepulchre. | Richard Nevill Earle of Warwicks. | 0049 | 13 | 06 | 00 |
| Warwicks. | — | — | Blacke Canons. | — | — | — | — |
| Warwicks. | F | Peter de Mannisford. | Friers Preachers. | 0004 | 18 | 06 | 00 |
| Warwicks. | — | — | — | 0147 | 13 | 00 | 00 |
| Essef. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Calley. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Warwicks. | H | Saint Michael. | — | 0010 | 01 | 10 | 00 |
| Warwicks. | H | Santa Baptista. | — | 0019 | 03 | 07 | 00 |
| Warwicks. | — | Saint George. | Robert de Denby, William Russell, and Hugh Conke for the flate of the King and Anne the Queene. Michael de la Poole, and all their Brethren, and Sisters, and for Anne Prince of Wales. | — | — | — | — |
| Warwicks. | — | — | AFraternity. | — | — | — | — |
| Horsingall. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Warwicks. | H | Saint John. | Thomas Beauchampe Earle of Warwicks. | — | — | — | — |
| Couentree. | P | Saint Anne. | Thomas Beauchampe. | — | — | — | — |
| Couentree. | P | Saint Mary. | King James and Lesfricks Earle of Mercians, A.D. 1043. | — | — | — | — |
| Couentree. | F | — | Sir John Pansbury Knight, Anne Demant. | — | — | — | — |
| Couentree. | H | S. John Baptif. | 1332. | — | — | — | — |
| Alcester, or Alcester. | P | S. John Baptif. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Alley. | C | — | Thomas Lord Alley. | — | — | — | — |
| Atherston. | F | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Aucaster. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| A Cells Malverne Priore in Worcester-shire. | P | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Babelacke. | C | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Berdleige. | M | Bena Maria. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cadbury. | — | — | White Monks. | 0045 | 6 | 00 | 00 |
| Combe. | M | Saint Mary. | The Ancestors of Sir Ralph Bateler knight, Baron and Lord of Sudley, Treasurer of Englen d. | — | — | — | — |
| Einby, or Einbury. | P | — | Cannels and Menbrales. | — | — | — | — |
| Godcliff. | C | — | White Monks. | 0343 | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Hennood. | N | Saint Margare. | Richard Earle of Warwicks. | 0113 | 08 | 06 | 00 |
| Keelworth. | M | — | Catharine de la Land. | — | — | — | — |
| Kingeswood. | N | — | Geffrey Clavon Chamberlaine unto King. | 0021 | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| Knole. | P | — | Henry the first. | 0643 | 14 | 09 | 00 |
| Maxflocke. | C | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Merrill. | M | Saint Mary. | Elizabeth wife to John Lord Clinton. | 0018 | 05 | 06 | 00 |
| Nuncaton. | N | — | Robert Ferrers. A.D. 1171. | 0139 | 11 | 08 | 00 |
| Polleworth. | N | Saint Edith. | Maderna an Irish Virgin. Repaired by R. | 0303 | 10 | 00 | 00 |
| Pynley. | N | — | Marmion a Nobleman. | 0300 | 15 | 00 | 00 |
| Stonley. | M | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sturford Jeger. | — | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0023 | 08 | 06 | 00 |
| Sudeley. | P | — | Nuns. | 0017 | 14 | 07 | 00 |
| Thelford. | — | — | White Monks. | 0578 | 01 | 05 | 00 |
| Wrethall. | N | S. God, and Saint Leonard. | John of Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury. | 0113 | 11 | 09 | 00 |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| — | — | — | Blacke Canons. | 0181 | 03 | 06 | 00 |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| — | — | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0013 | 10 | 00 | 00 |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| — | — | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0078 | 10 | 01 | 00 |

WVestMORLAND.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|---------|-------------|-------------------|---|--------|----|----|----|
| | | | | l. | s. | d. | q. |
| Sharpe. | M | — | Thomas the sonne of Giffurtrie, sonne of Ormer. | 0166 | 10 | 05 | 00 |

WILT-SHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|----------------------|--|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Salisbury. | } Saint Peter. | { Oswald Bishoppe of Salisbury, <i>scilicet</i> , W. R. 1091. | Secular Canons. | |
| Salisbury. | | | | |
| Salisbury. | F | { King Edward the first, and Robert Kilward by Archbishop of Canterbury. | Blacke Friars. | |
| Salisbury. | F | | Grey Friars. | |
| Jaresh Salisbury. | H | Richard B. of Salisbury, A.D. 1382. | | 0037 03 03 00 0 |
| Amberbury. | M | Affrica King Edgars wife. | White Monks. | 0558 10 02 00 0 |
| Amberbury. | N | King Esbeldred. | Holy Yugins. | |
| Ashby. | H | | | 0081 08 05 00 0 |
| Bradeflake. | P | { Walter the eldest sonne of Walter de Enroux, Earle of Essex in Normandy. | Blacke Monks. | 0270 10 08 00 0 |
| Bromham, or Bromere. | } { Saint Mary }
{ & S. Michael } | Bantles Eate of Rivers and Dorsetshire. | Blacke Canons. | |
| Briopune. | | | Blacke Canons. | |
| Calne. | H | | | 0002 02 08 00 0 |
| Cirelode. | H | | | 0004 10 07 00 0 |
| Edwose. | P | { King Henry the second, and after Henry the third. | Blacke Canons. | 0133 00 07 00 0 |
| Edindoo. | P | All-Saints. | Tenue communis. | 0521 12 05 00 0 |
| Edon. | P | Saint Trinity. | | 0055 14 04 00 0 |
| Farleigh. | } S. Mary Magd. | The Eate of Hereford, on Hereford. | { Blacke Monks }
{ Cluniacenses. | { 0217 00 04 00 0 |
| Monchord. | | | | |
| Fifshart. | F | Mary Countesse of Norfolk. | Friars Preachers. | |
| Henesbury. | } { Saint Mary }
{ & S. Michael } | Robert Lord Hungerford and Margaret. | | |
| Eccles Collegiat. | | | | |
| Henson. | N | Dame Ela Countesse of Salisbury. | Nunnes. | |
| Kynston. | P | | Nunnes. | 0038 03 10 00 0 |
| Lacocke. | M | Saint Mary. | | 0203 12 03 00 0 |
| Malmesbury. | M | { Dame Ela Countesse of Salisbury, A.D. 1223 }
{ Madalphan Irish Scot, Adelme bis Scholler, King Arthelstan. | Blacke Monks. | 0803 17 07 00 0 |
| Middleton. | P | King Arthelstan. | | |
| Marleburgh. | P | King Arthelstan. | Canons. | 0038 19 02 00 0 |
| Marleburgh. | F | Edmond Earle of Cornwall. | { Carmelites or }
{ White Friars. | { 0006 18 04 00 0 |
| Jaresh Marleburgh. | H | John Goodwyn & William Kempfich, A.D. 1316 | | |
| Maiden-Bradley. | P | Manasse Bispe, Confirmed by King John. | | 0197 18 08 00 0 |
| Maiden Beadeley. | | One of the Inheritorces of Manasse Bispe. | Lepros. | |
| Stanley. | M | Saint Mary. | White Monks. | 0212 19 04 00 0 |
| Wilton. | N { Saint Mary and }
{ Saint Faith. } | { Westsah Eate of Ellendunum or Wilton. | Blacke Nunnes. | 0054 11 05 00 0 |
| Jaresh Wilton. | | | | |
| Westbeach. | P | Edith wife of S. Edward. | | 0005 13 04 00 0 |

VVORCESTERSHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|------------|--|---|----------------|-----------------|
| | | | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Worcester. | } M
} Saint Marie,
} Saint Walstan,
} Saint Katherine | { Stewalph Bishoppe of the Mercians, Anno Domini 1060. Oswald Bishop of Worcester. Walstan Bishoppe there also Anno Domini, 1060. These continued, 500 years. K. Henry the eight, in shew of the place in it a Dean & Prebends, & assigned to it a Grammar Schoole. | Blacke Monks. | 1386 11 10 00 q |
| Worcester. | | | | |
| Worcester. | F | William Beauchamp. | Grey Friars. | |
| Worcester. | H | Saint Walstan. | Blacke Friars. | 0003 18 10 00 0 |
| Alceux. | Collat. | | | 0075 07 00 00 q |
| Bordelege. | P | Saint Mary. | White Monks. | |
| Bredon. | M | K. Henry the second, and Maude the Emperice. | | |
| Brodricy. | M | Offa king of the Mercians. | White Monks. | 0392 08 06 00 0 |
| Cokehill. | N | | White Nunnes. | 0034 15 11 00 0 |
| Elocester. | P | | Blacke Canons. | |
| Eucham. | M | { S. Mary, & }
{ S. Edburg. } | Blacke Monks. | 1268 09 09 00 0 |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------|----|----|------|
| | | | | l. | s. | d. | q. |
| Haleston. M | — | <i>Peter de Rupham</i> Bishop of Winchester.
<i>Ally, King John.</i> | — | 0282 | 13 | 04 | 00 0 |
| Majourne <i>maior</i> . P | Saint Marie | <i>Alroy's</i> Monks, first augmented by <i>Edw.</i>
the first, A.D. 1085. | Blacke Monkes.
Benedictines. | 0375 | 00 | 06 | 06 q |
| Malverne <i>minor</i> . P | Saint Egidius. | <i>Jacques</i> and <i>Edw.</i> , two brothers, both re-
ligious men, these augmented by <i>Wil-</i>
<i>lam Blos</i> Bishp of Worcester, A.D. 1171. | Blacke Monks. | 0102 | 10 | 09 | 00 0 |
| Penwortham. | — | <i>Dominus Regis</i> Progenitor. | — | 0099 | 05 | 03 | 00 0 |
| Pesthorpe. M | Saint Mary, &
Saint Edburg. | <i>Egbert</i> Duke of <i>Dorset</i> to King <i>Edgar</i> :
dayes: King <i>Uswald</i> . | Blacke Monkes. | 0666 | 13 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Wellwood. N | — | — | Blacke Nunnes. | 0078 | 08 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Wulston <i>laxta</i> .
Worcester. S | — | — | — | 0056 | 03 | 07 | 00 0 |
| Wotton-Wulstun. P | — | The Countesse of <i>Stafford</i> . | — | 0013 | 14 | 04 | 00 0 |
| Wotton-Wulstun. H | Saint Oswald. | — | — | — | — | — | — |

YORKESHIRE.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--------|----|----|------|
| | | | | l. | s. | d. | q. |
| Yorke. Ecclesia
Cathedralis. } | Saint Peter. | <i>Ulphus</i> <i>Toralis</i> filius. <i>A Constantis</i>
<i>Episcopi</i> <i>fulcrum</i> . <i>Dominus</i> <i>Re-</i>
<i>gis</i> Progenitor. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Yorke. M | Saint Trinity. | A house of Canons destroyed by the Con-
querors: repayed for Monks by
<i>Ralph Fitzwill</i> | Blacke Monkes. | 0196 | 17 | 02 | 00 0 |
| Yorke extra
muros. } M | S. Marie. | <i>William Rufus</i> , and after <i>Alan</i> the third
Earle of <i>Surrey</i> to <i>Armarus</i> , and
of <i>Richmond</i> . | Blacke Monkes. | 1085 | 01 | 05 | 06 q |
| Yorke. P | Saint Andrew
the Apostle } | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Yorke. F | — | Lord <i>Fyfe</i> , and Lord <i>Fyfe</i> , <i>Anno</i> <i>Dom.</i>
1155. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Yorke. F | — | The Lord <i>Scrope</i> . | — | — | — | — | — |
| Yorke. H | Saint Leonard. | King William the second. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Apulton, or
Nunapleton. N | — | Ancestor <i>Comitis</i> <i>Northumbria</i> . | Nunnes. | 0083 | 05 | 07 | 00 0 |
| Arden. N | — | <i>Dominus</i> <i>Regis</i> Progenitor. | Nunnes. | 0011 | 07 | 04 | 00 0 |
| Arthington. N | — | Ancestor <i>Hen.</i> <i>Arthington</i> . | Nunnes. | 0019 | 00 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Bamburgh, a
Cell to Saint
Oswald. } | — | King Henry the first. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Barton, or
Barton. } | Saint Mary. | <i>Adam</i> <i>Swaynton</i> . | Blacke Monkes. | — | — | — | — |
| Saint Bees
in Camber-
land. } Cris-
la. | — | <i>Dominus</i> <i>Regis</i> Progenitor. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bella-lunda,
salgo, Bi-
lunda. } M | Saint Mary. | <i>Acarius</i> first, & <i>Rob.</i> <i>Monkrey</i> , & <i>Gannor</i> ,
his brother, founded the Church at <i>Hode</i> ,
& after removed it to <i>Bella-lunda</i> , 1138. | White Monkes
Cisterciens. | 0395 | 05 | 04 | 00 0 |
| Beverley
Praeparatoria.
Beverley, Eccle-
siastic. } S. Saint John le-
rusalem. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Beverley. F | Saint John. | <i>John</i> Bishop of <i>Turkey</i> , and restored by King
<i>Abelstan</i> , A.D. 659. | 51 Monkes.
23 Canons. | 0109 | 08 | 08 | 06 0 |
| Beverley. F | — | <i>Ful.</i> <i>William</i> <i>Lyketon</i> , & <i>Henry</i> <i>Wichborn</i> ,
and after restored by <i>John</i> <i>Hotham</i>
Knight, <i>Anno</i> <i>Dom.</i> 1257. | Friars Augustines. | — | — | — | — |
| Beverley. F | — | <i>John</i> de <i>Ligghemede</i> . | Friars Minors. | — | — | — | — |
| Bolton in
Craven. } S. Saint Ivo. | — | Lord <i>Grey</i> of <i>Codur</i> . | Carmelites or
White Friars. | 0102 | 09 | 03 | 00 0 |
| Bonithome. H | — | King <i>Abelstan</i> . | — | 0009 | 06 | 08 | 00 0 |
| Brillington. M | Saint Mary. | <i>Alister</i> de <i>Gauze</i> , and <i>Jordan</i> <i>Pogassell</i> , &
about the Conquerors time. | Canons Regular. | 0683 | 13 | 09 | 00 0 |
| Dafedale. N | — | Ancestor <i>Radulphi</i> <i>Emmatus</i> . | Nunnes. | 0051 | 19 | 04 | 00 0 |
| Doncaster. F | — | <i>John</i> Duke of <i>Leicester</i> , and <i>I.</i> <i>Night-</i>
<i>der</i> , A.D. 1350. | Carmelites or
White Friars. | — | — | — | — |
| Draz. P | — | <i>Sir</i> <i>William</i> <i>Palmer</i> Ancestor of <i>Marmar-</i>
<i>duke</i> <i>Constable</i> . | Canons. | 0121 | 12 | 03 | 06 0 |
| Ellerton. N | Saint Mary. | <i>William</i> <i>Fitz-Piers</i> , and the Ancestors of
<i>William</i> <i>Astley</i> , <i>William</i> <i>Thurteley</i> and
<i>Ralph</i> <i>Spencer</i> . | Nunnes. | 0078 | 00 | 10 | 00 0 |
| Esfholt. N | — | The Ancestors of <i>Christopher</i> <i>IV.</i> <i>ard</i> . | Nunnes. | 0019 | 00 | 00 | 00 0 |
| Fereby, or
North-Fere-
by. } P | — | The Ancestors of the Earle of <i>Cumberland</i> . | — | 0095 | 11 | 07 | 06 0 |

| Place. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|-------------|--|--|-----------------|
| Foffegate. | H | | | l. s. d. ss q |
| Circumton, or
Grosmount. | P | { <i>Perrin de Malo-lary</i> , Ancestor of Francis }
<i>Byer</i> , and <i>George Salwayne</i> . } | | 0006 13 04 00 0 |
| Gysborne. | M | <i>Robert de Bru</i> A.D. 1119. | | 0014 01 03 00 0 |
| Haltensprice. | M | { <i>The King's Island</i> Earle of Kent. <i>Ally</i> }
The Ancestors of the Duke of Richmond. } | | 0178 00 12 00 0 |
| Hampall. | N | The Ancestors of <i>Gervais Clifton</i> . | Nunnes. | 0085 06 11 00 0 |
| H-andale, or
Grindale. | N | { The Ancestors of the Earle of North- }
<i>berland</i> . } | Nun. | 0010 07 03 00 0 |
| Heloagh-Park. | P | The ancestor of the Earle of Northumberland. | | 0036 03 02 00 0 |
| Henryngburgh
Eccles. | | | | 0036 00 07 00 0 |
| Collogat. | | | | |
| Hall. | F | { <i>First, Edward the first</i> , and after <i>Sir Robert</i> }
<i>Ongbergh</i> , and <i>Richard de Poole</i> , <i>Ann</i> . }
<i>11. Ed. 1. 1. 1.</i> | { Carmelites or }
{ White Friars. } | |
| Hull. | F | <i>Goffride de Hotham</i> A.D. 1130. | Augustine Friars. | |
| Hulmet. | M | <i>Sir William de Poole</i> , and <i>Katherine</i> his | Carthusian Monks. | 0011 17 03 00 0 |
| Hull. | H | wife, A.D. 1177. | | 0010 00 00 0 |
| Hyth, in the
Isle of Ae-
bolus. | | | | 0007 11 08 00 0 |
| Kelton. | N | <i>Mowbray</i> Earle of Nottingham. | Nunnes. | 0019 06 01 00 0 |
| Keling, or
Nunkehyng. | N | The Ancestors of the Earle of <i>Weymarland</i> . | Nones. | 0050 17 01 00 0 |
| Kyrkeham. | | <i>Walter Eifke</i> , A.D. 1122. | Augustines. | 0100 15 06 00 0 |
| Kyrkley. | N | | Nunnes. | 0010 07 08 00 0 |
| Kirkstall. | M | <i>Henry Lary</i> the first, A.D. 1147. | White Monks. | 0512 13 04 00 0 |
| Laxa Lin-
colne. | S. M. | <i>S. Mary Magd.</i> | | 0016 01 03 00 0 |
| Mella, or
Meus. | M | { <i>William le Gros</i> , Earle of <i>Albemarle</i> . A- }
<i>ly King Henry</i> the first, A.D. 1150. } | { White Monks }
{ Gilbertines. } | 0445 10 05 00 0 |
| Merton, or
Marton. | P | <i>Katherine de Brewere</i> . | | 0183 01 04 00 0 |
| Mollesby, or
Monesby. | N | { The Kings Ancestors. <i>Ally</i> , the Earle of }
<i>Salisbury</i> . } | Nunnes. | 0011 06 01 00 0 |
| Mooregrace. | M | <i>Thomas Holland</i> Duke of <i>Surry</i> , Earle of
<i>Kent</i> , and <i>L. of Italy</i> , and <i>Is. Tugby</i>
<i>Elquien</i> , 1401. | | 0121 05 11 00 0 |
| Munckbret-
ton, alias
Burton. | M | <i>Adam Fitz-Owen</i> . | Monks. | 0121 05 03 00 0 |
| Neder-Act-
ter, or
Ambleton. | C | <i>Saint Mary.</i>
<i>S. John Bapt.</i> | | 0017 13 04 00 |
| Newburgh. | P | <i>Robert Mowbray</i> , A.D. 1137. | Canons Augustines. | 0457 13 05 00 0 |
| Newlands. | | | | 0119 14 11 00 0 |
| Preystoria. | | | | 0011 00 01 00 0 |
| Newton. | H | | | |
| Northallerton. | F | { <i>King Edward</i> the third, and <i>Thomas Har-</i> }
<i>field</i> Bishop of <i>Durham</i> , A.D. 1354. } | { Carmelites or }
{ White Friars. } | 0016 01 01 00 0 |
| Nothallerton. | H | <i>Saint Jacob.</i> | | |
| Nosfell. | M | <i>Saint Oswald.</i> | | |
| Nunmerholme. | N | { <i>Full</i> founded by <i>Robert Lary</i> Earle of <i>Lin-</i> }
<i>colne</i> Afteward <i>A. Confessor</i> to <i>King</i> }
<i>Henry</i> the first rectified it. } | Canons. | 0506 09 03 00 0 |
| Old-Malton. | M | The Ancestors of the Lord <i>Deeres</i> . | Nunnes. | 0010 03 03 00 0 |
| Pontefract. | M | <i>S. Eufark Fitz-John. Monks</i> , in the reign
of <i>King Stephen</i> . | | 0157 07 00 00 0 |
| Pontefract. | M | <i>Robert Lary</i> Earle of <i>Lincoln</i> . | { Blacke Monks }
{ Chanceries. } | 0471 16 10 00 0 |
| Pontefract. | C | <i>Six Robert Kneller</i> and <i>Constance</i> his wife. | For poore people. | 0181 13 07 00 0 |
| Laxa Rich-
mond. | S. M. | <i>Saint Martins.</i> | | |
| Rippon. | M | The kings Ancestors. | | 0047 16 00 00 0 |
| Ruans. | | <i>Wiffride</i> Bishopp of <i>Turky</i> . | | |
| Rosedale. | P | <i>Walter Eifke</i> . | White Monks. | 0041 13 08 00 0 |
| Rotherham. | C | The kings Progenitors. | | |
| Rotherham. | C | <i>Thomas Rotherham</i> Archbishop of <i>Turky</i> . | { Schooles. }
{ Writing- }
{ Grammar. }
{ and Musick. } | 0018 05 09 00 0 |
| Rupe, alias
Roche. | M | Ow Lady. | | 0071 19 04 00 0 |
| Rychall, or
Rydall. | M | | | 0351 14 05 00 0 |
| Salby. | | <i>Saint Marie.</i> | | |
| Scarborough. | F | <i>William</i> the sonne of <i>Henry de Percy</i> . | White Monks. | 0011 15 08 00 0 |
| Scarborough. | F | <i>King Edward</i> the second, A.D. 1319. | White Friars. | |
| Scarborough. | F | <i>Sir Adam Sage</i> . | Friers Preachers. | |
| Selby. | M | <i>Henry Percie</i> Earle of <i>Northumberland</i> . | Blacke Friars. | |
| Semphingham. | M | <i>King William</i> the first, A.D. 1078. | { Blacke Monks }
{ Benedictines. } | 0519 01 06 00 |
| Smythwaite,
or Senning-
thwaite. | N | { <i>S. Gilbert</i> and }
{ <i>S. Mary Writ.</i> } | | |
| Smythwaite,
or Senning-
thwaite. | N | { <i>S. Gilbert</i> the beginnet of the Order, and }
{ <i>Agnes de Cheffier</i> . } | Gilbertines. | 0056 13 14 00 0 |
| Smythwaite,
or Senning-
thwaite. | N | The Ancestors of the Earle of <i>Northumberl-</i> | Nunnes. | 0061 05 10 00 0 |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------|----|----|----|
| | | | | l. | s. | d. | q. |
| Stokekyrke, Cella | — | — | — | 0008 | 00 | 00 | 00 |
| Sutton, <i>Ecclesia</i> | — | — | — | 0013 | 18 | 08 | 00 |
| Swinney, <i>Collegiata</i> | N | The Ancestors of Sir John Melton knight. | Nunnes, | 0134 | 06 | 19 | 00 |
| Thykehead or Thikenhead, | N | The Ancestors of John Ask. | Nunnes, | 0023 | 12 | 02 | 00 |
| Tickhill, | F | John Clavelle Deane of Pader. | Friars Augustines. | — | — | — | — |
| Warner, | P Saint Jacob. | Galfridus Truchbot knight, and William Roffe de Hamela. About king Henry the first time. | Blacke Canons }
Augustines } | 0321 | 03 | 10 | 00 |
| Watson, | M | Engelach the sonne of Fitz-John with an eye, in the reigne of King Stephen. | White Canons and Nunnes. } | 0453 | 07 | 08 | 00 |
| Whitby, | M { Saint Peter &c }
Saint Hilda. | Saint Hilda: Enriched by Edelfleda, King Oswine daughter, and hunteille: destroyed by the Danes, it was redeemed by William Percy, about the coming in of the Normans. | Black Monks. | 0505 | 09 | 01 | 00 |
| Wodesthall, Cella Sancta Trinitatis. | — | — | — | 0128 | 05 | 03 | 00 |
| Woodkirke, A Cella S. Oswald. | — | Earle P'Yarres. | — | 0047 | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| Wychem, | M | The Kinges Ancestors | White Canons and Nunnes. | 0035 | 17 | 06 | 00 |
| Wylberfosse, | N | The Ancestors of the Archbilhop of York. | Nunnes, | 0028 | 08 | 08 | 00 |
| Yedingham, | N | The Ancestors of the Lord Latimer. | Nunnes, | 0056 | 06 | 08 | 00 |
| — | N Saint Clements. | — | Nunnes. | 0055 | 11 | 11 | 00 |
| — | H Saint Nicholas. | — | — | 0039 | 01 | 04 | 00 |
| — | M Sancta Sepulchra. | — | — | 0011 | 18 | 04 | 00 |
| Montis Scilla <i>Com-mendata.</i> | — | — | — | 0102 | 23 | 10 | 00 |
| Sehaucis, Chappell Sepulchra. | — | — | — | 0138 | 19 | 02 | 00 |





S. ASAPH DIOCES.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|---|---------------|--|---------|------------------------------------|
| Basingwerke
in Flintshire. | M | | | l. s. d. sh. q.
0157 15 02 00 0 |
| Conway, or
Abet-conway
in Carnarvon-
shire. | M Saint Mary. | { Remains house of Gervase, once Priore
of North-Wales. | | 0179 10 10 00 0 |
| Handlon } Com-
muni-
cated. | | | | 0160 14 10 00 0 |
| Llanllugan ⁿ or
Wanllugan, in
Montgomery-
shire. | N | | Nunnes. | 0022 13 08 00 0 |
| Serain-Marcel
la or Strata-
marghill, in
Montgomery-
shire. | M | { Owe the house of Griffin, and confir-
med by his house Wemmeren, Anno
Dom. 1202. | | 0073 07 06 00 0
0 |
| Valla de Cruce
in Denbigh-
shire. | M | | | 0214 03 05 00 0 |

BANGOR DIOCES.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Bangor. | F | | Blacke Friars. | l. s. d. sh. q.
0058 06 02 00 00 |
| Bartley in
Carnarvon-
shire. | M Saint Mary. | | | 0069 03 08 00 0 |
| Beaumaris in
Anglesey. | F | | Grey Friars. | 0024 00 00 00 0 |
| Bethelbert. | M | | | |
| Cafr. Cubil. | | | | |
| Eatly. | | | | |
| Collygar. | | | | |
| Holyhead in
Anglesey. | C | | | |
| Kymmerio
in Carnarvon-
shire. | M Saint Mary. | Llewellyn the sonne of Gernais. | | 0058 15 04 00 0 |
| Pennon. | P | | | 0040 17 09 00 0 |
| Sirrola. | M | | | 0047 15 03 00 0 |

S. DAVIDS DIOCES.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. |
|--|---------------|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Abergwyll. | C | | | l. s. d. sh. q.
0043 00 00 00 0 |
| Alba-lunda,
in Carnar-
vonshire. | M | | | 0153 17 04 00 0 |
| Becchoe. | P | S Ewangelist. | | 0134 11 04 00 0 |
| Cardigan in
Cardigansh. | P | | | 0021 04 09 00 0 |
| Carmarden, in
Carnarvonsh. | F | | Grey Friars. | 0174 00 08 00 0 |
| Coosbyre. | M | | | 0024 19 04 00 0 |
| Llura S. Davids
in Pembroksh. | C Saint Mary. | John Duke of Lancast. | | 0106 03 06 00 0 |
| Denbigh in
Denbighsh. | F | John Swinmore, Anno Domini, 1339. | { Carmelites or
{ White Friars. | |
| Saint Dogma-
ells in Pembroksh. | M | { Martine de Turenhou Lord of Kemys;
since by William Valence, tempore
H. 3. | | 0028 01 06 00 0 |
| Haverford-
well in Pembroksh. | P | | | 0135 06 01 00 0 |

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|--------|--------|----|----|----|
| | | | | L. | s. | d. | q. |
| Kydwellin } Col- | — | — | — | 0039 | 10 | 00 | 0 |
| Carmaridh } Ia. | — | — | — | 0257 | 05 | 04 | 0 |
| Llanfyrin } M | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Carmaridh } M | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Newport } F | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Pulla } P | — | — | — | 0051 | 01 | 05 | 0 |
| Gebachin } P. a. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bendrock } Capu- | — | — | — | 0184 | 10 | 11 | 0 |
| Stora } ria. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Stratborla } M | — | Griffith Rhesi and Meredith. | — | 0122 | 06 | 08 | 0 |
| or Seranllow- } erin Cardi- | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ganfwr } M | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Swanley } M | — | — | — | 0010 | 00 | 00 | 0 |
| Gardanatu } M | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Talleia. } M | Saint Mary. | Refusi. | — | 0153 | 01 | 04 | 0 |
| — } M | S. John Bapt. | Robert Martin, tempore Hen. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tyroonfe. } — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

LANDAFFE DIOCES.

| Places. | Dedication. | Founder and Time. | Order. | Value. | | | |
|--|----------------|--|----------------|--------|----|----|----|
| | | | | L. | s. | d. | q. |
| Landaffe, Ecclef. Cath. | Saint Toleas. | German and Laym French Bishops. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Abergueny in Monmouthshire. | P | — | — | 0059 | 04 | 00 | 0 |
| Brecknocke a Collie Batoz Abbey. | F | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cardiffe. F | S. John Evang. | { Bernard de Newmarch : Miles and Roger }
{ Earles of Hereford, in the reign of H. 1. } | Blacke Friars. | — | — | — | — |
| Cardiffe. F | — | — | Grey Friars. | — | — | — | — |
| Cardiffe. F | — | — | Blacke Friars. | — | — | — | — |
| Chepbow, in Monmouthshire. | M | — | — | 0031 | 04 | 00 | 0 |
| Godsgrace or Gracia Dei in Monmouthshire. | M | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Goldcliffe, in Monmouthshire. | P | Chandos. | — | — | — | — | — |
| S. Symmetry, with a Chapel. | P | — | — | 0008 | 04 | 08 | 0 |
| Laoterne in Monmouthshire. | M | — | — | 0071 | 03 | 01 | 0 |
| Malpas, in Newport near the house of Vike. | Cil | — | — | 0014 | 09 | 11 | 0 |
| Monmouth in Monmouthshire. | P | — | Blacke Monks. | 0056 | 01 | 11 | 0 |
| Morgan in Glamorganshire. | M | William Earle of Gloucester. | — | 0188 | 14 | 00 | 0 |
| Neth in Glamorganshire. | M | Richard Grannile. | — | 0150 | 04 | 09 | 0 |
| Tintern in Monmouthshire. | M | { Walterus filius Richardi, Comes de Opi. }
{ frater Gilberti Comes de Pembroke. } | — | 0256 | 11 | 06 | 0 |
| Vike in Monmouthshire. | P | — | — | 0069 | 09 | 08 | 0 |

The Totall Number and Valewv of these and all the Promotions Spirituall certified at the Taxation in King *Henry the eight his time of the first Fruites and Tenths,* are by the Record, as followeth.

| Promotions. | Nüber particular | Number totall, | Value totall. |
|--|------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Archbishopsricks and Bishopsricks. | 11. | | |
| Deaconies. | 11. | | |
| Archdeaconsrick | 60. | | |
| Dignities and Prebends in Cathedrall Churches. | 394. | | |
| Benefices. | 3303. | 1 2 4 7 4 1. | £ 320180. 10. |
| Religious Houses. | 605. | | |
| Hospitals. | 110. | | |
| Colleges. | 96. | | |
| Chauntries and free Chappels. | 3174. | | |

Taken from the possession of the Clergy by *Henry* the eight, and converted to temporall uses out of the former summe, 161 too. l. 9. s. 7. d. q. Since in this precedent Table, wee have laide to the Readers view a great part of this Kings ill, the waste of so much of Gods reueneue (howsoever abused) let him not holde it in curiosity, out of reason, since it may in charity fall well in sequence by sitting downe the Churches either erected, or restored by him, or by him (which is the now state of our Clergy) continued to redeem his memory blemished by the former error, from the vulgar aspersion of sacrilegious impietie.

This King after the dissolution of the Religious houses, erected these sixe Bishopsricks, to witte, *Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, Bristol, and Gloucester*, whereof the five last are in *esse*, and at the same time he erected also these Cathedrall Churches here after mentioued, wherein he founded a Deane, and the number of Prebends following, viz.

| | | | |
|---------------|----|-------------|----|
| Canterbury. | 12 | Gloucester. | 6 |
| Winchester. | 12 | Bristol. | 6 |
| Worcester. | 10 | Carlisle. | 4 |
| Chester. | 6 | Durham. | 12 |
| Peterborough. | 6 | Rocheester. | 8 |
| Oxford. | 6 | Norwich. | 6 |
| Ely. | 8 | | |

The yearly value of which Cathedrall Churches so newly by him erected, with the Collegiats of *Windesore, Westminster, and Wolsinghampton*, ouer and besides the Petti-Cannons, and other inferior Ministers amounteth by estimation to 5942. l. 8. s. 2d.

The Promotions Ecclesiastical, which for the most part, except a little pared, hee preferred entire, are in a generall estimate by the Shires, wherein they stand in the ensuing Table expressed.

The present Number and Value of the Spirituall Promotions in England and Wales.

| Counties. | Promotions. | Value. |
|---|-------------|-----------------|
| | | l. s. d. ob. q. |
| Berkshire. | 119. | 1053 06 00 00 0 |
| Bedfordshire. | 116. | 1106 05 05 00 0 |
| Buckinghamshire. | 172. | 1216 01 06 00 0 |
| Cambridgeshire. | 151. | 1202 18 07 00 0 |
| The Towne of <i>Calis</i> , and the Marches thereof. | 26. | 0590 06 10 00 0 |
| Cheshire. | 68. | 1776 12 00 00 0 |
| Carowall. | 161. | 3706 16 02 00 0 |
| Cumberland and Westmoreland. | 61. | 1022 06 06 00 0 |
| Darby. | 106. | 1017 11 10 00 0 |
| Devonshire. | 154. | 7466 01 04 00 0 |
| Dorsetshire. | 248. | 1077 05 08 00 0 |
| The Bishopsrick of <i>Durham</i> in the County of <i>Northumberland</i> . | 118. | 1112 07 05 00 0 |
| Essex. | 178. | 1347 06 11 00 0 |
| Yorkshire. | 440. | 4274 00 00 00 0 |
| Glostershire. | 223. | 1396 06 04 00 0 |

Hunting-

Edward VI.

Monarch 59

EDWARD THE SIXTH OF THAT
NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE
AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c,
THE FIFTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISH, HIS LIFE, ACTS,
AND DEATH.



CHAPTER XXII.

AD. 1547.



EDWARD the sixth of that
Name, and onely sonne
living vnto King Henry
the eight, was borne at
his Mannor of Hampton-
Court in Middlesex, the
twelfth of October, the
yeere of saluation, 1547.
and sixe dayes after being
the eighteenth of the same

moneth, hee was created Prince of Wales, Duke of
Cornwall, and Earle of Chester: his birth was ioy-
full vnto the King and Commons; but the death
of his mother, the vertuous Queen Jane, brought
immediat sorrow vnto both, whose womb was cut (as
some haue affirmed) to the sauing of his, but losse of
her owne life, vpon whose death these elegant ver-
ses were writ;

*Phoenix Iana laet nato Phoenix, dolendum
Sacula Phoenixes nulla tulisse dat.*

*Here lies the Phoenix Lady Jane,
whose death a Phoenix bore,
O graue, two Phoenixes at one time,
together neuer were.*

(3) Nine yeeres and od monethes hee was ver-
tuously trained vp in the life of his faiber, and at his
death appointed the first of his heires, and for want
of issue (it is so chanced) Mary, and shee failing, E-
lisabeth to succeed in his throne. for as Henry with
Solomon was blame-worthy for women, so left hee
but one sonne and two daughters, as the other in
Scripture is said to haue done: Solomon had Rebe-
kham a foole and vnforsanate, his daughters, but
obscure, and both of them Subiects, but Henry

E e e e e

Aluding to the
Crest of her.
Liber a Phoenix
in flames vnto his
a Capron.

By his will dated
the fourth Decem-
ber A.D.
1546.

Solomon and
Henry compared
in their issues
and in their
lives.

E. Grafton.

Edward created
Prince of Wales
scarcely after
his birth.

A.D. 1546.

John Sicut.

The Duke of
Bedford made
Protector by
Parliament.

2. Chron. 36.

Isabel and King
Edward compare
and,
2. Chron. 37.Strenuous Eds.
40. 1.John Leifer,
B.R.

Rich. Grafton

The English de-
clare the mar-
riage with Scot-
land.An Epistle sent
from the Nobil-
ty of Scotland.The ancient
name Britaine
indifferent to
English and Sco-
tish.The Protector
goeth into Scot-
land.

was more happy in *Edward* his sonne, who proued another young *Salomon* himselfe, and his sisters both Soueraignes of an Imperiall Crowne.

(3) He beganne his raigne the twentyeight of *January*, in the yere of *Christ* *1546*, and the last of that moneth was proclaimed King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; and supreme Governour of these Chorches, with other his rightfull Titles to his Imperiall Stiles belonging. And on the twentieth of *February* following being Shrove-Sunday, was Crowned at *Westminster* with all due Solemnities.

(4) His Counsellors were appointed by his sickle Father as we haue said, and Protector ouer his Minoritie and Realmes (by consent of the Nobles) was ordained his Vncle *Edward Lord Seymer* Earle of *Hertford* and Duke of *Somerset*, brother vnto *Queene Jane*, who thereupon gaue the young King the Order of Knight-hood, and the King immediately did the like vnto the Lord *Chancellor* of *London*.

(5) His first busines was to establish Gods seruice, who had established him in the Throne, and as another *Isaiah* in godly zeale, destroyed Idolatry, by pulling downe images in *England*, as that King in *Israhel* did the Altars of *Baalim*, fought the Saluation of his Subiects, by sending forth Preachers to instruct the people, as *Isaiah* did the *Leuites* the teachers of *Israel* vnto their charges: brought the Bible in a knowen language to be read in the Church, as he did the Arke into the Temple of the Lord, commanded the ancient and true vie of the Sacrament in both kindes as *Isaiah* commanded the Passouer both to be kept and celebrated in *Ierusalem*, and in all things proued another *Isaiah* indeed.

(6) And as *Edward* was busied in setting forth Gods glorie, so the Protector and Councell were careful for the State of the Realme, and especially for their Kings marriage with *Mary* the young Queen of *Scotland*, vnto which a Parliament at *Edinburgh* had consented in Anno 1543, and for confirmation thereof had sent into *England*, *William Earle of Gloucester*, *Sir George Douglas*, *Sir William Hamilton* and *Sir James Leirmond*, Scottish Knights, Ambassadors, vnto King *Henry* deceased, betwix whom the contracts were sealed interchangeably as we haue said.

(7) And now by the Connell of *England* was thought most fit to be sought after, and consummated, for the wealth and peace of the whole Iland: wherefore they published their desires to that end, in an Epistle sent to the Scottish Nobilitie, directed vnto them by the Lord *Protector*; wherein they were remembered of the many incursions, roades, and Spoiles, committed and done, vpon either Kingdome through their continual hostilities, and warres: shewing like-wise the necesse of language, lineaments, and conditions of the Nations; inhabiting the same Iland, and therefore a most sure token (as they tooke it) to be defended from one and the same Originally vying Gods providence, that had taken away all the Male-Princes of *Scotland*, leauing them only one daughter; and in *England*, only one sonne vnto King *Henry* among his many wices. Their Princes themselves for yeeres, qualities, and magnificence, fitly ordained to contract the vniou of Peace: alleging that *England* sought neither the preheminece nor the cruquency of *Scotland*, but rather desired an equality both in state and government; and to that end offered to take the name of *Britaine* indifferently to both, though dishonorable to themselves, in bercauing their Nation of the glorie achieved, in many of their victories. These words withstanding, the Scottish perished to bestow their young Queene another way.

(8) Whereupon the Protector in person, vnder-tooke an expedition into *Scotland*, accompanied with the Earle of *Warwick*, the Lords *Durres*, and *Grey of Wilton*, many Knights, and a most warlike army of Souldiers. *Edward* Lord *Clinton* Admiral

of the Fleet was appointed to Sea, and *Sir William Woodhouse* made his Vice-admirall: these meeting at *Berwick* set forth into *Scotland*, declaring by sound of Trumpet the cause of their coming, with profers of peace to all such of that Nation, as would aduance the marriage betwixt their two Princes, according to Courments already concluded vpon.

(9) The Governour of *Scotland* hearing newes of many Castles surrendered and surprisde, and fires daily encreasing by augmented reports, commanded his Heraldes with all possible diligence, to passe through all the part of the Realme, and the first Cryse to be borne wheresoever they came, a Cullome to be heard anciently vied in greatest extremity, and only then after this manner, two fire Brands let a Crosse were carried vpon the point of a spear, with Proclamation of the eminent danger, calling for aide, assigning the time and place, when and whither they were to resort: yet there be that say, It was a painted red Crosse set vp for certaine daies in the Field of that *Barony*, whereunto the aide should come: and those that refused, being aboute sixteene, and vnder sixty were accounted traitours, and their Land confiscated to the King. This ancient mulier the Governour commanded, appointing them a day to be at *Northburgh* in defence of their liberties and young Princes life: which presently stroke such regard to their hearts, that thither they strove who should be first, and pitched their Standards euen in the face of the Enemy.

(10) Many warlike enterprises were attempted betwixt them, many prisoners taken, and stout Souldiers slaine, vpon the Scots part the Lord *Hamely* by a fall from his horse lost his life, & his sonne with one *Marshall* and sixe other Gentlemen taken prisoners. Of the English were hurt *Henry Fane*, and *Bartholomew Frenchman*: *Balmer*, *Gower*, and *Crouch*, three Captaines of the light horsemen were taken prisoners: all which so happened before the day of great Battell.

(11) Whilst these things proceeded, and either part played vpon the aduantage, Earle *Huntly* of *Scotland* sent a Herald and Trumpet vnto *England*, Protector, with profers of Complate, either twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or in single fight themselves man to man, which surely was honorable, the Scots having aduantage for number, and Charitable for the saving of Christian blood: but their persons vnequal in regard of his place, that demand was denied, and profers made for the battell: which happened euen the next day following, being the tenth of September and the last of the weeke.

(12) The place where the English lay encamped, was vpon the Bankes of *Edinburgh Frith*, wherein their Ships floated to further the Land seruice, and those seeking the aduantage of a hill called *Pinkie-clowbe*, halted therewithal beimes in the morning; the Scottish thinking they had fled to their Ships, made the like halt to impeach their March, their Armie they diuided into three Batails, the Vanguard whereof was led by the Earle of *Angus*, the reargate by the valiant Earle *Huntly*, and in the great Battell, was the Governour with the Earle of *Argyle*, and many other of the Scottish Nobility.

(13) These eager of spoile, and filled with hope, halted furiously forward, without all feare or any good Order, and breathlesse, almost passed ouer the River *Eide*, presenting therein the expectation of the enemy, but being within danger of those, the English Fleet from the Roade let freely fly among a wing of the Irish-Archers, slaying many, with such terror to the rest, as hardly could they be gotten for to go forward, which endangered them more. The Scottish Armie thereupon removed somewhat Southward, seeking to get the higher ground with aduantage both of Sonne and winde, the desire whereof caused them lieke to regard the helpe of horse, but for halfe drew their great Ordinance therewithal only by maine strength of men.

The English made vnto Scotland in Scotland.

John Leifer.

The names of the first-crosse.

W. P. 100.

Northburgh.

The hosts were at Northburgh.

Enterprises done before the great battell was fought.

Earle Huntly his stout challenge.

Bishop Rafe.

The Scots will fight the English selves.

A wing of the Irish Archers.

Rich. Grafton.

(14) The English Captaines perceiving what the Scottish intended, and that now no skirmish but a Battell must be undergone fell to Consultation, being mounted in their saddles, where with such resolutions they departed alonder, that *John Earle of Warwick*, Lord Marshall of the field, desired the Protector to be good unto his wife and Children, if on this part things went not well with him. By this time the Armies were at point to joine battell, in the place called *Edmundsmeade* neere unto *Muskeburgh*, where the Master of the English Ordinance had mounted two Canons neere unto the top of the hill. The Scottish came forward, faster then an ordinary Marche, their pikemen thicke ranged together, bearing broad Bucklers in their left hands.

(15) At the first encounter Captain *Shelley* Lieutenant of the band of *bulwers*: Captain *Karliffe* brother to the Lord *Fitwater*, with many Gentlemen of name and account, were slaine, and the Lord *Grey of Wilton* General of the Horsemen, dangerously hurt in the mouth with a Pike: and indeed such was the fury of the Scots first encounter, that the English horsemen were forced backe, and in retiring ranne through, and bare downe a part of their owne footemen, to their great hate: when their Kings Standard (borne by Sir *Andrew Flammoche*) was laid fast hold on by the Scottish, and had not that Knights strength bene the more, and his horse the better, himselfe had bene slaine, and the Standard lost, which notwithstanding was graiped so fast, that the Scots bare away the Nether end of the Staffe to the barrill.

(16) The Canons from the hill, plained fore vpon the *Scotts*, and so did the Ordinance out of the English Fleete, whose terrible noise and smoke, filled the Armies with furious Cries, and darkened the day as with the Clouds of night: The retreat of the Protector Horsemen, disordering their fellows (as is said) gave signes vnto the *Scots* of a present victory, who now vpon a forward Courage disarmed themselves for halt, and fell vpon the disbanded English, who presently by their leaders were brought into Array, and fiercely pressed forward vpon the vanguard of the enemy, their advantage the more, for that the *Scots* wanted loth to answer their violence: which caused them in halfe confusedly to retire towards their great Battell: and those misdeeming the day had bene lost, turned their backs and fled: the chafe was followed almost five miles, wherein the Lord *Fleming* with sundry men of note were slaine: *Bishop Leslie* recordeth nine by name, besides ten thousand of their souldiers that therein lost their liues, and prisoners taken, about a thousand persons, the chiefe whereof was the Earle of *Hamly*, Chancellour of *Scotland*, the Lord *Resler*, *Hobby*, *Hamilton* Captaine of *Dunbarre*, the Master of *Sampole*, the Lord *Wimmer* and a brother of the Earle of *Cathel*: such was the successe of the English, and losse of the Scottish.

(17) *Luther* they lacked and set on fire, tooke the *Island Saint Colmes*, *Branghitrag*, *Rochesburgh*, *Humes* Castle, and others: so that many Gentlemen in *Fundall*, and the *Meres*, came to the Protector and entered into termes and conditions of Peace. In the meane while by the working of the Goostmoor, and *Queen Dowager*, the young *Queene* was suddenly conveyed from *Strimling*, vnto the *He*, and Abbey of *Mitchambrus*, as to a place of more security, and shortly after into *France* to be married vnto the *Dauphin*, thee then being of age betwixt five and sixe: wherewith the English looformed, as they determined and threatened the Conquest of *Scotland*. But God who is the disposer of Kingdoomes, and hath the hearts of Princes in his owne hand, in his vnsearchable decrees, saw it not time to vntie as yet, the whole *Island* vnder one Crowne, to which end he suffered the *French* to assaile the *Scots*, and England to be burthened with her owne ciuill broyles.

(18) For the Protector returned, and a Parlia-

ment at *London* assembled, all Colledges, Free-Chappels, and Chanteries, were giuen to the King, wherein was repealed the Statute formerly made, and commonly called the *five articles*, which had bene the cause of many Martyrs deaths, in the daies of King *Henry his Father*, as also other enacted by King *Richard the second*, and *Henry the first*, for the suppression of Scriptures in English, and other points held, in their daies accounted heretical, at which time also impositions went forth to cleanse the Church of all Images, and Commissioners sent with authority to pull them downe, who first began at the Cathedral Church of *Saint Pauls* in *London*, and thence proceeded calling downe thole Idols, in all the Churches throughout *England* and *Wales*. Whereof great stirres precluely happened and in *Cornwall* the first.

(19) For the Kings Commission being put in practise, and thise gay golden Images cast downe, broken and burnt, their Priests accounted the Act sacrilegious, and one of them as *Paul* for zeale, sought to make his sacrifice with blood, but sparing his owne, heathed his knife in the heart of Master *Budy* a Commissioner, imploied about the same business: which fact was so fauoured among the rurall Commons of *Cornwall*, and *Devonshire* (who euer gave voice for the papall continuance) that in a rebellious manner they combined together against the King.

(20) Their chiefe Captaines were *Humphrey Amandell*, Gouernour of the Mount, with sixe other Gentlemen of name, neither were the Priests backward in to bad a worke, whereof *Robert Ticham*, and seauen others were the forwardest men, accompanied with no lesse then ten thousand tall Souldiers, who all sought to vndoe those points of religion, which the King by law and act of Parliament had ordained to be obserued: Whereupon they besieged the City of *Excester*, and with many sharp assaults fought the possession thereof, twise firing the Gates, and leauing nothing vndone that either wit or warge would afford to obtaine: for they brought the Citizens to such distresse that they forced them to mould vpon brasse for their bread, working it in Cloathes, for otherwise could they not bring it to incorporate together: their dauntless flesh was their owne horse, and those slaine were distributed afield to the poore as rich for which their loyalty and most faithfull seruice King *Edward* did both highly esteeme them, and richly reward them by confirmation of the Cities Charters, enlarging the liberties, augmenting the reuenues and giuing vnto the Citizens the manner of *Exland*, as the signet of his loue for their seruice to the Crowne, to be had in remembrance of their loialty for euer. Meane while the Rebels robbed the Countrey, vnto whom all things was common that came vnto hand.

(21) The Rebels thus pestering thoir parts with their riotous attempts, looked and well hoped that others would haue ioined to their aide, but therein deciaied, they lally fell to Consultation what was to be done, and in fine concluded for the best policy to atticle with the King, which how to be set downe, bred likewise much trouble and disturbance with their confused cries: for these rude and vnerperienced Counsellors made their owne conceited opinions the fundamentall matters for redresse, some would bane this, and other some that, but none would be gainefull of his will or demand, holding his voice as worthy of hearing in the Court of assembly, as his body an aide to support the Addition, so that long it was ere they could light on their owne discontents, and longer ere they could agree what they would haue reformed, onely still constant in variable vacillancy, for some would haue no Iustices, others no Gentlemen, Parkes must be Pastures, and Inclosures must downe, the Priests euer pulling the Bell rope to ring the Masse into *England*, and to towll *Cardinal Pole* from *Rome*, and with much

The off of the five articles repealed.

Images suppressed.

Budy martyred by a Priest for pulling downe Images.

John Fox in Acts and Monuments

Commotion in Cornwall.

Excester in great distress by the rebels.

King Edwards gift was discontent.

The confusion among the rebels.

The Clergie for the Pope.

Of them.

The name of this field is not agreed vpon, some call it *Muskeburgh*: the Scots for it *Field*, *Four Side*, *Bray*, *Field*, *Wentfield*, *Wentfield*, *Field*, *Went*, *Field*, *Went*.

English captaines slaine and the Lord Grey hurt.

The Kings Standard was taken and the Scots were loth.

The battell of *Muskeburgh*.

The Scots discomfited.

The number of Scots slaine.

Malinthead p. 193.

Queen Mary conveyed into *France*.

much adoe, lastly to little purpose these Articles were agreed vpon, and sent to the King, the Copy whereof was thus.

(22) *Forasmuch as man, except he be borne of Water and the holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the gates of Heaven be not open without this blessed Sacrament of Baptisme, therefore we will that our Curates shall minister this Sacrament at all times of need as usual in the weeke daies, as on the holy daies.*

Item, we will have our children confirmed of the Bishops in due season, we shall within the same refer to them.

Item forasmuch as we constantly beleue that after the Priests hath spoken the words of Consecration being at Masse, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the Body and blood of our Saviour Iesus Christ God and Man, and that no substance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very same Body that was borne of the Virgine Mary, and was given up on the Crosse for our Redemption: therefore we will have Masse celebrated as it hath bene in times past, without any man communicating with the Priests, forasmuch as many rudely presuming vermouthly to recuse the same put no difference betwene the Lords body and other kind of meate, some saying that it is bread before and after: some saying that it is profitable to no man except hee receive it, with many other absurd termes.

Item we will have in our Churches reformation.

Item we will have holy bread, and holy water in the remembrance of Christs precious Body and Blood.

Item we will that our Priests shall sing and say without audible voice, Gods service in the Quere of the Parish Churches, and not Gods service to be set forth like a Christiansse play.

Item for as much as Priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed Sacrament, and preaching of Gods word, we will that they shall live chaste without marriage, as Saint Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God: saying unto all honest Priests, theyre followers of me.

Item we will that the six Articles which our Sovereign Lord King Henry the eight set forth in his later daies, shall be obeyed, and so taken as they were at that time.

Item we praye Gods King Edward, for we be his birth body and goods.

(23) To these their Demands the King sent this answer, there is pitying their ignorance, and blameworthy folly, and therewithall his Generall pardon, to as many as would desist whyles it was time. First he reproved them, for their presumptions, that continuously to rise against their dread Sovereign, to the disturbance of his loyal Subjects peace; whose simplicity they had notoriously abused, in giving his name to draw them into action of Rebellion: and no lesse likewise in the grounds of their demands. As in their first Article for Baptisme, where it was well knowne the same was admitting as necessity required, or rather commanded by the Booke of Common prayer, published by authority of Parliament, and as themselves knew in present practise. But touching the Sacraments in their second Article, how impudently they did belie the true rectitude thereof, was manifest, who make so much difference in that holy administration, that they account no profit in Common bread, besides the nourishment of their naturall Bodies: but this blessed bread to be the food of their soules vnto eternall life. And as you be seduced in this (saith the admonition) so in confirmation also they came your simplicities captive, for the truth teacheth so otherwise than themselves beleue, namely pharisai Childe baptized, and dying before confirmation is neckelike in state of Grace, else themselves causes of their childrens damnation: so the service of God brought from an unknowne tongue, cannot surely offend any reasonable man, which is onely to make him vnderstand that, which before he knew not, and

to give his consent to those prayers, whereof he hath most need, and giueh the needest touch to his owne feeling conscience for God requireth the heart onely which with an vnderstanding heart, we must sacrifice vnto him. But most of all (which this good King) we marvel at your demand, for the six Articles restored, to haue them in power as formerly hath bene. Doe you know what you aske, or in obtaining doe you know what you get? They were lawes indeed lately made, but quickly repented; too cruell for you, and too mercifull for vs; who would haue our Raigne written with milke, and not with blood, and because they were bloody, we took them away, with the same authority, by which they were made, least reteining them, our word should be too often drawne, and rigour extended vpon our true and well-deserving subjects. We for our parts keepe no longer to doe, then to be a father vnto our people, and as God hath made vs your rightfull King, so hath he commanded you vnto obedience; by whose great Maistie we seruate, you shall feele the power of the same God in our sword, which how mighty it is, no subject knoweth: how puissant it is no priuie man can iudge, and how mortall no English heart can thinke: therefore embrace our mercy while it is offered, least the blood spilt by your meynes cry vengeance from the Earth, and be heard in the eares of the Lord in Heauen.

(24) All this notwithstanding, the Rebels perished in their traitorous attempts: against whose seditions Sir John Russell Lord Pray Secreter, was appointed Generall of the Kings Army; vnto whose assistance was iouined the Lord Grey of Wilton, vnder whom served a band of Italianes intended against Scotland, these lay at Bristol attending the coming of the Lord Generall: who now was marched Westward to Hinton, where day looking for more supply, thole which he had, began to shrink away, whereby the Rebels were emboldened to make towards him, and came as far as Fenington bridge within three Miles of Hinton, and in a faire Meadow there spread their Colours. The Lord Russell though weak in comparison of them, holding it more honour to assaile then to be assailed, made forward euen vnto the Bridgewater where fight the Enemies prepared themselves to fight, and with a strong guard maintained the Bridge, besides which there was passage ouer the Riuer, that belid his course betwixt the two Armies.

(25) Great were the attempts the Lord Lieutenant gaue, and manfull was the resistance that the Rebels made, yet lastly the way was woune, and followed vnto the battell of the disloyals: where presently became a most cruell fight, and a while was maintained to the losse of their blood, but the sille heares failing, and the true subjects courage increasing, the Cornish immediately gaue backe and fled, wherat the Kings soldiers out of Order fell to the spoile, minding nothing lesse then that which presently ensued, for the Cornishmen perceiving their disordered carriage, suddenly returned, and began a new fight, when the Lord Russell likewise ordered a new his Army: these furiously iouined, a sharpe and cruell encounter ensued, with the losse of much blood, and the slayes of three hundred Rebels, who lastly took to their heeles and left the field: the chace a while followed, and the soldiers scattered, a fearful cry suddenly arose, that all the Commons were vp, which caused the Lord Generall to reume vnto Hinton: whether shortly came the Lord Grey of Wilton, having in pay Spanish an Italian Captaine with three hundred foot.

(26) The Lord Russell forces augmented, his greatest care was to relesce the City Exeter, whither vpon the third of August he halted from Hinton being a thousand strong, and passing ouer the Downes toward Haverly, lodged his Campe that night neere to the Wind-Mill, whereof the Rebels having intelligence, raised themselves from Saint Mary

Articles of the Rebels.
Sacrament of Baptisme.

Confirmation.

Confirmation of the Lords body.

Italyed.

Reformation of the Lords Body consecrated.
Holy Bread and Holy water.

Priests not to be married.

The six Articles.

The Kings answer and pardon.

The first article answered.

The second article answered.

The third article answered.

The other articles answered.

Answer to the six articles.

King Russell lastly written in his last letter.

English like a King.

Forces sent against the rebels.

John Russell in description of his defeat.

The rebels under the Lord Russell.

The violent attempt of the Lord Russell.

Commons for soldiers.

The rebels put to flight.

The rebels returned and defeated the English.

And again put to flight.

AD 1549.

The rebels returned and defeated the English.

AD 1549.

The rebels returned and defeated the English.

AD 1549.

The Rebels
against our
Sovereign.

At Fox in dill,
and Widd.

The Crucifix
brought in a
cart into the
field.

The Rebels
against our
Sovereign.

The Captives
of the Rebels
executed.

The Mayor of
Bodmin hanged.

A Military man
hanged for his
maiestie.

Commissioners for
Incheolme.

A.D. 1549.
Commissioners for
Norfolk.

6100.

John Flowerden
and Robert Ket
the creators of
the commotion.

Ket made Cap-
tain of the
Commotion.

Mary Clift, and made amaine vnto the Downes, thinking to forspite the Lord Generall before hee was ready; but here as vigilant as they were forward, encountered them againe in battell, and againe gaue them the ouerthrow with the losse of the most of their liues, the rest escaping by flight, got vnto the Towne of Saint *Mary Clift*.

(17) The newes thereof bruited, and the Papal side bruited by these three ouerthrowes, the Commons in whole troupes resorted to their aide, and to make all sure on their side (by the presence and helpe of their consecrated God) they brought into the field the Crucifixe vnder a Canopy; which in stead of an Altar was set in a cart, accompanied with Crosses, and Candlesticks, Banners, Holy Bread, and holy-water, both to drise away Diuels, and to dull their enemies swords; which notwithstanding they did not, neither could they deliuer themselves in the day of destruction; for the Towne being fired, and the Armes met vpon *Clift* heath, a most cruell and bloody battell was fought, wherein was slaine the whole rout of the Rebels, & all these crinkets cast in the dirt.

(18) The chiefe Captaines were taken and sent vnto London, who were *Humphrey Arundell, Wisland, Holmer and Barre*, who there paid the law with the losse of their liues. Many others were executed without iudgement, onely by Marshall Law, as was *Brier* Maior of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, vnto whom *Sir Anthony King* flew, Prouost Marshall sent worde he would visite him at dinner, but before he was set downe, commanded the Maior to cause a paire of Gallowes to be set vp; & the Table taken away, he willed the said Maior to accompany him to the place, & there presently commanded *Brier* his Host to the halter, and saw him hanged before he departed.

(19) At the same time, and neere the same place dwelled a Miller, who had beene a busie doer in the Rebellion, but hee knowing the danger, willed his man to take the name of the master, if any enquired after him; whereupon the said *Sir Anthony* came to the mill, and calling for the master, the man in his name presented himselfe, who sutable commanded him vnto the Gallowes, the seruant then seeing the danger of death, confessed hee was not the master, but the man: well, said the Knight, thou canst neuer doe thy master better seruice then to hang for him, and thereupon trusted him vppon in the next tree.

(10) As these things were in acting in the West, so other Commotions arose in other partes of the Land, though brinched vnder another pretence, namely the laying open of inclosures, which the king by Proclamation had commanded to be done, but many offenders bearing themselves out with greatness, slackened the execution, and the poorer presuming vpon the Kings pleasure, began to execute his commission themselves, and those in many places at once, as in *Kent, Essex, Summerfet, Buckingham, Northampton* and *Lincolne* shires they did.

(11) But most dangerous was that in *Norfolk*, whose Inhabitants following the examples of the rest, held out much longer, and in more violent manner. Their first attempt was at *Attleborough* against one *Gower* that had taken away part of their commons, next at *Wimborne*, where by the instigation of *John Flowerden* they cast downe the fences of Inclosures, belonging to *Robert Ket* a Tanner in the same Towne; who to bee eare with *Flowerden* brought them to *Hecherfet*, and set them on worke to pull downe both hedge and ditch of his pasture grounds inclosed: to which worke hee gaue such desperate encouragements, that these vnrules presently chose him for their ringleader, who with them passed to *Brentnott*, laying all leuel where they came.

(12) Their number encreasing, and doings outrageous, *Sir Edward Windham* Knight, at that time high Sherriffe of the Shire, made proclamation among

them in the Kings name to depart, which if they did not forthwith, he pronounced them Traitors, but had not his Horse bene the swifter, he had bene either taken or slain, thereupon their terror began to be fearefull, & themselves to be furnished with weapons, Armour, and Artilery, daily brought them in abundance by the By-dwellers, besides store of victuals to maintaine their Campe.

(13) But now considering what dangers were open, if disperdely scattered they should attend their bad worke, they held it best policy to draw to one place: and to fortifie themselves together with further strength; whereupon with full resolution, *Manfield* was thought fittest neere vnto *Mount Surrey*, a place built by these Eagles of that County, and vpon *S. Leonard*s-hill which hangeth ouer *Norwich*, they vnkenelled themselves; besides these of *Manfield*, a lesser rabble of them lay at *King-chefe* neere *Linne*, which were towled thence by the Gentlemen of those parts: who first from *Wotton*, then from *Thetford*, and next from *Brauden*, were forced to their liues at *Manfield*.

(14) Their parts were rigorous, or rather inhumane euen to their wellwillers, for it is knowne truth, that *Sir Roger Woodhouse* in kinde courtisie bringing them two Carts laden with Beere, and another with victuals, was recompensed with the losse of all his Hories, his owne apparell, and his body tugged, and torne, cast into a ditch, whom lastly with others was imprisoned by them in the house of *Mount Surrey*, and yet would they become verie Religious, hating one *Comer* for their Chapla, who deuotly did seruice vnto them both morning and evening.

(15) To these, the Jewelly disposed of *Suffolke* assembled, as also the scum and dregs out of *Norwich*, adding still fewell to their own smoky flames by firing of Beacons, ringing of Bells, and what not, to set all in an uproare: some true and faithfull subiects they violently led away, and made them of their counsell, namely *Thomas Cud*, Maior of *Norwich*, *Robert Watfon* Peracher, and *Thomas Alderich* Gentlemā, Sergeant & *Cullyn*, Sergeant *Gandy*, whom they kept fettered, and compelled them to be strident vpon *Kete*; who now took vpon him to bee the Kings Deputy, and to give out warrants in his Maiesties name, by vertue of which many of Worship and credit were fetched from their wellings, brought before him, and violently cast inso prison: their Rabble encreased to the number of fixetie thousand men.

(16) And that the shew of iustice and piety was only the mark whereto these lawlesse knelled, they ordained a tribunall seat in an olde tree, whose Canopie was the Cope of Heaven: In this last the Tanner as Chancellor or chiefe Iudge, accompanied with his Counsellors, assisted by two choicest men out of euery hundred among them, hisher assembled the complaints of the Campe, and hence had they commission to fetch out of Ships both Ordnance, powder and shotte, and out of Gentlemens houses all abilements of warre: and hence such Raskals as had exceeded their commission had iudgement of imprisonment, so that this tree was termed, the Oake of Reformation, whence likewise sometimes Sermons were deliuered to the people, and once by the Reuerent Doctor *Parker*, which had almost cost him his life.

(17) To this the Kings general Pardon was publicly pronounced by an Herald at Arms, but so farre off from embracing, as the Rebels from the height of the hill, shot at the Cite, which doing little harme, they removed their Ordnance to the lower ground, and thence beganne to batter the walles, and without great resistance entered the town, where they became Masters of all the munitions, and imprisoned the Maior, and many other Citizens.

(18) These times thus troublesome, the King
F I I I I fought

Sir Edward
Windam in
danger.

Manfield the
place of the
encounter.

The inhumane-
tie of the Com-
motions.

Supplies of the
commotions.

Many good sub-
iects forced to
sweare vpon the
Rebels.

The tree of Ras
Reformation.

The Kings par-
don contained.

Ward's wrong
by the Rebels.

And first vnto
Norwich.

Lord Marquess
comes to Norwich.

The L. Sheffield
flaine.

The L. Mar-
quess forced out
of Norwich.

The Lord Daul-
ay and generall
captaine the
Rebels of
Norwich.

The Rebels en-
ter with the City
Norwich, and
execute the
Marshall law.

Alexander Wood.

The generall
Ordinance vnto
the Rebels.

fought to quier, and to that end sent the L. William Parr, Marques of Northampton, with fifteen hundred horsetmen vnto Norwich, accompanied with the Lords Sheffield, and Wenworth, besides many Knights; who at his first coming thither, summoned the City to yeeld, the Magistrates whereof as willingly obeyed, and repairing to his Standard, yielded vp their Cities sword vnto him; declaring themselves true Subjects to the King, though some of the better sort had fauoured Kets doing, and with them immediately the Lord Marquess entered the City, which the same night was assaulted by the Rebels, whom hee manfully resisted, and slew three hundred of their rouseous rout.

(19) The next day following these blood-hounds vnkennelled by trouper, and entering the City by the Hospital, beganne a most cruell fight, wherein the Lord Sheffield by the fall of his horse into a ditch was butchered slaine by a Butcher, as he sought to recover himselfe, and the rebels now belted with this their fortunate chance, followed the chafe with such slaughter and cry, that they forced the Lord Marquess to forsake the City, and thence tooke Sir Thomas Currenall prisoner, whom they straitly kept in durance till their last overthrow. Norwich they ransacked and set on fire, whole almes as yet fill vpp the ruins, and more had been made, had not God quenched these flames by showers from Heaven.

(40) The Lord Marquess returned, and the Rebels holding Norwich, it was more then time to looke to the maine chance, and therefore those forces that were gathered to invade others, were now thought the fittest to secure our selves, ouer whom was appointed the Lord John Dauley, the warlike Earle of Warwick; hee committing to Cambridge prepared for the enemy, whither reformed the forsaide Lord Marquess, the Lords Willoughby, Percy, and Grey, his lonnes Ambrose and Robert, with many of the Norfolk men, and the twenty three of Dauley shewed himselfe vpon the plaine before Norwich, whence to save the effusion of blood, hee lent Norrey and a Trumpet to summon the City, and to offer a generall pardon; which being againe refused, hee caused his Ordinance to be planted against S. Steuens gate, and his Pioners to breake open the braken gate, whereto many made entry, and diuers were slaine.

(41) S. Steuens gate forced open by Canon shot, the Earle of Warwick entered the City, and with small resistance came into the Market place, where three score Rebels were incontinently executed by Marshall law. But the Earles carriages passing through the City, were surprised and taken by the enemy, wherein was great store of powder and shot, which with triumph they conuied to their Campe, and tooke it a signe of further successe, their want confiding most in those provisions, wherupon they manned the streets of that City, and slew very many of the Kings friends; but the showers of arrows and shot from the kunges Subjects so rained amongst them, that they were forced backe to take shelter in Mansfield their hole of refuge.

(42) The Earle of Warwick then masting the City, shuttall the Gates, then only excepted that gaue way toward Mansfield, and those hee planted with his great Artillery. The Rebels perceiving what hee went about, suddainly made downe towards the Gate, and with great courage and confident cries, fell with such violence vpon their attendants, that they gaue backe and fled, leauing their Ordinance to the will of the Rebels. who presently disposed them amongst their owne, so that the Earle stopped likewise thoe passages, and imploied all his endeauour to defend the City, which notwithstanding he could not, the Rebels making incursions ouer the river from their well floored Campe: and letting the streets in many places on fire, whole attempts so continued and prospered to euill, as some

despairing of any good, consiethed the Earle to bee gone. But so farre was hee from such flaine of honour, that drawing forth his owne sword, commanded other to doe the like, and with an interchangeable kisse confirmed the resolution of his bold courage, a Custome indeed vied in greatch danger of warre. And thereupon determining another way to worke, sought to stop the passage from all conuoy of victuall; which the Rebels perceiving, set fire on their Cabbins, and with engines displayed, entrenched themselves at the foote of the Hill, in the valley called *Doules-dale*, partly vpon vaine Prophecies pronounced among them by certain wizards, who gaue forth that *Heb, Dic and Mic* (meaning the Rufficks) with their Clubs should fill vp the valley of *Doules-dale* with the bodies of the dead.

(43) The next day being the fcauen and twentieth of August, the Lord Generall prepared for fight, having newly received a supply of foureteen hundred Lances. But before that *Mars* should trye his strength by sword, hee sent vnto them a Generall pardon for all things that were past, which when they had againe vterly reiected, hee ranged his battels for fight. The Rebels likewise, set themselves in order, where in the fore-kant all the Gentlemen whom they had taken Prisoners, were placed and conpled in Irons for flaring away, so that their dangers were doubled, and themselves exposed to death ailew by their friends as by their enemies.

(44) But before the charge could be giuen, one Miles a most skillfull Gunner amongst them made shot at the Kings Standard, and broke the Beauer thereof in the thigh, and his horse through the shoulder, which so moued the Earle that hee caused a whole volly of Artillery to be discharged against them, when Captaine Drury with his owne band and the *Almoner*, thrust fore vpon them, and opened their Battell, wherewith most of the Capaine-Gentlemen escaped away, vpon which brant the Earles light horsetmen came so valiantly on, that the Rebels gaue backe and fled: and with the foremost Robert Ket their Captaine, vpon a swift horse galloped away, the Chafe continued three miles and more, with the slaughter of three thousand and five hundred rebels.

(45) Their battell thus broken, and the most part fled, thoe norwich standing that kept about the Ordinance, determined to die like men, and inclosing themselves among the Cais and Carriages, had the advantage of a Trench and certaine stakes shucke against the horsetmen, whereby they stood more resolutely at defence. The Noble Earle pitying their case, and loath to loole so many braue men, sent Norrey King at Armes vnto them, with proffert of pardon if they would lay downe Armes, and returne to obedience, otherwise they well saw, there was no way but death: Their answere was, that they were free borne English men, who disdained all ignominious death, wherunto they said, they were appointed, and barrels of ropes brought into the field (as they were informed) to strangle them, so that if they must needs die, they chose the manly deaths of Souldiers, not trauelling the furred pottomies for surprize, and then to be trussed vp like dogs.

(46) Their answere returned, and compassion still working in the Lord Generals breast, when hee had set his whole Army against them both of horse and foote, and the signe of battell ready to haue beene giuen, hee sent to them once more, to know if they would belicue and embrace their pardon, if hee came in person to declare it to them himselfe; wherunto they answered, that they knew him to be honourable, and would from his mouth most thankfully receive it: thereupon hee repayed vnto them, and causing againe their pardon to be read, confirmed the same with such effectuall words, as they all cast away their weapons and with one voice cried, *God save King Edward.*

(47) The

The noble resolu-
tion of the
Earle of Warwick.

The ruler pro-
phets of the
Rebels.

The L. Gennall
Giveth the rebels
a generall pardon

The Kings
Standard struck.

The Rebels ill
considered and
many slaine.

The compassion
of the L. Gene-
rall.

The noble soft
and true of the
L. Generall.

The Rebels
yield and re-
ceive the Kings
pardon.

Robert Ket appears
beheaded.

The note of Reformation
made the true of
Reformation
indeed.

Ket and his brother
were executed.

Edward 19.

A.D. 1549.
The Northern
were rebellious.

Religion ever
made the cause
of Commotion.

William Ombler
Th. Dale.

Upon a blind
prophecy the
Northern Com-
monwealths rely.

The idle and
rude men the
first to break
in rebellion.

Ralph Molegh. Esq.

The Kings pardon
dissuaded
the Commotion.

Ombler & others
were executed.

Seals in Justice,
&c.

(47) The day following, *Ket* the Captain of this rebellion, except into a Barne of one *M. Risher* of *Swanton*, was by two of his servants apprehended, & with 20. horsemen conveyed to *Norwich*, where 9. of the chieftest Rebels had judgement of death, and were all of them hanged upon the Oake of Reformation, which not till then, had the true note of that name. *Ket* with his brother *William* were brought unto *London*, and thence backe againe into *Norfolk*, where *William Ket* the younger was hanged upon the high Steeple of *Wymondham*, and *Robert Ket* the Arch-Rebel in chains upon the Castill of *Norwich*, whose Citizens annually solemnized the day of their delivery with no lesse joy, then the Jewes did when they had escaped the sword of wicked *Hamas*.

(48) These hazards set in the South, West, and East, the North likewise among them would come in for a cast, as forward and able to undergoe rebellion, and their zeales as hot as any others, the occasion conceived, was, the Papall Religion abolished by Law, whose tottering toppie they meant to make ready by maine strength of Armes, notwithstanding the very foundations were so shrewdly undermined. The place where this canker beganne was *Seimer* in the North-riding in *Yorkshire* spreading it selfe further into the East-riding also, & the first branches of this giddy heady wine, were persons no better then *William Ombler* a Yeoman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clerke, and one *Stevens* of the Poole, employed to blanch forth these busineses betwixt them.

(49) Their pretences were faire, as to restore the Church right, and to disburden the land of all grievances imposed, this bring ever founding, that the Pope was the Man, that King *Edward* was an Inroder, if not a more heretick, that the Church had the power of both the sword, which now vpon a blind prophetic they presupposed should be drawne against the King & his Nobles, whole times (as they beleaved) should be no more, but that the land should be ruled by fower gouernours, when the Commons should meete in a Parliament assembled from the foure Coasts of *England*, wherof themselves now made the last.

(50) First therefore to raise men, and to bring all into confusion, they fired their Beacots, whence the parkes of fiction were carried amaine; for the ruddell alwayes vauiling to labour, and the first fell to breake into flame, flocked together on heapes, each one hauing a Common-wealth in his head, and all of them disliking the reformation of religion that the King had commanded: Among these, the most feditious had euer a voice which drew consent to forward the Action, and especially to beate downe the rich, wherof they made their first assay vpon *write* a Gentleman, *Sauage* a Marchant, *Clepton* and *Berry*, whom they cruelly murdered, and disposing of them of their apparel left their naked bodies on the *Wald* before *Seimer*, thence passing forward from Towne to Towne, tooke many away that were unwilling to goe, and all to fulfill their perfidious prophetic.

(51) Their number now increased vnto three thousand, the Country beganne to grow in great feare, especially the Gentlemen, and the richer sort, seeing their liues and substance thus thirled for and sought after: but presently downe came the kings pardon with proffers of life, which lo willingly was embraced, that *Ombler* & *Dale* were quiet forsaken, & almost left alone, who with *Wright*, *Peascoe*, *Featherell*, and *Buttery* were worthily executed at *Yarke* vpon the one and twenty of September following.

(52) As the Commons by these tumultuous rebellions greatly disquieted the peace of the land, so the chieftest Lords did disturb the Court of the young King, where the greatest Counsellors through e-

mulation and disdaine, banded each against others, without respect of themselves, or regard of their Soueraigne; wherof the Kings vncles, the Protector and Admirall are noted for the first, and with the first paid their offences with their liues: they both were the brethren of *Queene Jane* the Kings mother deceased, the elder Lord *Edward* Duke of *Sommerfet* was Protector of his Person, Rittals and Dominions. And *Thomas* Lord *Seamer* Baston of *Sudley* the younger, high Admirall of *England*, both worthy persons, had they known their own worthe for so long blood they in safety of life and true honor as the bonds of brotherhood and nature stood vniuolated betwixt them, but that once broken, their liues lay open to dishonour and death.

(53) The younger brother Lord *Thomas* had married *Queene Katherine* *Perre*, the last of the many wiues of King *Henry* the eight, who vndoubtedly bore himselfe no manner by that match, neither the state or name of a Dowager *Queene*: thought of herselfe a woman complete with singular humility. And the Dutchesse of *Sommerfet* matched with the greatest *Pierre* in the Land, held her State equal to her husbands degree: and for place and precedence, as report hath diuulged, the lamentable tragick of these two great Brethren beganne; which now in acting brought vpon the Stage at once their owne destructions, the lands rebellious, and the griefes of the good young King, into a fatal and vnrrecoverable sicknesse, wherof lastly followed his death.

(54) So subtle is the old Serpent, and so ready euer to lowe cares among wheate, that hee disturbed religious proceedings with all the calamities almost at one times first, setting matters of discord betwixt them, by scandalizing tongues, then iuolues of suspitions spiced with enue; and lastly hurried vnto death. In summe that the Protector suffered his brother to be accused and condemned in Parliament of high Treason (whether true or false God onely knoweth) and vnder his owne hand writing, committed his head to the axe: wherby one of the 3 twined cords of *England* strength was cut slender by that fatal and unhappy stroke, and his owne now made loose in the Cable, proved too weak: by farre to hold fast the Anchor, wherby the shipwrecke of his owne life was shortly made.

(55) The Lord Admirall indifferently was, that hee had purposed to destroy the young King, and to translate the Crowne vnto himselfe, as standeth recorded in Statute made the third of this Kings Reigne, for which the twenty of March he suffered death vpon the Tower-hill which as many supposed that it was the Dutchesse of *Sommerfet* doing; so the wisest sort feared, it would be the ruine of her husband the Duke, the experiment wherof had often bene approoued, and indeed was too fatally linked as it chanced in these two brethren.

(56) For the Admirall being made away by order of law, the giddy Commons without either order, or law, rose vp in their Insurrections as hath bene said: And the Lords returned from their suppressions beganne forthwith to enuy and article against the Protector, which they published by Proclamation against him, wherein hee was accused, 1. of enill gouernment: 2. the losse of the kings Peers in *France*: 3. to be ambitious in his buildings, regarding the Counsellors: 4. a fower of ledesion amongst the Nobles: 5. dangerous to the King: a scandalizer of the Council, 8. and lastly, that hee was no lesse then a Traitor. Against whom they desired the aid of the Londoners to take from him the King, to all which leueneene Counsellors subscribe their names.

(57) These Statefits in consanition dayly at *London*, and the Protector residing still with the King, intercourse of letters were interchangeably both sent and received, wherof two, from euery part one, and euen at one instant were sent vnto the Lord Maior

Instructions re-
garding the young
Counsellors.

The Protector
and his brother
the Admirall
were.

Princes heretics
women carried
the dishonour
of their husbands.

The liues of dis-
sentiments.

At First in Affe-
ction.

Lord Thomas
Seamer accused
and beheaded.

R. Edward,
L. Protector,
R. Admirall,
Bishop of Bath.

The L. Admirall
indiscreet.

As a State feared.

Articles against
the L. Protector.

Letters from
both parties
were sent the
Londoners.

George Swadlow.

George Swadlow.

and Citizens of London, requiring their aide in these their opposite quarrels, and surely in their assembly the talk of the Lords by the Recorder was so well toide, as had not a graue Citizen slept vp betimes, the common Councell had granted and againt their King, whole wisdom and loyaltie, in regarde my selfe a Citizen, would haue it recorded to his everlasting memory, and an example and moine for ont obedient loue and duty toward our Soueraignes, I will inferre as I find them vntered and spoken.

(58) In this case (said hee) good it is to thinke on things past, to auoide the danger of things to come, as I remember a story written by *Salomon* in his Chronicles of the warres betwixt the King and his Barons, who euen then as our Lords doe now, demanded aide of the Maior and Commons of London, againt their Soueraigne King *Henry* the third, and that in a cause rightfull, and good for the Common-weale, which was the execution of certain wholesome lawes, somewhat derogating from his princely prerogative, which hee would not permit. The aide was granted, and quarrell came vnto battell, wherein the Lords prevailed, and tooke the King and his sonne prisoners. But they againe restored to liberty, among other conditions this was one, that the King should not onely graunt his free pardon to the Lords, but also vnto the Citizens of London, which was done, yea and the same confirmed by Parliament. But what followed? was it forgotten? no surely, nor need our forgotten during the Kings life: for the liberties of the City were taken away, strangers appointed to bee our heads and Gouernours, the Citizens giuen away both body and goods, and from one persecution to another, were most miserably afflicted: such it is to enter the wrath of a Prince, which (as *Salomon* saith) is death: Wherefore, forasmuch as this aide is required of the Kings Maiessty, whose voice (being our high Shepheard) wee ought to obey, rather then to hearken to the Lords, whom neuertheless I wish not to bee vnterly cast off, my counsell is, that they with vs, and wee with them, become humble Petitioners vnto his Highnesse, that it would please him to heare such complaints againt the Lord Protector, as may be iustly alledged and proued, and I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the King, nor yet the Lordes haue cause to seeke for further aide, neither we to offend any of them both.

(59) These words well weighed, and the Councell dissolved, five hundred Londoners were prepared in a readinesse for Sir *Philip Hoby* being sent from the Lords to the King, so deliuered their minds, that the Lord Protector was as commanded out of presence, and the next day being the twelfth of October, the Lords of the Councell resorted to *Windesore*, where they so wrought with the King, as his vncke was deliuered into their hands, whom the same night they imprisoned in *Beauchampes* Tower in the same Castel, and the next day strongly attended, brought him to London, whence the streets were guarded onely by householders, the Aldermen taking the charge of the busines, and so to the great griefe and vndering of the people hee was conueyed to the Tower, and there left.

(60) Whither shortly after the Lords themselves repaired, and charged the Protector with these 20. Articles as followeth.

1 That at his entry into that weighty office, hee was expressly prohibited to doe any thing in State without the assent of the last Kings Executors.

2 That hee had contrariwise vpon his owne authority both subuerted lawes, and flaid iustice, as well by letters, as commandement.

3 That hee had deliuered diuers persons arrested, and committed to prison for felonie, manslaughter, murder and treason, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

4 That hee had made Capteins and Lieutenants our weighty affaires vnder his owne Seale and Writing.

5 That hee had alone communicated with forraigne Ambassadors about most weighty State affaires.

6 That hee had checked diuers of the Kings Priuy Councell, speaking for the good of the State, yea and threatened to displace them if they contented not to his mind.

7 That hee had againe law erected a Court of Requests in his owne house, whither were enforced diuers of the Kings Subjects to answer for their Free-holds.

8 That hee had for money disposed Officers in the Kings gift, money, traies, and Wardes, and giuen presentations of Benefices, and Bishopricks, yea and medled with sale of the Kings lands, which by office hee could not, without consent of the maior voice of the Councell.

9 That hee had commanded multiplication by Alcumurie to the abuse of the Kings coine.

10 That againt the King and Councell will, hee had set forth a Proclamation againt inclosures, which had caused dangerous insurrections in the land, wherein diuers of the Kings liege Subjects haue bene spoiled, and many a worthy man therein slaine.

11 That to the same end hee had giuen commission with Articles annexed concerning inclosures of Commons, high wayes, and decayed Cottages, giuing the Commissioners authority to heare and determine the same causes, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

12 That hee had suffered Rebels and traitours to assemble, and lie in Campe and Armour againt the King, his Nobles, & Gentlemen, without any speedy suppressing of them.

13 That by his gifts in money, with promises of Fees, rewards and seruices, hee had encouraged many of the said rebels.

14 That in fauour of them contrary to law hee had caused a Proclamation to bee made, that none of the said Rebels, or Traitors should be sued, or vexed for any of their offences committed in the said Rebellion.

15 That hee had liked well of these rebellions, and had said that the courtousnesse of the Gentry gaue the occasion, affirming that it was better for the Commons to die, then to perish for lacke of liuing.

16 That hee had reported the Lords of the Parliament were loath to reform themselves for the reformation of Inclosures, and therefore the people had good cause to reforme the things themselves.

17 That vpon the report of the defaultes and lackes of *Bullings* nothing was there amended.

18 That the Forts of *Newham* and *Blacknesse* standing in want of men and victuall, whereof hee was informed, were suffered notwithstanding still to want, to the great encouragement of the French, and dishonour of the English.

19 That hee had vntuly published, that the Lords at London intended to deliroy the King, which hee instantly desired hee would neuer forget, and to that end instigated many young Lords, whereby sedition and discord was made among the Nobles.

20 Lastly, that whereas the Lords assembled at London, onely to consult vpon a charitable communication to be had with the Protector for his misgouernment of the King and Realme, hee contrariwise sent letters of credence to many places and persons, that the said Lords were no less then high Traitors to the King, and great disturbers of the whole realme.

All these accusations notwithstanding (the young King so labouring it) he was released from the Tower the sixt of February following vnto his free liberty, though not vnto his former authority, and so remained

The Promises
restored to
the Tower.

John Tow

The L. Prote.
Doe committed
to the Tower.

At Five in After.
noon.

Articles demore
against the Lord
Protector.

remained vntouched for the space of two yeeres and two dayes.

(65) Whilest these his and other troubles were commencing in England, the Lord Grey of Wilton left Lieutenant of the North, remained in Scotland, where many feates of warre were vndergone, and many Forts fortified, and some taken, such were *Lauden*, *Haddington*, and *Yester*, at whose assault certaine opprobrious speeches in most contemptuous manner were vttered by a Scotsman against King Edward of England, whereat the Lord Grey was so offended, as vpon composition for the deliuerie of the Castell, all were let goe with life, onely that person excepted, and his name knowne to bee *Newton*, was appointed to die for the same; but hee denying the words, imposed them vpon one *Hamilton*, a man valorous inough, and wrongfully touched, who denied the accusation, and challenged *Newton* to the combat, which hee accepted, and in performance slew *Hamilton*, though more at disadvantage then for lacke either of courage or strength: The victor was rewarded with a great chaine of gold, and the woman that the Lord Grey was at the present, though many maligned and accused him still to bee the vtterer of those base words.

(66) The English keeping foot still in Scotland, burnt *Dunbar* and *Marstonburgh*, and fortified *Haddington* both with munition and men, spoyling the Country, saith Bishoppe *Lesly*, all about *Edinburgh*, *Leith* and *Meres*: repairing of Forts, and placing of Garrisons, as if they meant there to remaine and abide: but their young Queene being conuulsed into *Fraunce*, and the Scots aided with the assistance of the French, to quit themselves, that they voided their land of the English, and recovered of them all they had lost. In which times of variable successe, the King but a child, the Nobles at variances, and the combustious Commons obedient to neither, the French sought to reconer the holds that the English had in their Country, and first by stealth meant to surpris the fortress of *Ballinbeg*, vnto which enterpris Frenchmen and were choise, vnder the conduct of *Antoine Chastillon*.

(67) These secretly marching in the night with ladders and furniture meete for the enterprize, approached within a quarter of a mile vnto *Ballingberg* fort, amongst whom was an English Souldier discharged out of their pay, for that he had taken a French woman to wife. This *Carter* for so was his name got entertainment vnder *Chastillon*, and now vnderstanding whereabout they went, hastily made from his Company, and gave the Alarme to his Countrymen within the Fort; where *Sir Nicholas Arnauld* Captaine of the peece, caused him to bee drawne vp betwix two pikes to the height of the wall, vnto whom hee declared the attempt in hand, & among them stood so valiantly in defence of the fort, that hee gaue many a wound, and received some himselfe by him; and this meane the Peece was quit from surprisall, and the slaughter of the French so great that fiftene Wagons were laden away with dead Corps.

(68) This losse sustained, and the English maisters in those parts of their Mainie, the French sought to trie fortune for their Isles in the Seas, namely *Garnsey* and *Tiersey*, possidet and subiect to King Edwards Crowne, their preparations were great, and their Marshallists many; which notwithstanding with such losse were beaten backe from their banks, as a thousand men at Armes were slaine in the attempt, & the Incepsse so unfortunate, as the French for feare of further discouragement forbode the report, and made an inhibition, nor to mention the expedition of that Iourney.

(69) Neuerthelesse the French King ceased not his desired purposes, till hee had got by surrender *Hambletonne*, *Blacknesse*, *Ballingberg*, and the town of *Ballingne* in selfe, though bought at a deere rate, and deliuered with great griefe to the English; vnto

such a lamentable state, and dishonourable composition was the good King Edward brought, by the bandings of his great Counsellors, and insurrections of his vnuly Commons; after which calamities a great and mortall disease followed, namely the sweating sicknesse, that raged extremely through the land, wherein died the two Sonnes of *Charles Brandon*, both ofttime Dukes of *Suffolke*, besides an infinite number of men in their best strengths, which followed onely Englishmen in forraigne Country: no other people infected therewith, whereby they were both feared and shunned in all places where they came.

(66) And to fill vp the dolours of these dolefull times, the good Duke of *Summersey* was againe apprehended, euen when the least suspicion was of any vnderre workings: for vpon his first releasement, to linke a firme love betwixt him and the potent Earle of *Warwicke*, his most malignant; a marriage was contracted betwixt the Lord *Zyfe* his eldest sonne & heire, and the Lady the Earles eldest daughter, which was solemnized with great ioy at *Sheene*, in presence of the young King; this amity was outwardly carried with all faire shewes for a time, though inwardly barred lay secretly hid, as by the sequell incontinencie appeared: for after a solemn creation of many Elaxes, wherein the Earle of *Warwicke* had his life raised to bee Duke of *Northumberland*, vnto whose rayes at that time most of the Courtiers cast their eyes: the sparkes of emulation began presently to breake forth; where the simplicitie of the one gaue advantage to the other, to compasse that which long had bene sought.

(67) The Duke of *Summersey* not well aduised, and yielding too much vnto Sympathie flatteries, was put in feare of some sodaine attempt intended against him, and therefore counsellid to wear vnder his garment a coate of defence, which hee accordingly did, and being so armed came vnto the Councell Table, supposing no man had known of any such thing; but his boosome being opened and the Armour perused, hee was forthwith apprehended, as intending the death of some Councillor, and by *Northumberland* so vehemently taxed (who in Councell was euer the principall man) that hee was forthwith attached, and sent to the Tower, vpon the sixteenth of *October* with the Lord Grey of *Wilton*, *Sir Michael Stanlop*, *Sir Thomas Arundell*, *Sir Ralph Fane*, and *Sir Miles Partridge* and the next day the Dutcheffe his wife was likewise committed; all of them for suspicion of treason and felonie; and hee standing so indited vpon the *second of *December* following, was arraigned at *Westminster*, attended with the Axe of the Tower, Balles, Halberds, and Pollaxes a great number.

(68) His inditement was for treason and felony, and the same vrged vnto extremity, with many amplifications, and bitter imectines, especially that hee had sought and pretended the deaths of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Marquess*, and *Pembroke*: where after many mild answers to these matters objected, he put himselfe to be tried by his Peeres, who acquitted him of treason, but found the inditement of felonie: when presently the Axe was commanded away, whereas the shote of the people shewed the great affection that was borne to the Duke: little mistrusting that the sentence of death was pronounced against him, or that the kings vnde should die as a felon; neither did the Statute intend any such thing as some are of opinion, but rather was purposely made for the inpression of rebellions, and vnlawfull assemblies, wherein such as should seeke or procure the death of any Councillor should be guilty as in case of felonie. But such was the pleasure of the all ordering power, that he which knew no theft should die for that sinne; so that neither himselfe, nor his wisest Counsellors demanded the benefite of his Clergy which would haue saved his life if it had bene required.

F I N I S (69) His

Plum Faber.

A combate fought betweene two Scotchmen before the Lord Grey.

The English forced out of Scotland.

The French intended to surpris Ballinbeg.

The good resolution of Carter an English souldier.

A great slaughter of the French.

The French of fack the Isles of Garnsey and Tiersey.

Indigent vpon composition hee bought the French.

Edw. 6.

A. D. 1550.

The sweating sicknesse.

A gained reconciliation.

John Ewe.

The Duke of Summersey probably arraigned.

Rich. Grey.

The Duke of Summersey sent to the Tower.

Edw. 6. A. D. 1551.

* See finish the list.

The Duke of Summersey arraigned.

* Of Winchester William Herbert.

The Duke condemned of felony.

(69) His sentence thus pronounced, hee was againe sent backe to the Tower, wherein he kept a very ill Christmas, yea and that in the Court, inclined to little mirth, the King lamenting the condemnation of his vnclie, had not more witty disportes broke off his passions, which how, and by whom they proceeded, let others report, and vs continue the Tragedie of this Duke; who vpon the two & twenty of February following being Friday was brought to the Scaffold vpon Tower-hill by eight in the morning, where turning himselfe towards the East, he spake to the people, as followeth.

(70) *Dearely beloued friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit I neuer offended against the King, neither in word nor deed, and have alwayes been as faithfull and true vnto this Realme, as any man hath been: but forasmuch as I am by law condemned to die, I doe acknowledge my selfe as well as others to be subiect thereto: wherefore to testify mine obedience which I owe to the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer my selfe with most hearty thanks vnto God, that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might through sodaine death haue taken away my life, that I neither should haue acknowledged him nor my selfe.*

(71) These words uttered, besides others exhortatory, that the people would continue constant in the Gospell, suddenly was heard a great noyse, where the assembly was stricken into great feare, some thinking that a storme or tempest descended from above, some supposed that the barrels of Gunpowder in the Armoirie had taken fire, & were all blowne vp into the Aire, others thought that they heard a noyse of horses prepared to battell, some againe affirmed confidently that it did thunder, and others thought verily it was an earth-quake, and thus the ground moued: vnto such confusion and terror were they presently brought, which (saith Steu) was none other, but that certaine men from the *Hamlets* warned with weapon to guard the Tower-hill, came thither somewhat after the hower appointed, whose forsooth being the Prisoner on the Scaffold, beganne to raine forward themselves, and call to their fellows to come away: which word away sounding as an Echo in the peoples eares, they thought that rescue had come to the Duke to take him away: and seeing the Bil-men to make forward so fast, beganne themselves to shrinke backe from the hill, every man seeking to sue one, and by this accident and confusion, this feare among them fell and beganne: This strice feare ended, another ensued by the running of the people towards the Scaffold, who seeing Sir *Anthony Browne* riding thitherward, supposed a pardon had come from the King, so that a sodaine shout arose, *a pardon, a pardon, God save the King*: by which it onely appeared in what sort hee was had, and how much his life was desired of the Commons.

(72) The Duke whose mind being altogether prepared for death, was little moued either to hope or feare, and thereupon addressed his second speech to the people, and with no delected countenance spake againe and said: *Beloued friends there is no such matter intended as you vainly hope and believe: 11 yeereth thus good to the Almightie, vnto whose ordinance it is meet that we all bee obedient, wherefore I pray you bee quiet and without tumult, for I am quiet, and let vs so praye in prayer vnto the Lord for the preservation of our Noble King, vnto whose Majesty I with continuall health, with all felicities and abundance of prosperous success, & increase, I wish to his Counsailes the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule all things uprightly with Justice, vnto whom I exhort you all in the Lord, to shew your felies obedience, the which is also very necessary for you vnder paine of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation of the Kings Majesty. And thereupon asking every man forgiveness, freely forgave every man against him, and desiring the people to bee quiet, lest the flesh should be troubled, though his spirit was willing, hee meekely laide downe his*

head to the Axe, and receiued at one stroke his rest by death.

(73) Howsoever this Dukes cause was ballanced by law, and him taken away that stood betweene himselfe and their Sonnes, yet was his death heauily digested by the people, that spake very bitterly against the Duke of *Northumberland*, but most especially the young King sore mourned, and soone mislead the life of his Protector thus unexpectedly taken away, who now deprived of both his vnclies, howsoever the times were passed with pastimes, playes and shewes, to drive away dumpe, yet euer the remembrances of them late to necre vnto his heart, that still he fell sick of a Cough, which grievously increasing ended with a consumption of the lungs.

(74) His sickness continuing with great doubt of his life, vpon purpose saith *Crafton* to alter the succession of the Crowne, three marriages were in one day solemnized, whereof the first was betwixt the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, fourth sonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lady *Eve*, eldest daughter of *Henry Duke of Suffolke*: the second was betwixt the Lord *Herbert*, sonne and heire to *William Earle of Pembroke*, and the Lady *Katherine* the younger daughter of the laid Duke of *Suffolke*, and the third was betwixt *Henry L. Hastings*, sonne and heire of *Frances Earle of Huntingdon*, and *Katherine* the youngest daughter of the Duke of *Northumberland*, which tending (saith he) to the dispersion of the rightfull heires, they proued nothing prosperous, for two of them were presently made forsaite, the one by death, and the other by divorce.

(75) The policy established, and languishing sickness of the King gaue way vnto such, as sought the euersion of the State, & alienation of the Crowne: In whose eye no head was scene fitter for that fauile Diadem, then was *Guilford* a Bride, Iane the eldest daughter of *Suffolke*, whose mother Lady *Francis* then living, was the daughter of *Mary the French Queen*, the younger sister to King *Henry the eighth*, vnto whom King *Edward* once wrought in his weakness, ordained his Crowne by Will, at the suggestion of such Politiques, as meant to disinherit the two lawfull Princes, *Mary and Elizabeth*, and to impugne the Statute, in case provided for the succession of *K. Henry* the eight his children: vnto which Will (O grieue to heare) subscribed all the Kings Council, most of the Nobility, the reuerend Bishops, and all the Iudges of the land, one onely excepted, even Sir *James Haller* knight, a Iulike of the common Place, vpright in iudgement, & a fauourer of the Gospell, he, I say, neuer would write or consent to the disheriting of the Lady *Mary*.

(76) The King thus accomplishing what his Statists had wrought, lay languishing in his faingnes: the end wherefore could not be expected but onely by death, and now being worne almost to nothing (his last breath drawing to the limits of Nature) he lift vp his eyes with a prepared heart, and prayed as followeth.

Lord God deliuer me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy Chosen: herewith not my will but thy will be done, Lord I commend my spirit to thee: O Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy choyse sake, if it bee thy will send me life and health that I may truly serue thee: O my Lord blesse thy people and save them from euill: O Lord God save thy choise people of England: O my Lord God defend this Realme from Papists, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name for thy sonne Iesus Christs sake.

So turning his face and seeing some by him saide, *I thought you had not bene's might*: yea, said Doctor *Owen*, we heard you speake to your selfe, then said the King, *I was praying to God: O I am faine, Lord haue mercy vpon me, and receive my spirit*: and so he sayng, gaue vp the Ghost, to the great losse of England, in whom they had conceiued much hope.

(77) His vertues were rare and many exceeding moit

Rich. Greif.
John Steu.
griouful.

The Duke of
Somerset
speech in his
chaine.

A great feare
without any
cause.

John Steu in
Amden.

The Duke en-
tirely beuiled of
the Commons.

The Duke's
second speech vpon
the Scaffold.

Duke of Somerset
lower, mild, and
more than could be

King Edward
11th & 13th.

Rich. Greif.

Three marriages
sounded to re-
uert the suc-
cession.

Lady Iane made
bride by Sir
King Edward.

Vide Steu in
Amden, & 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 157th, 158th, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 163rd, 164th, 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1395th, 1396th, 1397th, 1398th, 1399th, 1400th, 1401st, 1402nd, 1403rd, 1404th, 1405th, 1406th, 1407th, 1408th, 1409th, 1410th, 1411st, 1412nd, 1413th, 1414th, 1415th, 1416th, 1417th, 1418th, 1419th, 1420th, 1421st, 1422nd, 1423rd, 1424th, 1425th, 1426th, 1427th, 1428th, 1429th, 1430th, 1431st, 1432nd, 1433rd, 1434th, 1435th, 1436th, 1437th, 1438th, 1439th, 1440th, 1441st, 1442nd, 1443rd, 1444th, 1445th, 1446th, 1447th, 1448th, 1449th, 1450th, 1451st, 1452nd, 1453rd, 1454th, 1455th, 1456th, 1457th, 1458th, 1459th, 1460th, 1461st, 1462nd, 1463rd, 1464th, 1465th, 1466th, 1467th, 1468th,

The virtues of
King Edward.The report of
Hieronymus Car-
danus, ca. 1500.

His learning.

His Memory.

His Care.

His Mercy.

K. Edwards
scale to Christs
Gospel.K. Edwards letter
to Lady Mary.

most Princes, and vices so few, that none can be tax-
ed with leſſe very learned (according to his yeres)
he was in the Latine and Greek tongues, the French,
Spaniſh, and Italian, yea (and ſaith Hieronymus Car-
danus) he was adorned with the ſkill of Logicks, natu-
rall Philoſophie, and Aſtronomie, and for Aſtronomie (ſaith
he) my ſelfe had experience, whom he learnedly appoyed
of the cauſe and cauſes of Comets: for Humani-
ty, he is the very image of Morality, and in princely grace
Maieſty beſt beſeeming a King: briefly, hee may well
ſeeme to be a miracle in Nature: nor doe I ſpeake thus
Rhetorically to amphiſe things, or to make them more then
truth is, for the truth is more then I do offer: and in this
hee was moſt admirable, that hee could tell and re-
quire all the Ports, Hauens, and Creekes, not within
his owne Realme onely, but alſo in Scotland, and
like wiſe in France, what coming in there was, how
the tide ſerued in euery of them, what burden of
Shippe, and what winde beſt ſerued the coming
in into them.

(78) Of all his Nobles, Gentry, Juſtices, and
Magiſtrates, he tooke ſpeciall name of their Hoſpi-
tality, and religious conuerſations, and that
which is beſt accepted of a Prince, hee was very
liberall, louing, mercifull, meeke and gentle-
towards his people, and ſo farre from blood,
as hee euer fauoured and ſpared as much as might
bee the life of man, yea euen of Rebels, as wee haue
ſene; neither was hee willing to put Hereticks to
death, as in a certaine diſſertation had once with M.
Coker appeared: inſomuch that when Iſaac Pa-
teler ſhould be burned for her hereſie, all the Coun-
cill could not moue him to ſet his hand to the war-
rant of her execution, vntill D. Crammer his Godfa-
ther, Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury laboured to in-
duce him, vnto whom hee ſaid, what my Lord? will
you haue me to ſend her quick to hell, and taking
the pen vnto this ſpeech: *I will lay all the charge here-
of vpon Crammer before God.* Then how his hand had
bene gotten for his vnles death isto bee admitted.

(79) But his conſtancy vnto Christs Goſpell,
with the abandoning of all ſuperſtition, was very
admirable, one example among many wee will
not leaſe to declare. Lady Mary his ſiſter through the
ſuit of Charles the Emperour, made great meanes to
haue Maſſe ſaid in her houſe, and that to bee done
withooutall prejudice of law: the grauemelle of her
Perſon being the immediate ſucceſſor, and the might
of the Emperour in amitie with England, moued the
Councell to giue their conſent to the ſuit; to for-
ward which Crammer Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury
accompanied with Ridley Biſhoppe of London were
employd from them to the King, who hearing their
meſſage, gaue the replication fo grounded vpon
Scripture, as they gaue ouer to vige more that way:
but like Politicians alledged the danger in breach
of amity with the Emperour, to which the King an-
ſwered, hee would rather aduocate the hazard of
his own life then to grant that which was not agree-
able to the truth. The Biſhops yettverged him with
the bonds of nature, and ſubmiſſiue ſaid, they
would haue no nay: the King ſeing himſelfe ſo im-
portunated, burſt into weeping, and ſobbingly de-
ſired them to be content, wherewith the teares ſo abun-
dantly haſt from their eyes, as they departed his
preſence not able to ſpeake. And ſora further ce-
lasmus of this yong Kings zeale, reade if you pleaſe
a letter ſent vnto his ſiſter the Princeſſe Lady Mary,
out of the originall.

(80) *Right deare, and right entirely beloued ſiſter we
greet you well, and let you knowe that it grieueth vs much
to perceiue no amendment in you of that, which wee ſer
good cauſe, your ſoules health, our conſcience, and com-
mon tranquility of our Realme haue ſo long deſired; aſſu-
ring you, that our ſufferance hath more demonstration of
nature all leaſe then contentation of our conſcience, and fore-
ſight of our ſafety. Wherefore, although you giue or occa-
ſion of ſuch ſmell as in you is, to diminiſh our naturall
leue; yett wee loath to ſeele it decay, and meane not to*

*bee ſo careleſſe of you as wee bee prouoked. And therefore
meaning your weale, and therewith ſignifying a care not to
be found guilty, in our own conſcience to God, hauing cauſe
to require ſeruenſſe that wee haue ſo long for reſpect of
loue regarded you omitted our bounden duty, we do ſend at
this preſent our right truſty, our right welbeloued Counſel-
lor the L. Rich. our Chancelor of England, our truſty and
right welbeloued Counſeller Sir Anthony Wingfield
Knight, Comptroller of our Houſhold, and Sir Will. Peter
Knight, one of our two principall Secretaries in meſſage to
you touching the order of your houſe, willing you to giue the
ſame credit in theſe things, they ſhall ſay to you from vs, to
do therein our name. I ſeuen under our Signet at the Caſtle
of Windſor the of in the fiſt
yeare of our Reigne, 1556.*

(81) The fruites of which Religion this godly
King ſhewed by his workes of compaſſion towards
the poore, & that eſpecially vpon the foundation of
Christs Hoſpitall, the late ſuppreſſed place of the
Grey Friars in London, and that vpon occaſion as fol-
loweth. It chanced the reuerend Biſhoppe Doctor Rid-
ley to preach before his Maieſty at Weſtmiſter, wher-
in hee Chriſtianlike exhorted the rich to be merciful
vnto the poore, and to that end amplified the words
of the Text againſt the mercileſſe rich, and the neg-
ligence of ſuch as were in great place. The Sermon
ended, and the King ſet to dinner, hee ſent to the
Biſhoppe, commanding him not to depart the Court,
before hee knew his further pleaſure, and thereupon
cauſing two Chaires to be ſet in the Gallery, all o-
thers auoided, hee compelled the Biſhoppe to ſit
downe by his ſide, and in no wiſe would admitte
him to bee vacuoued.

(82) Where entering conference, hee firſt gaue him
hearie thanks for his Sermon, repeating vnto him
the chiefe points thereof, and coming to his exhorta-
tion for the poore, hee then told him that hee thought
himſelfe firſt touched in the ſpeech; for ſaide he, my
Lord you ſpeake to them in authority, wherof vnder God
I am the chiefe, and muſt firſt make anſwere to him if I
be negligent, and therefore I thinke you principally meant
me: Gods commandement I knowe muſt eſpecially touch me
or to haue compaſſion of the poore members, for whom we
muſt make account; and truly my Lord I am muſt willing
to travel that way, not doubting but that your long ap-
proved learning and wiſdomme, whoſe zeale is ſuch as wiſeth
themſelves, but that alſo you had conference with others
what ſhould herein to be done, which I am alſo deſirous to
know, and therefore I pray for your mind.

(83) The moſt vnto theſe pious conſiderations
little looking for ſuch queſtions of the Prince, late a
while ſilent, ouerjoyed at his words, and laſtly va-
prepared of any preſent inſtructions, told the King
that the Citizens of London were beſt able to direct
the plot, whoſe great Charity, and well ordered go-
uernement, beſides their dayly charges, being over-
burdened with poore, had ſufficient experience, and
if it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to direct his letters
vnto them himſelfe, hee would be very ready to for-
ther this godly reſolution ſo far as his meanes might
any wiſe extend: wherupon the King preſently
commanded his letters to be writ, and would not
ſuffer the Biſhoppe to depart before himſelfe had
thereto ſet his hand and ſignet, deſiring him to deli-
uer the ſame to the Lord Maior, and with him to
conferre about this buſineſſe, which hee wiſhed
might be accompliſhed with all expedition.

(84) The Biſhoppe as ready as the King was de-
ſirous, poſted apace to the Lord Maior of London,
where deliuering the letter, offered his aſſiſtance to
forward the worke, and they together with ſome
Aldermen, and twenty foure Commoners agreede
vpon three degrees of the poore, and them diuided
again into nine.

(85) The Booke thus drawne, and preſented to
the King, hee thereupon deſired to be accounted the
chiefe Founder of their reliefe, and forthwith gaue
vnto the City S. Bartholomewes Hoſpitall by Smith-
field, and the Grey-Friars Church neere adioyning,
with

D. Ridelys let-
ter to before
King Edward.The conference
between the King
and Biſhoppe
Ridley.K. Edwards great
care for the pooreKing Edwards
letter delivered
to the L. Maior.The Kings great
liberality for the
poore in London.

The Kings great
liberty for the
poore in London.

with all the revenues belonging thereto, his princely house of *Bridewell*, anciently the Mansion of many English Kings, wherein also their Courts of Justice had borne kept, & sumptuously new built by King *Henry* the eight for the receipt of the Emperour, he gave to the Mayor and Citizens to be a house of correction for lewde and dissolute liuers, and to set on worke the idle and loitering vagabonds, whose maintenance with the new reedified Hospitall of *S. Thomas* in *Southwarke*, hee gave seven hundred Markes by yeere out of the rents of the Hospitall of *Saint Iohn Baptiste* or *Sauary*, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture thereto belonging, whereby the poore thus distinguished, were by his godly fatherance thus provided for.

THESE
 For by iniquities, { Forthwith Children, cloth be/infant
 { Age, Widd, Lame, S. Thome, Inf-
 { Orphaned persons, { pious
 For by covetousness, { Wounded Soules, S. Thome, Inf-
 { Devils, & householders, { pious
 { Vicious & factitious, cloth be/infant
 For the benefit, { Battered Spencers,
 { Vagabond & idle, { Bridewell,
 { & the Strangers.

Regl. 7.
Iune 6.

(86) The Kings charitable gifts confirmed by Charter, and a Petition exhibited for liberty to

take an *Mortmain* of lands to a yeerly value without further licence, a place being left in the Patene to containe the summe, King *Edward* presently called for penne and inke, and with his owne hand filled vpp the space with these words, *four thousand Markes by yeere*: which done, hee both forth and said: *Lord God I prayd thee most beuie thanks, that thou hast given me life thus long to finish this worke to the glory of thy name.*

(87) Now as this godly King was carefull in redeeming the time, so likewise to take as it were an account of himselfe, hee kept a iournall booke or Record written with his owne hand, how all things proceeded with him, and with the State, from the first day of his raigne vnto his death: whole many vertues as they were inferior to none of his worthy Progenitors, and scale little short to the best Kings of *Iudah*, so was hee soone mist of all his loyall Subjects, when the boosome of Gods Saints were opened to the persecutors in words.

(89) He died at *Greenwich* vpon Thursday the sixe day of Iuly, the yeare of Christ Iesus, one thousand five hundred fifty three, and the seuerceenth of his age, when hee had reigned sixe yeeres five months, and nine daies, and was buried vpon the ninth of August following, in the Chappell of *S. Peters* Church at *Westminster*, next vnto his Grandfather King *Henrie* the seventh.



MARY

Q. Marie.

Monarch 60

MARIE QVEENE OF ENGLAND,
FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFEN-
DER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIETH
MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HER
RAIGNE, MARIAGE, ACTS,
AND DEATH



CHAPTER XXIII.

Confultation for
the disposing of
the Crowne.



KING EDWARDS
life ended by his lingering
disease, and the Senatme
intending to establish his
will; for the space of two
daies his death was kept
secret, and much confulta-
tion among the Nobility
had of the businesse, all of
them affecting the electi-

on of *Iane*, lest *Mary* should vndoe what *Edward*
had done, to support which purpose, many pro-
jects were cast, and many opinions given how to
proceed, yet all ioinlie light in this point, that *Lon-
don* was the hand which must reach *Iane* the Crowne:
whose Citizens assistance if they might bee got,
the greatest difficulty (as they held it) was halfe vnder-
goe. And therefore to mould them for *Iane*, and to

London the best
try in time of
trouble.

marre them for *Mary*, the Conncell sent for the L.
Maior of *London*, sixe Aldermen, and twelue Com-
moners Marchants.

(1) These coming to the Court, were secretlye
certified of King *Edward* his death, where his Will
declared, and Letters Patents thewed for the disin-
heriting of his two sisters, and the raising of *Sussex*
daughter vnto the Crowne; whose religion was so
zealous, and vertues so many (as in truth no Prin-
cesse was possibled with more) were so well set forth
by theire graue Counsellors, that the Lord Maior and
Citizens tooke their oathes for Lady *Iane*, vnto
whose obedience they promised to secure the City.

(3) Lady *Mary* at *Hausden* hearing these newes,
presentlie remoued to her Mannor of *Keningall* in
Wessex: from whence she wrote her letters vnto
the Lords of the Council, wherein shee mannest
that her brothers death should so long be kept from
her:

Eeeeeee2

The Lord Maior
and Citizens
sworne to Lady
Iane.

Lady *Mary* writ-
eth to the Lords

her: that she being the Princesse next in blood, ordained by act of Parliament, and King *Henric* Testament to succede, her right enroled in the Records, by the authority of her Father and brother, their owne knowledge and pteicipation to her most rightfull Titles, yet now in consulation to vindice these pretensions both against God and natural allegiance; shee could not but marvell, and rather would continue for some politike consideration, and take them in the best part, then to possesse the least thought of any disloyalty in them; and therefore willed them vpon the recite of her letters to proclaim her Queene, and gouernour of the Realme, in the Cite of *London*, and in other public places, as in such case appertaineth, with all due obseruances, as they tendered her displeasure and their owne felicitie: this letter was signed at the Mannor of *Kensington* vnder her Signet the ninth of Iuly 1553.

(4) Vnto which letters the Lords forthwith made answer, first signifying that by good warrant of ancient Lawes of the Land, besides the will of their last King, confirmed vnder his hand and broad Seale, in the presence of the most part of the Nobles, Counsellors, Iudges and other grane personages, assisting and subscribing to the same, that Lady *Isabel* daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* should bee inueiled and succeed him in the Imperiall Crowne: vnto whom therefore, and vnto none other, they must giue their loyall subiection, where also they put her in minde of the vnlawfull marriage and disorde of her mother, her owne illegitimation, vncapable of Crowne, or rule of Dominions, wiling her further to desist from any such claime, and to submit her selfe vnto Queene *Jane* now her Soeueraigne, so would they hold amity with her, els should shee procure greuous vnto them and her selfe, which letters were sent from the Tower of *London* the ninth of Iuly 1553, and subscribed by the hands of such as follow.

Thomas Canterbury Archbishop.
Thomas Eli, Chancelour.
William Winchester, Marquisse.
John Bedford, Earle.
Henric Suffolke Duke.
Francis Browne, Earle.
John Northumberland, Duke.
William Pembroke, Earle.
Thomas Darce Lord Chamberlaine.
Cobham. *William Peter*.
Rick. *William Casil*.
Huntington. *John Clarke*.
Darce. *John Mafon*.
Cheryar. *Edmond North*.
John Gates. *Robert Brown*.

(5) These Letters received, and the Lords mindes therein made knowne, shee forth with remondest to *Framingham* Castle, standing more safe from inuasion or easie access, vnto whom the *Suffolke* men were the first that resorted, offering their seruice vnto her rightfull cause, with condition they might ill embrace the Gospell in the same manner as King *Edward* had established it, to which the disconsented, though afterwards wearing the Diademe, and petitioned vnto for promise, shee both punished the Writer and answered their expectations, that they should see day well knowe, they being but men, her should not durre her their Head.

(6) The Lords at *London* to fit their enterprise vpon foot, by proclamation made knowne in most parts of the Ciry, the death of King *Edward*, and that by Will, hee had bequeathed his Crowne and Dominions, to the vertuous great Princesse, Lady *Jane*, daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* (as wee haue said) and so was shee proclaimed by the name of Queene *Jane*, though many of the Commons willed it had beene Queene *Mary*; and for some

words spoken to that purpose, one *Gilbert* Pet a servant Vintner, vpon the Pillory lost both his eares. Vnto the aide of Lady *Marie* came the Earles of *Suffolke*, *Bath* and *Oxford* the Lord *Westmorland*, *Sir Thomas Cornwallis*, *Sir Henric Loringham*, *Sir William Wolsey*, with diuers others of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*; yea and the Citizens of *Norwich* themselves, hauing certaine knowledge of King *Edward*'s death, forthwith proclaimed *Marie* for Queene, and presently sent her aide both of men and munition. The Lords then hearing of great preparations, meast by times to ouermatch her in power, and thereupon agreed that *Henric* Duke of *Suffolke* their new Queenes Father should with an Army repaire into *Norfolke*, which thing was so greuous vnto Lady *Jane* his daughter, that with floods of teares hee obtained his lay.

(7) None then was held sister to vnderge this great businesse, then was the Duke of *Northumberland*, young *Gilford*'s Father, (who besides his sonnes dignity vnto whom this new Queene was wife) his valliant parts and sufficiency to marshall an Army in Field had been often experienced in *Scotland*, & but lately among these people with whom hee was now to deale. The Duke thus appointed, began as it should seeme, to mistrust the worth, and thereupon freely vttered his minde to the Lords; wiling them to be carefull at home, as hee would bee venturous abroad, for their cause was common, and all for the Queene. Hee with his (hee said) went now to venture their bodies to the bloody strokes of warre, their Families and Children left to the dispose of others, whom as hee told them if they meant not faire playe, hee could not awake as well as any: thus much and more spoken to the like purpose; one of the Lords replied, and said: Your Grace (as I iudge) doth cast this doubt ouer fast, for which of vs all, can wash our hands cleane of this businesse, therefore it behooveth vs to bee resolute, as much as it doth you, and among them *Edward* willed that he might goe with him.

(8) All things in a readinesse, and his commission confirmed vnder the broad Seale of *England*; vpon the 14. of Iuly the Duke with sixe hundred men, accompanied with the Lord *Gord*, and others, set forth of *London*, and tooke his way through *Shorditch* where beholding the countenances of the people, hee spake to the Lord *Gord* and said. The people, my Lord, presse still to see vs, but not one of them bids vs God speed: the same day likewise *Sir John Gates* went after the Duke, both of them making for *New market*, whither further supplies were promised to be sent.

(9) In the meane time the Lord *Westmore*, *Sir Edmund Peckham*, *Sir Robert Drury*, and *Sir Edward Hastings* raised the Commons of *Essex* and *Gloucestershire*, proclaiming Queene *Mari* euer as they went, the like did *Sir John Williams* of *Tame*, and *Sir Leonard Chamberlaire* in *Oxfordshire*; and did *Sir Thomas Tregheim* in the County of *Norampton*: these with many more made forward toward *Norfolke*, vnto whom many more joined in the way: and as God and good hap brought it to passe, sixe tall Ships well manned that were appointed before *Yarmouth* to haue taken Lady *Mari* if shee had fled; were by foule weather driven into the Hanes, where master *Jermingham* was raising for her, and asking a Boate to halle them, the Sea-souldiers demanded what he would haue, his answer was their Capitaines, whereunto the Souldiers consented, threatening to throw them into the Sea, if they refused to serue Queene *Mari*: the Shippes thus gotten and their number augmented, their terror grew fearful to the Lords in the Tower: so while Tenants began then likewise to draw backe, and deny them their side: so that certaine of them would haue bene gone, if by any means they could haue escaped the Tower, which the Lord *Treasurer* affixed, but was brought acke againe about midnight.

Gordon.

Many Noble men come to aide Mary.

Mary Proclaimed Queene both in Norwich, Iuly 22.

The Duke of Northumberland signeth Lord Westmore and the Queene Jane.

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The Duke of Northumberland signeth Lord Westmore and the Queene Jane.

The Lords answer to Lady Marie Letter.

Mary removed to Framingham Castle.

M. Per h.c.

The Suffolk men the first that come to aide Mary.

Last Proclaimed Queene.

A.D. 1553. Iuly 22.

(10) The Duke of Northumberland in as great feare as any, tooke fill his fancies according to his Commission, fending fill to the Lords for their promised fupplies, betwix whom were fuch polling of letters, fuch fpeeding to and fro, fuch outward faire promifes, fuch inward private practises, fuch talking of the Souldiers, and fuch heare-burning of the people, as it was a world to fee: and the rumour of Souldiers from all quarters, daily reforting vnto Queene Marie, made the turmoile much the more. To leaue therefore nothing vnaffaid that might fupport their newe made Queene Iane, the Councell commanded Doctor Ridley Bifhop of London, to maintaine her caufe in his Sermon made at Pauls Crosse, which hee did vpon Sunday the fixteenth of Iuly, but that neither working, nor the peoples affection drawne from the rightfull Succellor, the Lords fell from the Duke, who then was in Berke: and in London proclaimed Lady Mary Queene.

(11) This fudden alteration brought many fadden feares into the Dukes breaſt, whole onely way, as he well ſaw, was to follow the ſtreame, and now returning to Cambridge his Souldiers began to turne in affliction, moſt of them forſaking his company, a few onely excepted, whole perils were deeply engaged with his, where to ſhew his forwardneſſe for the aduancement of Marie, wanting both Trumpet and Herald at hand, himſelfe accompanied with the Maior, and the Marqueſſe of Northampton, in the Market place proclaimed her Queene: which done in token of ioy, hee threw vp his owne Cap. And chaſtice right reuered to whom it belonged, wee will now addreſſe our ſtile to her dreadfull Raigne, wherein the Kingdomeſtory may ſeeme to be writ rather with blood then with ink, and the nurſing mother, (as Queenes by the Prophet are termed and called) to forget the naturall affection due to her Subjects which in ſome fort may bee compared to the children of her wombe.

(12) Yett were her beginnings both milde and gentle, pardoning all offenders in caſe of Lady Iane; excepting the Duke of Northumberland, the onely doer, and Sir Iohn Gates, Captaine of the Guard, who was in Armes againſt her, with ſome few others that worthily ſuffered for that offence. The Duke (as is ſaid) laying downe weapon, and himſelfe proclaiming *Reuerend Marie*, was neuertheleſſe arreſted with Francis Earle of Huntington in the Kings Colledge at Cambridge by a Sergeant at Armes, but Reters being then lent from the Councell, that every man ſhould be diſmiſſed without further trouble, the Duke among them was alſo releaſed.

(13) The next morning *Henric Fitz-Alan* Earle of Arundell, came into Cambridge from the Queene, who entering his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell vpon his knees, deſiring him for Gods loue to conſider his caſe, that had done nothing without warrant of him, and the Councell; my Lord, ſaid *Arundell*, I am ſent hither from the Queene to arreſt you, and I, ſaid the Duke, obey your arreſt, yett I beſeech your Lordſhip to vſe mercy towards him whole Acts haue bene no more then was enioyned by commiſſion, that ſooner ſhould you haue fought for, ſaid the Earle, and thereupon committed him to guard, and left him to the mercy of the Queene.

(14) The Duke then with his three ſonnes *Iohn, Ambroſe* and *Henric*, the Earle of Huntington, Sir Andrew Dudley, the two Gotes, *Iohn* and *Henric*, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Doctor Sanders were conſidered towards London, and brought to the Tower, where the Lord Gifford Dudley, and the Lady Iane his wife, from the high Tiſleot Souerainety were made ſubiekt to diſcreet Priſoners miſeries.

(15) Queene Marie from Frewingham repaired towards London, being all the way ſtaied without any mulikes, ſiuing that many men feared the altering of Religion: at her entrance into the Tower

were releaſed *Thomas* Duke of Norfolk, who had lain there from the laſt of King Henry the eight, *Edward* Lord Courtney whom three fourth with aduanced Earle of Devonſhire, *Carlott* Tuſſall Biſhop of Durham, and *Stephen* Gardiner late Biſhop of Wincheſter, by her then made Lord Chancellor of England, From the Mariſhall ſea was freed *Edward* Bonner Biſhop of London, and now againe reſtored by the depoling of Doctor Ridley, who for his Sermon lately made, was committed to the Tower; ſo likewiſe Doctor *Scorie* gaue place vnto *Dane*, in the Biſhoprick of Cheſter, *Miles* Courdale vnto *Wefſe*, in the Biſhoprick of Exeter, and *Iohn* Haſper vnto *Hath*, in the Biſhoprick of Worcester; who forthwith was committed to the Fleet, and Archbiſhop *Cramer*, into the Tower; ſo roughly ſhe began with the reformed Clergy, (how milde ſouer her other proceedings were) in whole diſgrace, Doctor *Reuer* Chapaine to *Banner*, made a Sermon at Pauls Crosse which ſo offended his Hearers, that a Dagger was throwne at him, to his great danger, and ſuch threats mottered by the people, as had not Maſter *Braſford* ſlepped vp in his roome, and perſwaded the people vnto quietneſſe, ſurely it had colt the Preacher his life: which cauſed the Crosse the next Sabbath to bee guarded by the Queenes Guard, whilſt the Preacher ſpake there to the people.

(16) This moued Queene Marie to pot forth a Proclamation againſt thoſe Preachers, and printed bookes; which any wiſe pointed towards the diſgrace of the Papali See, the treaſure whereof had ſtuck in her own breaſt ever ſince her infancy, and ſo much was ſhe deuoted to that of Rome, as being often moued by King Edward, her brother, to embrace the Goſpel according to Lawes in his time eſtabliſhed, with promiſe of her aduancement, by matching her in Marriage with *Don Lewis* the brother of *Ferdinand*, her ſonnet was, ſhe had rather to forgoe all earthly preferments, and to looſe all her Lands, and other Liuing, then to change her received opinion of her ſure ſetled Religion.

(17) Her enurance thus ſtanding, and State nothing liſe (as ſhe thought) whilſt the Duke of Northumberland (a Proteſtant) and other his Complices (for the moſt part in daunce) were alive, their arraignment were halſtened, and deaths not long after longed, which they ſuffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, where the Duke hauing promiſe of life, if he would recant his profeſſion, Daſard-like with *Peter*, forſooke his maſter, and exhorted the people to the Romiſh profeſſion: which his death Sermon afterwards by authority, came forth in Print. With him ſuffered Sir *Iohn* Gates, and Sir *Thomas* Palmer much more conſtant as appeared by their ſpeech.

(18) The way (ſith Maſter Foxe) thus made by blood, Queene Marie paſſed through London vnto Weſtmiſter to receiue the Crowne, which was ſolemnly ſet on her Head by Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, for that both the Archbiſhops were priſoners in the Tower: when a pardon was alſo publiſhed for many offences, which notwithstanding were ſo followed by them in Commiſſion, as ſome were fined, ſome loſt their Fees, ſome caſt into Priſon, and ſome deprived of all their eſtates.

(19) The next that felt the calamities of thoſe times, were the Lady Iane and the Lord Gifford Dudley her Husband, both innocent perſons in that which their Fathers had done: ſhe doubtleſſe was a Lady of admiſſible gifts both in learning, religion, and humane knowledge, as by her conference with *Fetchem*, letters to an Apollata, exhortation to her Siſter, and praiers by her made in moſt feeling manner, doe evidently appeare, and that there was conſtrained to conſent to the things done is manifeſt by a letter ſent to her father a litle before her death: wherein, after a holy and doſtall exhortation vnto patience, ſhe vſeth this Speech. *My deare Father* (if I may without offence write in mine owne miſſe-ſpoken

Priſoners in the Tower,

For Acts and Meanings,

Bishop removed and others in their places placed,

A Dagger thrown at Dr. Bonner, Auguſt. 13.

Pauls Crosse guarded in the time of the Sermon.

Reported in a Letter of conſcience with her ſaid by the Lord Chamberlain and Secretary Piers,

The Duke of Northumberland, had beheaded, Auguſt. 22.

Sir Iohn Gates beheaded,

For Acts and Meanings A. D. 1554. Queene Marie executed, The Cramer (see) Sir Robert York executed.

The venoms of Lady Iane.

Lawrence Hall, 1559.

Lady Iane in her Letter ſent to her Father,

For Acts and Meanings,

Guest feares among the people.

The Bishop of London desired that Lady Iane be a Sermon, Queene Mary proclaimed in London, Iulie 19.

The Duke of Northumberland ſouldiers forſake him.

The Duke himſelf proclaimed Queene Mary.

Iul. 29. 1553.

The milde beginnings of Queene Marie.

Beheaded,

The Duke of Northumberland arreſted.

A. Gifford, The Duke and others committed to the Tower.

Queene Mary cometh to London,

me secmes in this I may account my selfe blefled, that washing my hands with the innocencie of my fault, my guilt-
less blood may ere before the Lord, merite, merene, to the
to merent. And yet though I must acknowledge, that be-
ing comforted, and as you was well enough, continually
ajured, as taking upon me, I seemed to comfort, and there-
in offendeth. *Queen and her Laver*: yet doe I assure
reasse that that more offence towards God is much the
leife, on that being in former estate as I was, more unfor-
gettable have never agreed with more innocent hearts.

(20) Yet must the Law for so great an offence
take place for trall whereof this late titled *Queene*,
and now miserable Lady, was brought into *Guild-
hall* in *London*, where there with the Lord *Guisford*,
Archbishop *Crammer*, and the Lord *Amberst* *Dudley*,
were arraigned and condemned. But *Crammer* (as
has faith) was acquit of Treason, and stood onely in
the case of Doctrines, which then was accounted He-
resie, and so againe were returned to the Tower, for
whom great lamentations were made, especially for
the good Lady *Jane*, whose state the *Queene* her-
selfe so pitied, as that ther had the liberty
of the Tower to walke in the *Queens* Gar-
den, and on the Hill, and surely had not her Fa-
ther as his first offence fallen into another, shee
had bene (as was thought) pardoned of life.

(21) His second offence was, that whereas
Queene Mary had a purpose to marry with the
Spaniard, and to that ende embraced the Suite of
Philip, the Sonne of *Charles* the Emperour, many a-
well Nobles at thence disliked the Match, fearing
not only the change of Religion, whereas many of
them blood very well affected, but even of the Lands
severall into strangers, as was likely to happen,
both in the Husband and Issue. To prevent which
this *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* but lately pardoned of
life, secretly departed unto *Leicester* and *Warwick-
shire*, making Proclamations for the abandoning of
strangers, and instigated the People to withstand
the *Queens* marriage agreed upon with *Philip*.

(22) These furies thus abroad, the Earle of
Huntington was sent into those parts, who taking
Cromwell (which Cite *Suffolke* thought himselfe
sure of) foretold the Countrey in such wise, as the
Duke for his best refuge committed himselfe to the
trull and secret keeping of a servant of his, called *Under-
wood*, remaining in *Abbot* *Park*, who against the
trull repulped treacherously betrayed him, and his
brother *John* Lord *Grey*, unto the Earle; whence pre-
sently by him they were consigned Prisoners unto
the Tower of *London*, their other brother Lord *Thomas*
escaping in the dead of the night, was presently
apprehended in the borders of *Wales*, and from
thence was brought Prisoner to *London*.

(23) This (I say) seemed to hasten the death
of those innocents, whom their Fathers had doubly
brought into danger, for the Statute of those times,
knowing their *Queene* could have no quiet whilst
these great opposites were reared against her, held it
best policy to take them away, whereupon the
twelfth of February and first day of the weeke, Lord
Guisford *Dudley* was had to the Scaffold upon
Tower Hill, and there with prayers and great peni-
tencie ended his life: whose body all bloody laid
in a Cart together with the Head wrapped in a cloth
was brought into the Chappell within the Tower,
even in the sight of this sorrowfull Lady, a spectacle
most deadly then to the Axe of her death. And now
her own part next to be acted, the Stage of her Tra-
gedy was raised upon the Greene, within the Tower,
wherein being mounted with a cheerefull counse-
nance, and a patient minde, these words with great
constancy she spake at that present.

(24) Good people, I am come to die, and by
"Law I am condemned to the same, my offence a-
gainst the *Queens* Highnesse was onely in con-
"sent to the desire of others, which now is deemed
"Treason: yet it was never of my seeking, but by
"counsel of those who should seeme to have fur-

ther understanding of things then I, which knew
"little of the Law, and much lesse of Titles to de-
"Crowne. But touching the procurement and de-
"fire thereof by mee, or on my behalfe, I doe walke
"my hands in innocency thereof before God, and
"the face of you all this day: And therewith shee
"wring her hands wherein shee had a Bocke. I pray you
"all good Christian people (said shee) to beare
"mee witnesseth that I die a true Christian woman,
"and that I looke to be saved by none other means
"but onely by the mercy of God, in the blood of
"his onely Sonne Iesus Christ, and I confesse that
"when I did know the word of God, I neglected the
"same, and loved my selfe and the world, and there-
"fore this plague and punishment is sully and wor-
"thily happened upon me for my faults, and yet I
"thanke God of his goodnesse, that hee hath given
"me a time and reprieve to repent. And now good
"people while I am alive, I pray you assist me with
"your prayers.

(25) Then kneeled shee downe, and said in Eng-
lish the fifty one Psalm: and againe standing up,
gave her booke to Master *Brigden*, then Lieutenant
of the Tower: then vowing her Gowne, the execu-
tioner offered to helpe, whom shee desired to for-
beare, and so turning to her two Gentlemen was
disrobed of that and her other Attires. This done,
the Headman kneeled downe and asked her forgive-
nesse, unto whom shee said, the Lord forgive thee,
and I doe; and I pray thee dispatch mee quickly,
and kneeling againe, said will you take it off before
I lye downe? hee answered, no Madam. Then shee
tied a handkercher over her eyes, and feeling for the
blocke said, where is it, where is it? it is layne
her Necke upon the same stretched forth her body and
said, Lord lesse unto thy hand I commend my spi-
rit; which was scarcely uttered before shee recei-
ved the fatal stroke of the Axe: and then ended the
life of this chaste, innocent, and most vertuous La-
dy: whose case through the severity of the Law ad-
judged accordingly, yet was her death much lament-
ed of all, but most especially greivous unto him that
gave the sentence of the same, even Judge *Morgan*,
who thereupon presently fell madde, and in his ra-
vings continually cryed, take away the Ladie Jane
from me, and in that horror shortly ended his life.
I will not asouch that shee was with childe at the day
of her death, though it was so reported, but rather
judge a more Christian-like proceeding against so
great a person, though the time (as we well know)
proved very bloody.

(26) Eleven daies after her death, her Father
Henry Duke of *Suffolke*, was executed upon the Tower
hill, even the twenty three of February where her
most Christianly made profession of his Faith, and
with great repentance of his fault received the stroke
of death: and the three and twenty of April fol-
lowing, his brother the Lord *Thomas* *Gry* suffered
death in the same place.

(27) That the intended marriage with *Philip* of
Spain, was the cause of their last infurrection we
have said; to perwade which, how eloquently foer-
er had bene delivered by *Stephen* *Gardiner*, Lord
Chancellor, unto the Nobility in the Chamber of
Peacence, setting forth the honour, the riches, and
augmentation of Titles to the Crowne, and King-
dome of *England*: yet was it distasteful to most of
their Stomackes, in so much that combinations were
made against the process, and many in many places
up in Armes: whereof Sir *Thomas* *Hyt of Kent*, was
the first and last upon this occasion.

(28) Among many delinkers of the *Queens*
marriage it chanced, one, for some other offence, to
be committed to the Fleet by the Council, who be-
ing an inward acquaintance of *Wyates*, was per-
suaded by him to have recured the conspiracy, where-
upon he put himselfe in action before the enterprise
was altogether ripe, and accompanied with *Thomas*
Bliss, and others, at *Windsor* in *Kent*, published a Pro-

Lady Jane and
Lord Guisford
condemned.
Fro AG and
Monmouth.

John Grey.

The Duke of
Suffolke's former
service against
Queene Mary's
marriage.

Religion.

Fro in Acts and
Monmouth.

Henry Duke of
Suffolke and his
brothers appen-
danted.

The Lord Guil-
ford's beheaded.
Rich Grey.

Lady Jane be-
headed.

The speech of
Lady Jane at her
death.

Master For in
Acts and Mon.
pag. 112.

Henry Duke of
Suffolke and L.
Thomas Grey be-
headed.

Queene Mary's
marriage affect-
ed to many of
the Nobles.

Sir Thomas Hyt
at Kent.

An. D. 1553.
January 25.

Pro-

Myt commeth to Rochester.

Proclamation against the Queene's marriage, alledging the thraldome wherunto the Land would become subiect, by that Spanishe march, and from *Middleham* accompanied with Sir *George Harper* hasted to *Rochester*, where they forthwith brake downe the Bridge.

(29) In the meane while Sir *Henry Isleie*, *Anthony* and *William Knevet*, brethren, in East, and West *Kent*, perswaded the people (who were willing y-nough) to take part with *Wyat*, for at *Milton*, *Christopher Roper*, in making Proclamation for the Queene, assisted by Master *Tuck* and *Durrell*, both Iustices of Peace, were all three taken and conveyed vnto *Rochester*, and there retained Prisoners by Sir *Thomas Wyat*, whereupon Sir *Robert Southwell* high Sheriffe of *Kent*, with the Lord *Aburgawney* and others, vpon the market day at *Malling* in a peaned Oration exhorted the hearers from such lechituous enterprizes. On the other side Sir *Henry Isleie* at *Tunbridge*, proclaimed the said Lord, the Sheriffe and their adherents, Traitors to God and the Crowne. Thus was *Kent* diuided, and preparations made to maintain the faction, according as the Gentlemen stood diuersly affected.

(30) The Lord of *Aburgawney* with the Sherif, and others, hearing that Sir *Henry Isleie*, and the two *Knevetts*, conductors of five hundred Welshmen, meant their March vnto *Rochester*, to ioyne with *Wyat* against the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was then come to *Gravefild* with five hundred *Londoners* in the quarrell of the Queene, to intercept that designe early the next morning, they marched with many Kentish yeomen vnto *Barron-green*, a place that lay directly in their passage to *Rochester*, where ordering their men haied the approach of the Enemy, who seeing themselves thus forlaid, turned secretly aside into another by-way, and gotten vnto *Wretham-hall* supposing they had beene quit of all danger, displayed their Ensignes.

(31) The Queene's friends thus defeated, were in a marvellous rage, & hasting forward overtooke Sir *Henry*, & the two *Knevetts* before they could ascend the height of the Hill, where presently began a most hot skirmish, many wounds given, & many Prisoners taken, till lastly the seditious were scattered, and fled; Sir *Henry Isleie* into *Hampshire*, and others into other parts, a few escaping to ioyne with their Consorts.

(32) The beginning thus vnfortunate, made many to misdoubt of the end, among whom Sir *George Harper* got from *Wyat*, and submitted himselfe to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who with Sir *Henry Terningham* Captaine of the guard, Sir *Edward Bray*, Sir *Iohn Fox* and others, vpon Monday the twenty sixten of January, came vnto *Strand* neere *Rochester*, and there being busied in planning of his Ordinance, was certainly told that the *Londoners* meant to betray him: whereat fore astounded and turning about, he saw Captaine *Bret*, and the band of white Coates at his backe, crying, we are all *Englishmen*, we are all *Englishmen*: which suddaine conspiracy caused the Duke and the Captaine of the Guard, to shift for themselves, and left their vassallfull followers, to the dispose of their owne affections vnto *Wyat*: among whom Sir *George Harper* lastly recovered of the Duke, lightly turned againe vnto *Wyat*. This Duke (saith *Grassius*) being an aged man, and fortunate before in all his warres, vpon this distasture impressed such dolour of mind, that for verie griefe thereof he liued not long after.

(33) *Wyat*, and his associates greatly encouraged by this new supply, with eight hundred Peeces taken of the *Queene*, besides other of their owne, marched the next morning vnto *Crooking Caille*, where the Lord *Cobham* then lay, and bending their Ordinance against the Gate, broke it open with their thor, and made entrance for their men. The Lord *Cobham* right valiantly resisted their doings, and bestowed freely such small manition as he had, against their

becalls, euen with his owne hands: in which enterprize two of his men were slaine, and *Wyat* after some talke had with the said Lord departed vnto *Gravefild*, and, where hee with his men were lodged that night.

(34) The next day hee came vnto *Dartford*, whither resorted Sir *Edward Hastings* Master of the Horse, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* Knights, both of them being priuie Counsellors to the *Queene*. Their comming signified, Sir *Thomas Wyat* with certaine Gentlemen went forth to meet them, *Wyat* somewhat marching before the rest with a partizan in his hand, at whose approach Sir *Edward Hastings* alighted, and spake vnto him as follo weth.

"(35) The *Queene* Maketh requirith to vnderstand the true cause, wherefore you have gathered in Armes her large people against her, which is the part of a Traitor, and yet in your Proclamation you call your selfe a true Subiect, both which cannot stand together. I am no Traitor (quoth *Wyat*) and the cause why I have assembled the people, is to defend the Realme from danger of being overrunne by Serangers, which must needs follow, if the marriage take place. Why said the Counsellors, there is no stranger yet come, either for power or number whom you need to suspect, therefore if that thing onely be the quarrell, will you that dislike the marriage, come to communication touching the cause, and the *Queene* is content you shall be heard. To that I yeeld said Sir *Thomas Wyat*, but for my farther surety, I will rather bee trusted then truit, and thereupon demanded (as some haue written *such Hallowsed*) the Custody of the Tower and her Grace within it, as also the displacing of some Counsellors about her, and to place other in their Roomes: To which the Master of the Horse replied: *Wyat*, be fore thou shalt haue thy traitorous demand granted, thou shalt die and twenty thousand with thee, and so these Agents departed to the Court, and *Wyat* forthwith came vnto *Despoyl* by *Greenwich*.

(36) At whose approach so neere *London*, such feares were possessed, that besides those in the Court (who infligated the *Queene* to remove into the Tower) the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and most of the Citizens were in Armour, and the Sergeants and Lawyers at *Westminster* Hall pleaded their causes in *Harnesse*, at which time it was no need to bid the Spanish Ambassadors be gone, who no more standing to woe for their master, made away by water as fast as they could: and yet some comfort was concluded by the certaine aewes of the discomfiture of the *Caueins* and *Gibbs*, that were making head in the *West* wholly defeated, and fled: which was proclaimed in *London* vpon *Candlemas* Eue: vpon the day of that feast *Queene Mary* to make the City sure on her side, came vnto the *Guild-Hall*, accompanied with many Courtiers, whither likewise were assembled the Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and the chiefe Citizens in their Lieries: the *Queen* being placed and all men attending her pleasure, with verie good grace, and words well vttered, shee spake in effect as heere insoeth.

"(38) In my owne person I am come vnto you to tell you that, which you felmes already doe see, and know, I meane the traiterous and ieditious number of the Kentish Rebels, that are assembled against vs and you. Their pretence (as they say) is to resist a marriage betwene vs: ad the Pelage of *Spain*, of all their pious pretended quarrels, and euill contriued Articles, you haue beene made priuie. Since which time, our Councell haue resorted to the Rebels, demanding the cause of their continued enterprize, by whole answers the marriage is found to bee the least of their quarrell: or rather a cloake to cooer their pretended purposes against our Religion: for, swearing from their former Articles, they now manifestly bewray the inward Treason of their hearts, most arrogantly de-

GEESSES

Two priuie Counsellors (see true *Wyat*).

Sir *Edward Hastings* brings challenge to *Wyat*, *Hastings*.

Sir *Thomas Wyat* answers.

February 1.

Great feares among the people.

The seditious in *Greenwich* discomfited.

Queene Mary comes to *Greenwich*.

26 Feb.

Jan. 27.

Kent diuided in factions.

The Duke of *Norfolke* comes to the *Queene*.

The seditious put to flight.

Treacherie in the *Queene's* Camp.

Kid, *Grassius*.

Feb. 16.
Tuesday the 30. of January.
Wyat at *Waltham* coming to *Calton*.

"manding the possession of our person, the keeping
 "of our Tower, and not onely the placing and dis-
 "placing of our Counsellors: but also to vse them
 "and vs as their pleasures: what I am louing Sub-
 "iects, you right well know, your Queene, to whom
 "at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the
 "Reaine, and to the Lawes of the same (the spou-
 "falling whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer
 "hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye pro-
 "mised your allegiance, and obedience vnto mee.
 "And that I am the right, and true inheritor to the
 "English Crowne, I not onely take all Christen-
 "dome to witness, but also your Acts of parliaments
 "confirming the same. My Father (as you all know)
 "possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance,
 "which now by the same right is defended vnto
 "mee: to him you alwaies shewed your felicitie both
 "faithfull and louing Subjects, as to your liege
 "Lord and King, and therefore I doubt not but
 "you will shew your felicitie to me his daughter;
 "which if you doe, then may you not suffer any
 "rebell to vsurpe the Government of our Person,
 "or interpose our estate, especially to presumpe
 "ous a traitor as this *Wyat* hath shewed himselfe
 "to be: who most certainly, as he hath abused our
 "ignorant Subjects, to be adherens to his traitorous
 "quarrell, so doth he intend by the colour of the
 "same, to subdue the lawes to his will, and to giue
 "scope to the rascall and folsome persons, to make
 "generall havoc and spoile of your goods. And
 "this I say further vnto you in the word of a
 "Prince, I cannot tell how naturally a mother lo-
 "ueth her children, for I was neuer the mother of a
 "son, but certainly if a Prince and Governour may
 "as naturally loue the Subjects, as the mother doth
 "her child, then assure your felicitie that I being
 "your Soueraine, Lady, and Queene, doe as car-
 "nally and tenderly loue and fauour you. And I
 "thus louing you, cannot but think, that you as har-
 "tily & faithfully loue me again, & so this loue boud
 "together in the knot of concord, wee shall be able
 "to doe not, to giue these rebels a short and speedy
 "ouerthrow. Now as concerning my intended
 "marriage, you shall vnderstand that I entered not
 "into the treaty thereof, without the aduice of our
 "pryuy Councell, yea and by assent of those, to whom
 "my father committed his trust, who haue so con-
 "sidered the great commodities that may thereto en-
 "sue, as they not onely haue thought it very hono-
 "rable, but also expedient, both for the Weighth of
 "our Reaine, and also of our louing Subjects. But
 "as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so
 "sious of wedding, neither am so perclitly wedded
 "to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I will
 "chooſe where I list, or also amorous, as needs I
 "shall haue doe: for I thanke God (to whose be-
 "the praise) I haue hitherto liued a Virgine, and
 "doubt not but with Gods grace to be able to
 "live so still. But if (as my Progenitors haue done
 "before, it might please God that I might leaue
 "some fruit of my body to be your Governour, I
 "trust you would not onely reioyce therein, but also
 "I know it would be to your great comfort: and cer-
 "tainly if I either did know or thinke, that this mar-
 "riage should either turne to the danger or losse of
 "any of you my louing Subjects, or to the detriment
 "of any part of the roiall Estate of this English Reine,
 "I would neuer consent thereto: neither would I
 "ever marry whilst I liued. And in the word of a
 "Queene, I promise and assure you, that if it shall
 "not probable appeare before the Nobility and
 "Commons in the high Court of Parliament, that
 "this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and
 "commoditie of the whole Reaine, that then I will
 "abstaine not onely from this marriage, but also
 "from any other. Wherefore good Subjects plucke
 "vp your hearts, and like true men stand fast
 "your lawfull Prince against these Rebels, both ours
 "and yours, and fcare them not, for (I assure you) I

"doe not: and will leaue with you my Lord *Howard*,
 "and my Lord *Tresawer* to be Assaunt with my
 "Lord *Maioir* for the safeguard of the City from
 "spoile & lackage, which is the only scope of this re-
 "bellious Company.

(37) The Oration ended, and the Citizens well
 "pleased, *Queene Marie* with good content returned
 "to the Court, where conferring with her Councell,
 "she ordained the Lord *William Herbert Earle of Pen-
 "brooke* general of the Field, and gave forth by Pro-
 "clamation, that whoeuer could bring *Wyat* either
 "quicke or dead, should be rewarded with an hun-
 "dred pound Lands by yere, to him and his posterity
 "for euer.

(38) *Wyat* in *Defford*, and knowing what was
 "done, with foureteen Ensignes, and foure thousand
 "strong, vpon Saturday the third of February mar-
 "ched towards *London*, at whose approach, the white
 "Tower hauing him in danger shot off her Ordinance,
 "but did misse their mark, some kelling too farre
 "ouer, and some as much too short. His entrance in-
 "to *Southwarke* was peaceable and without all resist-
 "tance, though many Country men were therein be-
 "lieued to withstand his coming, who contrary to
 "trust, iyned with the *Kentish*, and then to winne the
 "hearts of the people, he presently made Proclama-
 "tion that no Souldier should take away any thing
 "without due payment, and the parties consent: not-
 "withstanding *Witchester* house (some felt the contrarie,
 "whose goods were manaked, the Bookes in the
 "Librarie cut and defaced, and not a lock left vpon
 "the doores: such spoiles infurrections euer syne
 "as, how faire sooner they, foyle the glasse to the
 "light.

(39) The Suburbs thus his, he assured himselfe
 "the City likewise shortly would be, but coming to
 "the Bridge, he found the Gates fast shut, neither any
 "in haile to open them for him, therefore making a
 "trench at the Bridge foote, placed two peeces of
 "Ordinance against the Gate: At *Saint Georges Church*
 "he mounted another, the fourth at the entrance into
 "*Harmondsworth* streete, and the fifth towards the Bishop
 "of *Witchester* house.

(40) Within the City the Lord *Maioir*, and Lord
 "*William Howard*, caused the draw bridge to be cut
 "downe, and making fortifications for their defence,
 "placed great Ordinance against the entrance. *Wyat*
 "still thirsting to know the Cities intent, got with
 "some few followers through the Porters lodge vnto
 "the draw bridge, where being vnto himselfe, he saw
 "the passage too difficult to haue friendly access,
 "and therupon said to his companions, this place is too
 "hot for vs. Besides the Tower began to be copped
 "with Ordinance, seven Culuerings and Demie
 "Canoons, levelled against the Bridgefoote, the Stee-
 "ples of *Saint Olives*, and *Saint Mary Awaris*, all the
 "*White Tower* laden with her peeces, three fauconets
 "ouer the water-Gate, and a double Culuering vpon
 "Disabling Tower: and all these were turned and fear-
 "fully charged vpon the Borough of *Southwarke*,
 "which seene, the Inhabitantes with great lamenta-
 "tions came vnto *Wyat*, and complained, that for his
 "cause they were like to be utterly vndone: who brack-
 "en with pittie and remorse of so many, presently
 "renowned his Arme towards *Kingsfrow* vpon *Thames*,
 "where finding the Bridge broken downe, with Lad-
 "ders and Planks he soone repaired it, and so passing
 "the river the same night, came to *Brinsford* before
 "hee was desired by the *Queenes Scouts*, the newes
 "whereof sore troubled the Court. *Wyats* hopes
 "were to haue surprized the Citie vpon the suddaine,
 "and therefore made such haile as he did, but being
 "hindred by a Peeces of great Ordinance that was
 "dismounted from the carriage, came not vnto
 "Knights bridge before it was day.

(41) In the same morning the Earle of *Penbrooke*
 "Lord General had taken *Saint James Fields*, whither
 "*Wyat* and his in good order marched, but seeing the
 "way dolefull both with foote and horsemen, turned
 "downe

The Earle of
 "Penbrooke was the
 "Lord General.
 "A. Grafton.

Some haue bene
 "ten Ensignes be-
 "cause thousand
 "soldiers.

Wyat entrained
 "into Southwarke.

The rebels spoile
 "Witchester house.

Wyat fortified
 "Southwarke,
 "John Stow.

London fortified
 "against Wyat.

Stow.

The Tower forti-
 "fied against Wy-
 "at.

Wyat, & being
 "strengthened.

Wyat passed by
 "the Thames at a
 "mylen.

Richard Grafton.

February.
 "The Queenes
 "scouts to Saint
 "James Field.

downe the old lane directly towards *Saint James*, whence *Captaine Vaughan* with two *Esquiers* tooke towards *Weyminster*, and *Wyat* along the caufey leading to *Charing-Crosse*, the Lord Generall *Horsem*, hitherto mood boewing aloofe, until the enemy was passed, all but the taile, vpon which they violently set, and severed from the rest, the maine neuer looking backe to release their distress.

(42) From the higher ground, and along the high way the great Ordinance plaid, and *Wyat* againe answered the like, though with small hurt to either, only one from the Hill flew three of *Wyat* men in a rancke, and brake through the Brick-wall into the Parke. *Wyat* passing forward by the battell of footmen without any impeachment, came to *Charing-Crosse*, where the Lord Chamberlaine and *Sir John Gage*, stood ready to resist him: but *Kentish* Souldiers rushing violently into the streets, forced them into the gates of *White-hall* which presently were shut, and report in the Court that the Lord Generall was resolved to *Wyat*, all so distracted that none durst trull others, and no other voice therein heard, but Treason, Treason. Menne while *Wyat* with such small company as hee had, halsted through *Fleetstreet*, and came vnto *Ludgate*, where hee knocked to haue entrance, and well hoped of further assistance, but was farre deceived, the gate being guarded against him, with a number of true Citizens and bands of the *Queenes* friends.

(43) But those straglers that had taken into *Weyminster*, whereof *Knowes* was Capitaine, seeking to recover their companions, came before the Court gates, and there made their stand, which being shut against them shot many of their arrowes into the Garden, yea and into the windowes of *White-hall*, though without any hurt: from the Court thus guarded against them, they forthwith departed, meaning to follow *Wyat* their Leader into *London*, and marching forward, were met with at *Charing-Crosse*, by *Sir Henry Terningham*, Capitaine of the Guard, *Sir Edward Bray* Master of the Ordinance, and *Sir Philip Perri* Knights, sent thither by order of the Lord Generall, with a band of Archers, and certaine Field peeces to secure the Court, their Artillery discharged, they presently ioine fight with the Rebels at pulse of the Pike, who a while stucke to it magnifuly: in which conflikt was thetrall of the day: but as their quarrell was traitorous, so their hearts were loone quelled, each one saving himselfe by flight, wherein about twenty of those bearded Souldiers were slaine, and no other crye heard, but downe with the Doggettales.

(44) *Wyat* returned from *Ludgate*, late downe vpon a stall against the common lane called *Bevisage*, where hee beganne (as it should seeme) to expostulate what his heady rashnesse had done, and the vaine hopes hee had conceived of the Citizens abgements, who seldome tooke part against the Crowne: he then despairing of further successe, retired backe towards the Court, and was not staine until hee came to Temple-Barre, where certaine *Horsem* men coming from the field, met him full in the face, betwixt whom began some bickering, till lastly *Clarentius* King at Armes came to him and said Master *Wyat* you see the day is gone against you; and in resisting you doe doo no good, but hazard the death of your Souldiers, and your life, to the great perill of your soole. My counsell is, that you were best to yelde, and perchance you may finde the *Queene* mercifull, if you stay from further bloodshed.

(45) *Wyat* heereat somewhat astonished, seeing now his whole designs defeated (though his few Souldiers were bent till to fight) answered the Herald, Well then, if I must needs yelde, I will yelde to a Gentleman: to whom *Sir Maurice Barkley* came presently and bad him mount his Horse behinde, in like manner another tooke vp *Sir Thomas Cobham*, and the third *Thomas Knowes*, and so caried them

vnto the Court, whence in the afternoone, they with the two *Manteis*, and *Alexander Brett*, were committed to the Tower, *Sir Thomas Wyat* wearing a shirt of Male vnder a velvet Casbocke, and the windlace of his Dagge hanging about his necke. The next day eleven Gentlemen more of name and account, were likewise committed to the Tower. In *London* about fifty persons were hanged for *Wyats* conspiracy, and foure hundred more led through the Citle with halters about their neckes to *Weyminster*, where in the Tilt-yard they were all pardoned by the *Queene*, pronouncing her mercy from the Gallies above.

(46) But the Capitall offender *Sir Thomas Wyat* arraigned at *Weyminster* vpon case of high Treason, confessed the inditement and had judgement of death accordingly, which he suffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill the eleuenth of April following; his words to the people were these, " Good people I am come hither perfectly to die, being there-fore offended against God and the *Queenes* Majesty: I trust God hath forgiven mee, and will take mercy vpon me: I beseech the *Queenes* majesty alio of forgiveness (hee hath forgiven you quoth *Doctor Weston*) let euerie man beware how hee taketh any thing in hand against the higher powers, vntil God be propitiable to his purpose, it will neuer take good effect or successe, whereof you may now learne by me, and I pray God I may be the last example in this place. But whereto is said and noised abroad, that I should accuse the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, it is not so, good people: For I assure you, neither they, nor any other now yonder in hold was praisie to my rising before I began, as I have declared no lesse to the *Queenes* Councell, and that is most true. They said *Doctor Weston*, marke heere my masters, heith that, that which he hath shewed to the Councell in writing of them, is most true. Whereupon *Wyat* put off his Gowne, his dabler, and waistcoat, and knitting a kercheife ouer his eyes with most feruent praying, received the stroke of the Axe.

(47) *Alexander Brett*, and twenty two *Kentish* persons besides, were executed in diuers parts of that County others were likewise arraigned for the same Conspiracy, as *Sir Nicholas Threshemorton*, and *Sir James Cress* the one quit by his laquey, the other pardoned of life by the *Queene*. Many others were suspected as aiders vnto *Wyat*, and his enterprize, among whom the Lord *Courtney*, and the Princesse *Elizabeth*, sister to the *Queene*, were not the least, and therefore both of them committed to the Tower: of which Ladies troubles, innocency, and truth, thus we find related.

(48) These Virgine Princes were not so neerely linked in blood and nature, as they were separated asunder in affecting Religion, and that being the prime cause for which these comotions were raised, *Queene Mary* much suspected her sister to be a principall mouer therein. The ielousie whereof, *Gardiner* of *Winchester* did further inflame, by blowing Coniectures into her eare: so that needing the Princesse must be sent for, then lying sicke at her Mannour of *Aldridge*, even the next day after that *Wyat* tole. The messengers were, *Sir John Willoughby*, *Sir Edward Hastings*, and *Sir Thomas Cornwallis*, all three Priole Counsellors, with a troope of *Horsem* men in number two hundred and fifty.

(49) These coming to *Aldridge* at tenne in the night, suddenly ascended into her Priole Chamber, and making it knowne they came from the *Queene*, had present access into her Bed-Chamber; where the said Lady lay very low sicke: their first salutations were, that they were sorry to see her in that estate, and I am not glad said she, to see you here at this time of the night: Madame, quoth they, our Message requires haste, and the *Queenes* pleasure is, that you shall bee at *London* the leuenth of this month

Feb. 8.

400 persons pardoned by the *Queene*.

March 11.

Sir Thomas Wyat beheaded.

Wyats words at his death.

Sir Nicholas Threshemorton and *Sir James Cress* arraigned.

Lady Elizabeth troubles.

Lady Elizabeth once taken in fear.

Mr. Fox and *Mr. Cornwallis* told.

The conference of the 3. Counsellors with *Lady Elizabeth*.

John Stowe.

Wyat committed to *Ludgate*.

The conflikt at *Charing-Crosse*.

Wyat returned from *Ludgate*.

Wyat yielded himselfe.

meth. No Creature gladder to come to her Maiefty then I (said Lady Elizabeth) being right forry that I am not in case at this time to attend her Grace, as your felues here see. Indeed (said they) for that we see, we are heartily forry, but our commission is, that we bring you to London either quicke or dead, wherat the being greatly amazed, sorrowfully said, she wel hoped these commissions was nothing to strait, but they calling for two Doctors of Physicke demanded whether shee might be removed with life, and that being refused, had her prepare against the next morning and so left this innocent Princesse very perplexed there of the night.

(50) The next morning approached, and shee in no better plight, notwithstanding was led forth more like a Prisoner than a Prince, which the people in every place as shee passed, did much lament, and strongly guarded, was so conveyed vnto the Court, where for foureteen daies space, shee comfortlesly continued without sight of friends, the Queene or any Lords, those onely excepted that attended the doores, which were the Lord Chamberlaine, and Sir John Gage.

(51) Vpon Friday before Palme Sunday, Gardiner of Winchester, and nine more of the Councell, came into her presence, and there charged her both with Wyatt Conspiracy, and the stirres lately made in the West parts by Sir Peter Carew and others, which they most constantly denied: but in conclusion they told her it was the *Queenes* pleasure, that shee should forthwith goe to the Tower, the name of which dolefull prison stricke deepe to her heart. I trust (said shee) her Maiefty will be farre more gracious then to commit to that place a true and most innocent woman, that neuer had offended her in thought, worde nor deed. And thereupon instantly desired those Lords to bee a meane for her vnto the Queene: which some of them promised, and much pitied her case. But about an houre after, came foure of these Lords againe, namely, Winchester, the Treasurer, the Steward and Saffix: with a charge to discharge her of all attendants, lauing onely her Gentleman Vther, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her Chamber, the Guard was set to ward in the next roomes; two Lords with bands of men to watch in the Hall, and two hundred Northern white Coates in the Garden, thus all was made fute, and she kept from stirring.

(52) The next day came vnto her two Lords of the Councell with commandement from the Queen to haue her to the Tower, they roundly told her, her Barge was prepared, and that the tide would carry for no body: this heauy newes increased this distressed Ladies penfullnesse, who in most humble wile became Petitioner vnto their Lordships, that shee might stay vntill the next tide, which as she wel hoped, would procure more comfortable; but the one of them being more forward in his Commission then the other, staid told her that neither tide nor time should bee delayed. Whereupon her Grace desired they might write to the Queene: he againe answered, that her durst not suffer it, neither in his iudgement was it convenient: but the other more mild (which was the Earle of Saffix) kneeling down told her that her Grace should haue liberty to write her mind: swearing as hee was a true man, himselfe would deliver it into the Queenes hand, and bring her the answer, whatsoever case it: which honourable permission was then most thankfully taken, and afterward most highly esteemed in her Princely fauours towards that honourable man: but in writing this letter of petition to the Queene, the Tide was turned, and serued not to shoote the bridge with a Barge; therefore it was priuily determined to take the advantage of the next, which with better aduise was againe deferred, for that it fell about midnight, whence rose a feare that shee might bee forcibly taken from them before shee came to the Tower: and so with great providence was that

danger prevented.

(53) The next day being Palme Sunday, serued well for their purpose, when as vnder pretext of deuotion, the Citizens of London were commanded to carry their Palmes to the Church, whilst her Barge might be passed by without fight or any suspected. And to that purpose the foresaid two Noble men about nine of the Clocke repaired vnto her, shewing that the time was now come, that her Grace must goe to the Tower; to which shee answered, the Lords will be done I am contented: seeing it is the Queenes mind: and coming into the Garden to take Barge, shee call her eyes towards euerie Window, hoping to see somethat would pity her case, but that also failing, she sighed and said, I marvel what the Nobility mean to suffer me a Prince to be led into Captivity, the Lord knowes whether, for my selfe shee do not.

(54) Great haste was made to the barge, and as much to get by London vnscare: but the tide yong and not fully come in, the fall of the water at the Bridge was so great, as the Barge men themselves feared to passe thereunder, and motioned a day till the streame were more leuell. which in no wise would bee heard: whereupon they passed the Arch with such danger, as the sterne of the boate brucke against the ground, and come to the staires, could not take land without stepping into the water, which this tender, and newly recovered Princesse was forced to doe, in which passage she vttered these wordes: I speake before thee O God, hauing none other friend but thee onely; here I land as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these staires: to which the seuerall Lords answered, if it were so, it was the better for her. Shee come into the gate, a great number of Seruants and Warders of the Tower stood to guard her, through whom as shee passed, the poore men kneeling downe with one voice, desired God to preserve her Grace, whereof some were rebuked, and others put from their Ordinarie the next day.

(55) Then passing somewhat further both faint and vncomfortable, shee rested her selfe vpon a cold stone, to whom M. Bridger the Lieutenant then being said: Madam, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnwholesomely; to whom shee replied, better sitte here then in a worse place, for God knoweth and not I, whether you will bring me: at which her sortowfull and decided answer, her Gentleman Vther, a seruant most loyall and loving to his Mistresse, among many others brake forth into floods of teares, the witness commonly of inward griefe, which the Princess perceiving, reproued, demanding what he meant for to discourage her, seeing shee tooke him to bee her Comforter, & especially knowing her truth to be such, as that no man should haue any cause to weepe for her.

(56) Shee satlele belowd, and the doores made fast with lockes and bolts, was there comfortlesse left in the dolefull prison, where calling for her booke and her few seruants about her, shee fell vnto prayers, desiring God to prosper her worke, that she might build vpon the rocke Christ: whereby these blushing tempests thus suddenly risen might not preuaile against her foundation. Meanwhile the Lords were as circumspect, how shee might be kept sure; many among them propounded, that it was most needfull shee should bee close prisoner, and a strong guard set to watch her doores; against which the Lord Saffix replied and said: My Lords let vs take herd vnto we goe not beyond our Commission, for we are our Kings Daughter, and we knowe the Prince must be blood, therefore let vs so deale with her now, that if it so happen, we may distress our doings vnto her another day.

(57) Two dayes spent thus in the Tower, and Gods diuine seruice celebrated in English, it was commanded to haue Masse in her lodgings, and to that end two of her yeomen were appointed to answer the Priest, which was as willingly done as

Lady Elizabeth carried prisoners vnto the Tower.

The severe and hard dealings against the Princess Elizabeth.

The constant presence of Lady Elizabeth.

The Earle of Saffix, and some of the Lords.

Lady Elizabeth commanded to haue Masse in her lodgings.

Lady Elizabeth as a prisoner attended to the Court.

Prison & Elizabeth examined of treason.

The honourable servants of the Earle of Saffix.

the deuotion was small. Then were the fauourites examined, yea and some of them with torture, & all to finde a fitter knife to cut her innocent thoroate, that fo *Wincheſter* might with his white Rocher in her purple blood; who being Lord Chancellor and Ruler of the reſt, came into the Tower to examine her himſelfe, with ſome others of the Queene Council: Shee then brought before them, was demanded of the talke ſhee had with *Sir James Croſſe* (a priſoner in the Tower, and then brought to her preſence) concerning her removing from *Aſbridge* vnto *Dunmington* Caſtle: My Lords (ſaid ſhee) mee thinks you doe mee wrong to examine euery meane Priſoner againſt meſſe they haue done euill let them anſwere for it, I pray you ioyne mee not with ſuch offenders; as touching my remoue to *Dunmington*, mine officers, and you *Sir James Croſſe* can tell; but what is this to the purpoſe, might I not, my Lords, goe to mine owne houſes at all times? whereunto the Lord of *Arundell* kneeling downe, anſwered that her Grace ſaid truth, and that himſelfe was forry to ſee her troubled about ſuch vaine matters; well my Lords (ſaid ſhee) you liſt mee narrowly, but you can doe no more then God hath appointed, vnto whom I pray to forgive you all.

(18) No fault appearing, nor offence found, yet was ſhee ſtill retained in that cloſe and ſorrowfull priſon, and for want of freſh aire, her health beganne to bee empaired, whereupon the Lord *Shamley* one of her Keepers, obtained that ſhee might walke into the Queene's lodgings, the windows being ſhut onely in preſence of himſelfe, the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Queene's Gentlewomen ſent her for the ſame purpoſe; which fauour was further increaſed by libertie to walke into the Garden, the other priſoners commanded not ſo much as to looke into the place while her Grace remained therein.

(19) During which time there vſually repaired vnto her a little boy, about foure yeeres of age (a mansſonne of the Tower) in whole pretty praſling ſhee tooke great pleaſure; his vie was to bring her flowers, and to receiue at her hands ſuch thinges as commonly pleaſe Children; which laſtly brought a great ſuſpition into the Lord Chamberlaine working head, that by this Child letters were brought betwixt the Princes *Elizabeth*, and the *L. Courtney*, whereupon the boy was threatened, and his father commanded not to ſuffer him any more to reſort to her Grace; which notwithstanding, the next day hee did, but the doore being ſhut, and hee perping through a hole, cried vnto her, Miſtreſſe I can bring you ſo more flowers now.

(20) It was reported (ſaith *Foxe*) if the relation be true, that a Write ſubſcribed vnder certaine Councellors hands, was directed for the preſent death of the Lady *Elizabeth*, which hee doth wholly impute vnto *Wincheſter* working: This ſodaine charge giuen for her preſent execution, fore grieved *M. Bridges* then Lieutenant of the Tower, who forthwith repaired vnto the Queene, to know her further pleaſure therein: but ſhee being altogether ignorant of any ſuch warrant, blamed the doers and gaue a contrary command, whereby was preſerued the life of her ſiſter: which howſoeuer (to the diſturbance of her enemies) it was prolonged, yet her State of liues ſecuritie ſeemed little better, and her feares preſently conceiued, were nothing the leſſe: for the Conſtable diſcharged, *Sir Henry Scumfield* a more ſeuere Taylor was placed in his roome, who with an hundred ſouldiers in blew coates entered vpon his charge: at ſight whereof the fearefull Princes demanded, whether the Scaffold whereon Lady *Jane* ſuffered was ſtill ſtanding: or whether *Sir Henry* (a man to her altogether vnknowne) made any conſcience of murder, if hers was committed vnto his charge.

(21) The nineteenth of May her Grace was removed from the Tower towards *Woodſtocke*, *Sir*

Henry Benfield being her conſultor, vnto whom *Sir John Williams* Lord *Tame* was ioined in Commiſſion. The firſt night ſhee was brought vnto *Richmond*, where all her owne ſeruaunts were removed from her preſence, and the ſouldiers let to attend her perſon; by which ſeuere beginnings the much doubted that her dayes were neere ſpent, and in that place her life muſt take end: whereupon calling together her ſeruaunts deſired them to pray for her, for this night (ſaid ſhee) I thinke I muſt die, which lamentable wordes drew fountains of teares out of their eyes; and thereupon her Gentleman *Viller* went downe vnto the Lord *Tame* in the Court, deſiring him vſuaſionally to ſhew, whether his Lady and Miſtreſſe that night were in danger of death, whether by himſelfe and ſollowers might take ſuch part as God would appoint. Mary God forbid quoth the Lord *Tame*, that any ſuch wickedneſſe ſhould bee intended, which rather then it ſhould bee wrought, I and my men will die at her foot.

(22) With no greater comfort proceeded ſhe towards *Woodſtocke*: *Sir Henry* her Taylor (as he termed him) ſeuere carrying ſo hard an hand in his Commiſſion; for the people that with teares preſſed to meet her in the paſſage, and with prayers ſolaced her in moſt louing manner, he both threatened, & draue backe, calling them Traitors and Rebels againſt the Queene and her Lawes, and whereas in certaine villages beſe were rung as they paſſed for joy as they conſidered it of her deliuerance, *Sir Henry Benfield* tooke the matter ſo diſtastfull, that hee commanded the bells to ſilence, and let the ringers thereof in the ſtocks; ſo that not without cauſe this loſing Lady ſent this word vnto her poore ſeruaunts, and well wiſhing friends, *Tamara* ſaith as a ſheepe to the ſlaughter, ſo am I lead: And ſurely had not the *L. Tame* bin more comfortable in his place vnto this diſtreſſed Princeſſe, her ſpirit of hopes had been ſpent before the conduction of her priſon had bene accompliſhed.

(23) Neither in *Woodſtocke* was her liberty much enlarged, nor frates any leſſe, ſhee being incloſed in none of the beſt lodgings, guarded with ſouldiers both day and night, and although hee had leaue into ſome Gardens, yet were ſix or ſixe lockes betwixt her walke and her lodgings, and all made faſt after her entrance. It was alſo ſuſpected that the Keeper of *Woodſtocke* a notorious Ruffian was inclined to kill this innocent Princeſſe, as alſo that one *Baſſet* a Darling of Biſhoppe *Gardiners* came to *Sladenbridge* a mile from *Woodſtocke*, accompanied with twentie men in priuy Coates, carnally deſiring to ſpeake with Lady *Elizabeth*, pretending ſecret and importunate buſineſſe: but *Sir Henry* her Keeper goſe to the Court had giuen ſtriſt charge to his brother, that none ſhould haue acceſſe vnto her before his returne, though they came from the Councell or Queene her leiſe. Whereby that deſigne was happy loſt. What his errand was I will not determine, but others haue conceiued it was for no good.

(24) Another accident alſo hapned, whether of purpoſe, or otherwiſe I cannot ſay, but ſurely it was to the danger of her life: for on the ſodain her lodgings were on fire, which beganne to kindle betwixt the boares and ſeeling vnder the Chamber where ſhee lay and was vehemently miſtruſted to be purpoſely done. Theſe and the like feares daily hapning, drew the diſtreſſed Princeſſe into many paſſions; whereof one is reported, that ſhee ſitting ſolitaſy at her Priſon-window, chanced to ſee a Mide of *Woodſtocke* in the Parke milking of Kine, and as ſhee ſate, moſtly to ſing out her Pale, which ſtrucke this ſad peniſe Priſoner into a deepe meditation, preferring the Maides Iorunes ſaſte about her owne, and heartily wiſhed that her ſelfe were a Milke-maid, into ſuch diſtreſſe was her princely birth brought, in which comfortleſſe thearldome, wee will a while leaue her, & returne to ſpeak of matters in the Court.

H h h h h (25) Queen

*Edward Tre.
man.

Lady Elizabeth
remoued to
Woodſtocke.

Liberty ob-
tained to walke in
the Garden.

A child ſeſpe-
cted and ſeized
don to viſit La-
dy Elizabeth.

At Foxe's, and
Jewel's.

A warrant ſe-
nd to execute
Lady Elizabeth.

Sir Henry Ben-
field her ſervant
and ſervant.

Lady Elizabeth
is removed to
Woodſtocke.

The great fear
of Lady Elizabeth

The joy that the
people concei-
ued of Lady
Elizabeth's
deliuerance.

Lady Elizabeth
priſoned in
Woodſtocke.

Lady Elizabeth
is deſirous to be
married.

Elizabeth had
ſings on fire.

A poore liberty
preferred above
a princely cap-
tivity.

A.D. 1553. (61) Queene *Mary* being now chiefe Pilot
het selfe, and set at the helme of all Soueraigne power,
herred the Reme of her zealous affection, according
to her owne liking, when presently vpon her
Coronation beganne a Parliament at *Westminster*, &
a Conocation in the Cathedral Church of *Saint Pauls*
in *London*, where there commanded a free dispo-
sition for Religion, without any danger of of-
fence. The Questions to bee controverted, were
concerning a Catechisme set forth in King *Edward*
dayes, and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament
of his Supper. For Popish Transubstantiation flood
Disputers Doctor *Moriman*, Doctor *Walsley*, Doctor
Chesley, Master *Harsfield*, and Master *Morgan*, D.
Wesley Dean of *Westminster* appointed for Prolocutor:
For Chreth spiritual preference were M. *Hadden*, M.
Blumer, M. *Chesney*, M. *Philpot*, and Master *Ferne*,
these meeting & seuerall daies disputed only vpon the
last question: but with such disagreement, as lastly
Q. *Mary* commanded *Henry* to dissolve the assembly,
without any Subscriptions to the assertions pre-
sented.

Decemb. 13. (66) And not long after *Thomas Cramer* Arch-
bishoppe of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* Bishoppe
of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* sometimes Bishoppe of
Worcester, were sent from the Tower of *London* vnto
Oxford, to dispute vpon the said Argument against
Doctor *Tresham*, Doctor *Cole*, Doctor, *Oglethorpe*,
Doctor *Hie*, Master *Harsfield*, and Master *Feknam*,
all *Oxford* men, vnto whom from *Cambridge* were
ioyned Doctor *Yauger*, Doctor *Glinne*, Doctor *Seton*,
Doctor *Walsley*, Doctor *Sedgwick*, and Doctor *Atkin-
son*, Doctor *Wesley* again being Prolocutor: the
disputation beganne vpon the sixteenth of *April*,
and ended the twentieth of the same moneth, with
the sentence of those three Bishoppes deaths, which
through fire gaue testimony of their faithes, a yere
and fixe moneths after in the Towne Ditch of *Ox-
ford*: whose discourses, letters, and last endes,
are largely set down by M. *Iohn Fox* in his Acts and
Moniments of the Church, vnto whom I refer the
deuotous Reader, lest by enlarging of the, the course
of our temporal Story should bee overmuch inter-
rupted with matters Ecclesiasticall of those sorrow-
full times.

A.D. 1554. (67) Queene *Mary* intending her marriage with
Spain, great feares were conceited that many cala-
mities would follow, as well to the Church, reform-
ed from abuses, as for the politike proceedings of
the Kingdomes affaires; which as some tooke
was prognosticated even from heauen it selfe, by a
Raine-bow reuerfed, the bow turned downward, &
the two ends standing vppward, as also by two *Suns*
shining at one time, and a good distance asunder in
the Skies, both which sights appeared in *London* the
fifteenth of February.

(68) In which City a Parliament to that per-
petue was assembled, wherein by Statute the marriage
was confirmed, though with so lesse liking of
those times observers, then was the marriage desired
which is said of the *Sonne*: to hinder whose pur-
pose, the world is said to haue made suite vnto *Iupiter*,
lest hazing more Sames then one, the whole
frame of the Globe should bee set on fire. The
distastefull thoughts Queene *Mary* well perceived,
therefore to gine them content, she wrote her letters
into the West, and to *Wales*, charging the Lord
President, the Bishopps of *Oxford* and *Salisbury*, to in-
timate the obedience thereof to the whole land, as
much as might bee; neither was *London* forgotten,
whose Lord Maior and Common were sent for to
the Court, and there by the Lord Chancellor tolde
how by this match all the Realm would bee enriched,
but especially *London* by their trade and trafficke
with *Spain*.

(69) Vnto *Spain* were sent the Earle of *Bedford*,
and the L. *Fitzwater* to condukt K. *Philip* into *Eng-
land*; the Lord Admirall with twenty eight shippes
securing the sea the space of three moeths before:

all things thus ordered, and *Philip* in a readines took
Bark at *Cornwall*, and with a Naue of an
hundred and fifty saile directed his course for his
Queene.

(70) Vpon Friday the twentieth of July, hee ar-
rived at *Southampton*, and was the first man of that
Plect that set foot on the shore, which no sooner don,
but he drew his Sword, and so bare it naked in his
hand as hee went. The Earle of *Arundell* L. *Steward*
of the Queenes houle, presented to his High-
nesse the *George* and *Garter*; and the Maior of *South-
ampton* the Keyes of the Towne: thither was sent
the Lord Chancellor from the Queene, and hee a-
gaine sent to his Nobles vnto her, who was on the
way vnto *Windsor*, to welcome him herselfe: to-
wards which City vpon Monday following, hee set
forth, being accompanied with the Marquisses of
Winchester, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Dorset*, *Worcester*,
Bedford, *Landau*, *Penbrooke*, and *Warry*, the Lordes
Clinton, *Cobham*, *Willoughby*, *Darcy*, *Chetwode*, *Talbot*,
Strange, *Fitzwatzen*, and *Norris*: besides many
Knights and gallant Gentlemen. His Spanish train
were the Dukes of *Alva*, and *Medina del*, the Admi-
rall of *Castille*, the Marquesses of *Bergues*, *Pfeifer*,
Soria, *Pallas*, *Agullos*, the Earles of *Esmond*, *Horne*,
Feria, *Chancun*, *Oliveros*, *Saldana*, *Medina*, *Barro-
solde*, *Landriano*, *Caster*, the Bishoppe of *Cuenca*,
and others: so that more honourable attendants
had *Isidore* bene sent.

(71) And surely the Covenants were as hono-
rable for *England* that were agreed vpon betwixt
them, which were branched into tenne Propo-
sitions.

1 First was, that *Philip* should bee stiled King
of *England* during the Maximomy, and should assist
his Queene in gouernment, but not dispose of any
Landes, Offices, Benefices, or Reuenues in the
Realme.

2 That *Mary* by vertue of this marriage should
bee admitted Queene of the Realmes and Domini-
ons of *Spain* already possessed, as of all others, that
were appropriated vnto the same, during the Maxi-
momy.

3 That for Dowry shee should receiue yearly
three score thousand pound Flemish, if in case the
ordained King *Philip* her husband.

4 That the Issue proceeding of this marriage
either male or female in the right of their mothers
inheritance, in the Kingdomes either of *England*, or o-
ther Dominions depending, should succeed in them
according to the lawes, statutes, and customes of the
same.

5 That if it chanced *Charles* Duke of *Austria*, the
Infant of *Spain* to die without Issue, then the eldest
sonne of this Maximomy should succeed in all the
Dukedomes, Earledomes, Dominions and Patri-
moniall lands, belonging vnto *Charles* the Empe-
rouer, father to the Prince of *Spain*, as well in *Burgundy*
as in the low Countries, in the Dukedomes of *Bra-
bant*, *Luxemburg*, *Guelderland*, *Zulphare*, *Freisland*,
in the Countiees of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Holland*, *Zeland*,
Namur, and the land beyond the *Rhe*.

6 That the Dominions of the low Country, and
of *Burgundy* should be excluded from the Patri-
moniall descent of the said Lord *Charles*, notwithstanding
his iustie remained, and should bee enjoyed by
the eldest borne of this marriage with-
out further claime to any other Dominions
belonging vnto *Spain*: and the rest of the Chil-
dren thereof proceeding to haue conuenient por-
tions and Dowry assigned them as well out
of those Countiees, as out of *England* and the others
adjoined.

7 That if no issue male were borne of this mar-
riage thru the eldest female should possesse those Do-
minions, provided that the shold marry a nobleman,
either of the low Country or of the Realm of *Eng-
land*, otherwise the right of the Succession should re-
maine in the Lord *Charles*, yet not to cut off, but
that

King Philip arri-
ued in England.

The honourable
trains of the
new Princess.

Shippes sent.

King Philip
arrived in
1554.

The King Philip
and Queen Mary.

Shippes sent
to the King
Philip.

that she with the other daughters begot in this marriage should be endowed of their fathers Lands and possessions, aswell in *Spain* as in the *Low Countries*.

8 That for want of Issue by the Lord *Charles*, and of heire male procreated by this Marriage in that case the Eldest daughter of *K. Philip* and *Q. Marie* should succeed both, in the Territories of the *Low Countries*, as also in the Realmes of *England*, *Spain*, and the rest, after the nature, lawes and customes of the same.

9 That who so succeeded, either he or she, yet should the severall Dominions be governed by the Natives borne in the Realmes, wholly and intirely after the priviledges, rites and accustomed manner formerly used.

10 That a sincere fraternity, unitie and peace should be confirmed for ever betwixt these Nations, so as they should mutually aide each other in all things according to the strength, forme and effect treated of at *Weymouth*, and is subscribed vnto at *Frischie*.

(72) As these were agreed vpon for the General, so other particulars were articulated with the King himselfe, which were as followeth.

1 That he should not bestow the administration of offices or benefices in the Realme of *England*, to any stranger or person not borne vnto the English subiectiō.

2 That his Court should be replenished with Gentlemen and Yeomen the Natives of the Land.

3 That hee should make no invasion of state against the Lawes and Customes of the Realme, neither violate the Priviledges thereto belonging.

4 That hee should not carry the Queene out of her owne Dominions, without her speciall desire, nor none of her Children without consent of her Nobilitie.

5 That if shee should die issueles hee should Challenge no right in the Kingdome, but should suffer the succession to come to her neare.

6 That hee should not carry or suffer to be carried out of the Realme, either Jewels, or other things of especiall estimation, but should faithfully keepe them for the profit of the English Crowne.

7 That hee should not suffer any ships, gannes, Ordnance and other maner of warre to be conveyed out of the Realme, but should see all the Forts and Frontiers of the Land kept, and the same sufficiently stored for their defence.

8 That neither directly nor indirectly, the Realme of *England* should be intangled with the warres of his father, and the French King, neither that himselfe should give any cause for the breach of peace betwixt the two Realmes.

(73) Things thus ordered, with consent of all parties, the marriage with great state was solemnized at *Windsor*, vpon Wednesday being the 25. of Iuly and Saint *James* day, where the Emperours Embassadors presently pronounced, that in consideration of this marriage, their master had given vnto his sonne *Philip*, the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Ierusalem*, where vpon their Titles by *Quarter* King at Armes, was solemnely proclaimed with these titles as followeth.

Philip and Marie by the Grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicill, Archbishops of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundie and Brabant, Counties of Hapsurge, Flanders and Tyrell.

(74) And according to the titles, so was the Majesty of their proceedings, having two Swords borne before them as they went from the Church, with other Imperiall Ensignes of their great Magnificence; which nothing was lessened in their passage through *London*; where English eyes beheld *Philip*, after the affections of their owne hearts, some

reioicing as *Israel*, that *Ieroboams* golden calves should be againe erected, and some following as *Isaiah*, that the Bruisen Serpent was not broken, all of them assured, that this *Solomon* succourance and his wives sake, would build againe the Altars that had bene cast downe.

(75) The experience wherof *Queene Marie* herselfe had given, even before shee was crowned, in causing the Latine Service againe to bee said, in displacing the reformed Bishops, and in publishing a most strait prohibition against preaching, and printing English Bookes: to all which some timorous Church-men gave their consents, scandalizing not onlie the lines of the ministers, but also the Scriptures translation, and the iust proceedings of King *Edward* at time; against all which, Master *Harne* in a publicke Sermon made at *Pauls Crosse* (in the presence of the Lord Maior and *Banner* his Master) so liberally inveighed, as that one of his Auditors with more dislike then discretion, and more zeale then Religion, threw a Dagger at him to his great danger, and no lesse feare.

(76) And againe the like offence was conceived against Doctor *Pradleton*, who in the next yeere after, and in the same place had a gunnie desperately discharged against him: vnto such hatred their Doctrine did drine them, and vnto such sinne the over-feruent affectioned lay many times exposed: And no lesse was that Diabolicall deuile of certaine giddie reformers, who had taught a Maide so to speake in a wall, as her hearers beleaved it was the voice of an Angell, being none o-ther, but most seditious speeches, against the Queens proceedings, the Prince of *Spain*, the Masse, and Confession. In mockage wherof also a Cat was hanged on a gallows nere vnto the Crosse in *Cheape*, her head thorn and wearing a vesture fashioned like vnto a Cope, her fore-feet tyed with around paper betwixt, like vnto the papisticall consecrated bread in that manner the eight of *April* was shewed, by the Preacher at *Pauls Crosse* both to the offence and content of the Spectators; and to deride the ridiculous Idolatries of the time then in vie, vpon Easter day the same yeere, and in the same *Cheape*, as the Priest of Saint *Pancras* came to celebrate the resurrection, and after the accustomed manner put his hand into the Sepulchre for the Crucifix (therein purposely bestowed) when hee vied the words of the *Euangelist* very devoutly: *Surrexit enim* hee is risen, and not heere: found it so indeed, for that his God was gotten away and could neuer after be found.

(77) These things (saith *Fox*) caused both the Queene, and bishops, to conceiue an euill opinion of the *Lauders*; as too much launing of King *Edward* reformation, for which cause *Banner* commanded all Scriptures printings vpon their Churches walles, to bee blotted out; and many other intensions to be inquired after. But from these vain trifles let vs returne to more serious matters in the ensuing Historie.

(78) Queene *Mari* erecting the Masse, and leaning the title of Supremacy to the Pope, sent for her kinsman Cardinall *Pole* to bee her director in choise great busineses, who had bene a long time in forraigne parts, and euer a favourite vnto the See of *Rome*, whose life vntill thistime, we will briefly run over, to many dependances of story relying vpon him.

(79) Hee was the sonne of *Margaret* Countesse of *Sauoy*, the second childe, and onely daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*, second brother vnto King *Edward* the fourth: whose youth was spent in literature at *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*; and state instructed by King *Henrie* his kinsman, in beholding vpon him the Deuiny of *Reefiler*. Then travelled he into *Italy*, and at *Padu* studied seuen yeeres, in which

1. King. 11.

Ann. 1553.

A dagger throwt at the Preacher.

Ann. 1554.

A gun discharged against the Preacher.

The Split in the wall.

A Cat hanged in Cheape.

March. 15.

Acts and Mon.

Philip and Mary married at Windsor. Ann. 1554.

The large title of King Philip and Queene Mary.

Philip and Mary in great clothes pass through London.

The life and story of Cardinall Pole.

which time the King having abolished the Pope, hee was sent for into England, but refusing to returne, was proclaimed Traitor, and his Deaneery given to another : which his losse was pretensely repaid by his holy Father, in making him Cardinal, & employing him in many Ambassages, both to the Emperour & French King, with whom hee ever dealt against K. Henry, and solicited others by letters to forsake his friendship and obedience, which his doing brought many into danger, and for which lastly his own mother lost her Head.

(78) Then was he made Legate of *Viterbia*, where he determined to haue a more quiet life; but Pope Paul the third frowning the obtruded Council of *Trent*, appointed Paul with two others to be his Viceregents : Though indeed this Cardinal was none of the forwardest in the matter of justification, vnto whose opinion therein he drew one *Marsell* a learned Spaniard, who of purpose was sent to disperse the Popes Doctrine in that Counsell.

(79) But this *Paul* father lesning his Chaire empty by death, a faction fell among the Electors, some for the French, and some for the Emperour, which last light vpon *Paul*, & chooseth him for Pope. He altogether Imperiall, desired a more orderly election supposing himselfe to graces in the eyes of most that the same would be continued to his greater praise.

(80) But the French faction working vpon the aduantage, put the rest in minde of the Emperours lacking of Rome, the imprisonment and kill that were made of the Pope, the absence of many Cardinals Electors, whose voices they knew not, yea and Cardinal *Caraffa*, ailedged particular exception against *Paul* the elected, charging him (as *Paul* will likewise did) with incontinency of body, as also of Heresie, for arguing vpon a iustifying faith in the Council of *Trent*, for frequenting the company with *Antonieus Flaminicus* a knowne Protestant, and since he was Legate, that he neuer had punished that doctrine with death.

(81) But these accusations, were rather to shrow off his face top, that *Caraffa* himselfe might more eminently be seene, who thought if *Paul* failed, to be his fairest market; whereas his politike expectation was farre ouerseen. For the English Cardinals to cleared himselfe, that the French *Caraffa* retained disfigure, and all their voices went for *Paul* euen the same night, which he againe seemed to dislike of, saying, that his election should not be a worke of darkness, and therefore willed them orderly to proceed vpon the next day; his assurance had his hopes concerned, that hee thought dilinite had bene enforced to set the Papall Crowne vpon his Head.

(82) But whether it were his double delay, or his neglecting to strike when the yron was hot, the Electors change their determination, and chooseth the Cardinal of *de Medici* for Pope, who named himselfe *Julius* the third; and he to congratulate *Paul* for his Backwardnes, enforced *Caraffa* to ask him forgiveness before they departed the *Conclave*. *Paul* thus disappointed of the Papall Chaire, retired himselfe vnto *Ferrara*, where in a Monastery of *S. Benetts* (which order he had assumed and was the *Paucis*) he made his Residence, as desirous to leade a more contemplative life.

(83) But scarcely was he settled before he heard of King *Edward*'s death, and a message sent from *Queen Marie* (who had bene brought vp vnder the Counsell of his Mother) for his returne into England. Her affection towards him, he knew was very great both for his person, his learning and religion, and himselfe relied much vpon the old familiarity betwixt them, as also of his birth being of the blood tomtill; for which cause hee for longed homeward, not doubting but if things stood as he thought, to get a dispensation, to lay off the Hair, and to put on a Crowne.

(84) But the Emperour mistrusting what this Prelate intended, found deuises to hold him beyond Seas, vntill the match was concluded betwixt *Queen Marie* and his Sonne. And hitherto Cardinal *Paul* applauded by the Pope, beganne now to enter into his browne, for being in England, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*: his old acule, the foretold *Caraffa*, had in the meane while obtained the Papsy vnder the name of *Paul* the fourth; when as presently he sent Frier *Peto*, whom hee consecrated Bishop of *Sarum*, and discharged *Paul* of his legatine power, which doings the Queen tookt to ill, that shee forbade *Peto* to enter the land, vnill a reconciliation was made betwixt the Pope and Cardinal *Paul* her hinfines. Which man as hath bene saide, for soliciting Potent Princes against King Henry, in the quarrell of Rome, had runne in great displeasure with the English, whereby some Acts of Parliament were made against him : all which were now repealed, and Lord *Reinold* *Paul* received as an Angell of God, vnto whom that honorable house presented a Petition, to bee received againe into the bosome of Rome.

(85) The suit easily granted, and absolution giuen, all things proceeded as the deuotion of the *Romanists*. Images were commanded to be erected againe in the Churches : *Holy-water*, *Pax*, and *Censures*, imploied in the Celebration of their Masses and Mattens : Oyle, Cense, and Spicery, vied in the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptisme. Altars furnished with Pictures, Colly Coverings, & the Crucifix thereon solemnly placed; vnto whom Lights, Candles, and Tapers, with great adoration were offered, and all to Captiuate the senses of the zealous Beholder, in which zeale *Queen Marie* her selfe gave a full testimoniall, in restoring againe all Ecclesiastical linings assumed to the Crowne, saying, that *shee* first sawe by the *salutation* of her owne soule, then first did by *renue* England : A worthy speech verily, and good example of a Prince, but slowly followed of many meane subjects, who in this case doe rather musle the mouth of the Owe, that treadeth out their Corne, then suffer such as serue at the Altar, to live by the Altar.

(86) And surely to well-inclined was *Mary* of her selfe, that had not the zeale of her religion, and the authority of Churchmen oerward her owne disposition, the flames of their consuming fires had not moaned to high. But woe to the procurer of those fire Atzicles, (for which many had died) enad by King Henry the eight, whole rigour in some sort himselfe had both qualified and repeated, which were againe put in practise, especially two, the one of them touching life, and the other losse of goods : which last was the separation of man and wife, the greatest offence to mutual society, and natural affection, as can be committed : & that of life tyrannically followed, as the Law it selfe may seeme with *Draco*'s to be writ in blood, for within the compass of lesse then foure yeeres continuance, there died no lesse, for the testimoniall of their conscience in this case, then two hundred seauenty and fassen persons without regard of degree, sex, or age.

(87) In the heare of whose flames were consumed hue Bishops, one and twenty Dvines, eight Gentlemen, eighty foure Artificers, one hundred husbandmen seruants and labourers, twenty five wises, twenty widows, nine Virgins, two boyes, and two Infantes, one of them whipped to death by *B. Banner*, & the other springing out of his mothers wombe from the stake as fire burned, was by the Sergrantes throwne againe into the fire : Which barbarous cruelty, how fouler the Author of England three Conuersions, would excuse as worthy of death ; depraving the sufferers, of learning, religion, ciuill manners, and honesty of life ; yet the more charitable of his owne ranke, and protection doe picture the spilling of so much Christian blood, the greatest point of no greater sinne, then to beleue *Caluins* spiritual

A.D. 1553.

The vine of Rome returned in England.

Still-shed, p. 113. h.

Queen Mary counterpoises her own edipolism.

See H. B. A. 31. 109-5.

The bloody laws of Queen Mary.

John Hopper B. of Gloucest. Parson. and J. De. W. Bishop, R. of Lin. Hugh Latimer R. of Ebor. The Countess Arch. of Canterbury.

Three conversions.

Pope made Cardinal.

Paul elected Pope, Cardinal, brother of Bishops.

Pauls assisted by Cardinal Caraffa.

Pauls against choosing Pope.

Cardinal Paul sent out by Queen Mary.

(34) The rigour therefore that fell from his mouth, who with many more had so suffered, when the sword was so drawne, is faine from the precept and sufferance of Christ, that would have even casten raye vnplucks, till his harvest were in, and yea if thofe be his sheepe that follow his voyce, and his word fufficient to make the man of God perfect as himselfe, and Apollle hath taught, then were these excusable by their Adversaries testimonies, whose Procurator in a Conuocation assembled, publickly confessed that these delected Ministers had the word, but the Prelates in place the possession of the sword: which how they then made it drunke with the blood of Gods Saints, let him that hath the two edged sword in his mouth, at the great day of trial declare, to whose iudgement and mercie I leaue them.

(35) Sixty foure more were persecuted for their profession and faith, whereof seauen were whipped, sixteene perished in prison, and were buried in dunghills, many lay in captiuitie condemned, but were released, and saved by the happy entrance of peaceable Elizabeth and many fled the Land in those daies of distress, amongst whom most memorable is that of Katherine Dutchesse of Suffolke, with her husband Richard Barre Equire, whose Story and troubles happened as followeth.

(36) This Lady Katherine was the only daughter, and sole heire of Lord William Baron of Willoughby, and of Essex, and the last wife of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke lately deceased, in whose time how she affected the Papall Profession, in masking, and maskings, was made knowne by clothing a dogge in a Rocher, and calling him *Gardiner*, and againe, in the daies of King Edward, *Gardiner* saluting her from his prison window in the Tower, shee told him it was well with the Lambes now the wolfe was shut vp. These steeke fore vpon the Bishops stomacke, who being now risen to bee Lord Chancellor of England, and in the disgrace with the Queene for her match in marrying Master Barre a man too inferior for her high estate, he thought it a fitt time and occasion to requite, and to that end sent for Master Barre her husband, charging him to be indebted foure thousand pound to the Queene, which was owing her by his Ladies late husband the Duke of Suffolke, vnto whom shee was Executrix, but this was onely the wayne of a false fire, and the Dutchesse religion, the marke he asayed at, for whom Master Barre so wisely wrought, as himselfe was appointed to be her perfwader, and so inwardly grew with the Lord Chancellor, that by his meanes he obtained licence to trauell beyond Seas, for a debt owing to his Dutchesse by the Emperour.

(37) Barre being gone, and Lady Katherine secretly to follow, vpon the first of January with foure men, two women, and her young daughter, her selfe appparelled like a Merchants wife, from *Lyons* in *London* departed, the morning very milky, and her heart fraught with feare, for no sooner was shee gone, than owes therof came to the Court, and search made after her, as farr as to *Leigh*, before her Barke could attaine to the place: where being shrowded by a Marchant vnder the name of his daughter, shee escaped to Seas, but twice her shippe with conerary winde was driven to the same shoare, to her great danger and no little griefe: yet hilly, shee arrived in *Brabant* where shee met with her husband: whence (being clad like a freer) they came into *Cleveland*, and at *Santen* fenced themselves, till further promise could be made.

(38) But the Townsmen suspecting they were not the Persons they went for, and the Bishoppe of *Arras* hearing that they were Protestants, purposed with the Magistrate to impeach their liberties, which Barre bearing off, with his Freew and daughter, attended onely with two seruants suddenly made a

way vnto *Wesell*, a Towne priuiledged with the Strildard in *London*. In trauell they were ouertaken by night, the weather was raie, and the thaw vpon a great frost, made the way more deepe, in which distress his two seruants be faine to seeke some reliefe, whilst himselfe (the surer on foot) bare the childe; and the Dutchesse to ease him carried his Rapier and Cloke.

(39) Thus passing thorow mire, dirt, and darke night, about tenen of the Clocke, all wet and wearie, they got vnto *Wesell*, where, hee being suspected to be a Launce-knight, and theer his woman no better then naught, could get no entertainment, the language they had noe, the childe cried pitifullie, the mother wept bitterly, the cold was extreme, and the raine poured downe as the cloudes had bene broken. In this distress the Church-porch was thought vpon to shrowd them from raine, and to that end Master Barre lent his two seruants to buye Coales and straw: but repairing towards this his cold Inne, he met with two boyes that vnderstood Latine, of whom hee demanded for the Ministers house, who presently brought him to the place, where hee supped. His name was *Perisill* and had bene in England, where, of the Dutches hee had receiued kind countreife, and now at *Wesell* plied his Ministry among certaine *Wallas*, who hearing that the Dutches was fled out of England, and that at *Santen* there liued nothing safe, had procured for their abode in *Wesell*, without making knowe who these English were saue onely vnto the chiefe Magistrate.

(40) Master Barre desiring to speake with the Minister, hee presently came downe, who seeing the Dutches disguised in apprel, and bemired in durt, could not speake vnto her for teares, and bringing them in with glad hearts no doubt, Master Barre changed apparell with the good man, the Dutchesse with his wife, and their childe, with the childe of the house: and thus they were comforted by this good Preachers meanes.

(41) Here they rested not long, but that a sudden watchword was sent them from Sir *John Nassau*, Queene Marias Ambassidor in *Netherland*, that the Lord *Pager* had faised an errand to the Spaw, and that the Duke of *Branswick* with tenne Ancients, would passe by *Wesell* for the seruice of *Austricke*, against the French King, by whom the Dutchesse and her husband should be intercepted and deliuered vnto the Lord *Pager*.

(42) From hence therfore in haste they removed to the Town *Winchem* in high Germany, which was seated in the *Palgraves* Dominions, where by his Protection they continued till their maintenance beganne soficant, and they also almost fainting vnder so heauy a burthen, began to faile of all hope. At which very instant (God so mouing the hearts of his Princes) the Palatine of *Pinne*, and the King of *Pole* hearing of their distress, sent them a safe conduct, vnder the Palatines seale with assurance of maintenance, if they would come vnto those parts.

(43) From *Winchem* therfore they forthwith departed, and in Wagon trooke towards *Frankford*, but by the *Langraues* Capitaine were intercepted and set vpon in the high way, so that Master Barre was forced to stand at defence, wherein the Captains Horse was slaine vnder him, and the cry maintained that he was slaine himselfe, whereupon Master Barre by the counsell of the Dutchesse, and swiftnesse of his horse fled againe, but was so expertly followed vpon opinion of murder, that hee hardly escaped with life, yet lastly they got into *Poland*, where they were honorably entertained vntill the death of Queene Mary, whose life in the meane while let vs returne to relate.

(44) The Nouember next following her marriage, the Queene was reported to haue bene conceiued with childe, for joy whereof *Tre Draw* was commanded solemnly to be sung, and Processions, and Prayers, made for her safe deliuerance. The Queene tooke

The most distressed of the Dutchesse.

The Dutchesse imprisoned after her husband.

God doth helpe when man doth faile.

A.D. 1554. Queene Mary heard to be with Child.

So called by the
Kings, and others
a Knight of the
house of the
Palm, & others

her Chamber, the Court was full of Midwives, and Gentlewomen attendants. Rocks were provided, the Cradle prepared, and all made for certain, that some were punished for making doubt of the contrary. Inomach that it passed in Parliament, that if God should take away *Queene Marie*, while their young Master coming into the world should find himself provided for where it was by Act ordained, that King *Philip* should be Protector of her life, and Governour of the Realmes, until their Prince or Princess should come to able yeeres.

All of them
to be kept.

(97) Howbeit it should seeme this Spanish King had little confidence in the English, for at his first entrance, hee had the hall door of his Court continually kept shut, neither any suffered to enter, unless his business was first made known: the Lords having leave to depart *London* had their commandment to send all their harnesse and Artillerie to the Tower; which was done, in regard of the malignity of this marriage: yea and somewhat doubtfull hee was also of those, who in shew bare him a faire face; but given for that a Noble man in consultation, had rather his counsel to cut off Lady *Elizabeth* head, assuring himselfe, that those he had minded to their natural Princess, could not be better vnto him a stranger: who contrariwise vpon this ground so laid the foundation of his true honour, as it gained him love of all true English hearts: for from that day he neuer lost to sollicite his Queene for the delivery of that innocent Princess her sister, who still remained a solitary Prisoner in *Woodstock*, though no proofes could be brought for any offence.

The fathers of K.
Philip.

*Lord Pages.

K. Philip a great
friend vnto Lady
Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth
brought in pres-
ence of the
Queene.

The conference
of the Queene
and Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth
discharged of
imprisonment.

A page to Sir
Peter Marston.

(98) At last his faile was obtained, and Lady *Elizabeth* brought vnto *Hampden Court*, hauing not scene the Queene for two yeeres before, here there was lockt vp, and laid at by *Gardiner* to submit her selfe, till the night fourteenth dayes after, shee was sent for into the Queene's Chamber about tenne of the Clocke in the night: which she no sooner had entered, but falling vpon her knees, shee praised God to preserve her Soueraigne Maiesty: prostrating her loyalty and truth to her person, whatsoever had beene spoken or insinuated to the contrary. Vnto whom the Queene somewhat sharply said, then you will not confesse your offence, I see; but rather stand stoutly vpon your truth; I pray God your truth may so fall out; If not (quoth the Princess) I request neither favour nor pardon at your Maiesties hand: well, then said the Queene, you stand so stiffly vpon your own loyalty, be like you suppose to have beene wrongfully punished: it must not lay to your Maiesty said Lady *Elizabeth*: but you will then to report to others it seemeth, said Queene *Mary*: no, and it please your Maiesty slide the Lady, I haue borne, and must beare the burthen my selfe, I must humbly beleeue your Graces good opinion of me, and to thinke mee your true Subject, which from the beginning hitherto I haue ever beene, and will be for euer so long as my life lasteth. The Queene replying in Spanish, said, God knoweth, and so they departed; *K. Philip* as is thought standing behind the *Armes* heard what was said.

(99) Some seven dayes after, her Grace was discharged of *Barnfield* her laylor, and had lease of liberty, yet so, that Sir *Thomas Pope* a Priue Counsellor, and *Mr. Gage* the Queene's Gentleman Vicer, were still her Attendants all *Queene Marie's* time: her Gentlewoman *Mistresse Ashley* was sent to the Fleet, and three other waiting maides vnto the Tower; but the death of *Gardiner* immediately following, their stormes grew more calmer, and Lady *Elizabeth* euerie day more affectionate respected.

(100) About this time, *William Cusly* able, alias *Fetherston*, a Millers sonne in the North, bruted himselfe to be King *Edward* the first, but was seconded by none of any euer, and therefore the leste dangerous or likely to be beleued. Norwithstanding

all diligent search was laid for the Counterfeiter; and hee lastly taken at *Widham* in *Kent*, from whence to *Hampden Court* hee was presently coueited, where his answers were so simple, that hee was executed as a frantick, and sent to the Marshall-See for a Lunaticke foole: and from thence in a Cart this counterfeiter King, whose Crowne was a paper inscribed with his faul) was brought vnto *Windsor*, and from thence whipp'd vnto *Smithfield*, whence hee was banished into the North, and without further punishment was so released: But this *Elizabeth* the next yeere (as a dogge returning to his vomit) gave it forth that *K. Edward* was alive, whereupon he was again apprehended, condemned of Treason, and hanged at *Tyburn*.

(101) Now the expected time of *Queene Marie's* deliverance being fully approached, a rumor ranne in *London* and elsewhere, that a Prince was borne for joy whereof the Bells were rung, the Bonfires flamed, Processions made, and some in their Sermons described the beauty of that goodly boy, and great Prince. At *Antwerp* also the like triumphes were made by the English Marchers, the Mariners shooting off their Ordnance; for which an hundred Pistolers were sent them from the Lady Regent; but these flying reports proved but wind, which turned the *Sea* shortly into another point, for the truth burthling forth, told for a certayne, that the Queene had neuer beene concieued, neither indeed was euer like to be: which raised as many doubts, as had bene tales of her deliverance: some affirming that shee was with Child, but miscarried, some, that shee was deuoted by a Tympany: and some that this rumor was spread for a policy: but what the truth was *John Grafton*, I referre vnto others that know more.

(102) King *Philip* thus frustrate of his hope for his Heire, vpon the fourth of September went ouer the Seas to visite his Father the Emperour, and to take possession of the Low-Countries, where hee stayed one yeere and six months, to the great griefe of *Queene Mary* his wife, whom as some thought hee little affected, and this his long stay made the suspicion no lesse. But now returning to *Dauer*, hee was by his Queene met on the way, and brought through *London*, accompanied with many Peeres of the Realmes, as in triumph against a Coronation.

(103) In whole absence many Conspiracies had bene intended, but their foggy smokes were vnto flame extinguished before the fire could burst into flame: for certaine persons plotting to robbe the Queene's Exchequer at *Windsor*, meant with this money to raise warre in the Land; the Leaders into this attempt were *Henry Petham*, *Iohn Daniel*, *Richard Palk*, *Iohn Treuchemont*, *Iohn Desherie*, *William Stanton*, *William Roffey*, *Iohn Bradell* and *White*, the reueler of the same inuendments. These all excepting *White*, were at sundry times executed, and Sir *Anthonie Kingston* apprehended for the same died on the way vnto *London*.

(104) The like flurries were attempted by one *Clouer* a Schoolemaster, sometime at *Dysin Newfelde*, who in the Parish Church of *York*, among a great assembly at the celebration of a marriage, stood vp, and read a penned, but traitorous proclamation against the Queene, perswading the people to take Armes, and to free the land of wrongs done by strangers.

(105) So likewise *Thomas Stafford*, second Sonne to the Lord *Stafford*, with other Conspirators against the King and Queene, fearing the iust punishments for their defaults, had fled the land into parts beyond the Seas; from whence attempting still to branch their Rebellions, they sent certaine bookes and letters written and printed, full of most slanderous vntruthes: and now following King *Philip* into England, assisted by some *Kings* and strangers, took by stealth the Castell of *Scarborough in Yorkshire*, where hee published a most shamefull proclama-

tion. Enter
for a counter-
feiter King Edward.

Fetherston executed.
Mar. 16.

Reports of the
Queene's deliuer-
ance.

The Parson of S.
some which
Atkins, a
Gentleman
for Q. Marie
supposed deliuer-
ance.

Rich. Grafton.

A.D. 1555.

King Philip de-
parted from the
Queene yeere
and six months.
A.D. 1557.
March 12.

Conspiration in
Newfelde.

Thomas Stafford
slain in rebellion.

marion against the Queene, traitorously affirming that there was neither rightfull, nor worthy of reign, and that the King had given vnto his Spaniards the greatest and strongest holds of the land. But by the prowess of *Thomas Percy* (presently created Earle of *Northumberland*) hee was surprised, sent to *London*, and there made shorter by the head. All these stirres quieted, new troubles were rather sought for then misliked, and more loffe followed to *England* dishonour, then glory had beene gained by this Spanish great March.

(106) For the Emperour over-worne with the affaires of the world, and wearied with the troubles of troubling wars, or rather rooched with remorse of conscience for the infinite miseries brought by him vpon *Florence*, *Neples*, *Sicilie*, *Tuscane*, *Elbe*, and *Calabria*, being perswaded that these mournfull iarrers of Christian Princes had giuen to the Turke advantage vpon diuers parts of *Europe*, hee called his sonne King *Philip* of *England* vnto *Brussels* (as is said) where, by authentick letters bearing date the five and twentieth of *October*, hee resigned all his Realmes vnto him, commanding all his estates and inheriits to acknowledge and hold him their lawfull King; and among many other instructions and most wise exhortations, gaue him charge chiefly to hold amity with the French, lest otherwise the warres of those *Puissant Nations* might oppress all Christendome.

(107) King *Philip* indeed was much inclined to peace, and *Queene Mary* his wife at that time much more, both to hold him with her at home, & to support the Religion which shee had raised, by restoring the Clergie their wonted possessions, whereof much was then held in the Noblemens lands, from whose hard-hold, hardly could any thing bee wrested; but those in her owne, shee freely resigned by Parliament, with this most Christian resolution, and princely saying: that shee felt more by the saluation of her owne Soule, then shee did by the renewing of ten Kingdomes, and so committed the re-stauration and dispose thereof vnto the Pope and Cardinal *Paul* his Legate, to the great wealth of the Church, and empowring of the Crowne.

(108) King *Philip* following his fathers aduise, made peace with *France* to continue for five yeeres, which no sooner was made, then was again broken, but most of all to the losse of the English: for the Kings did not loue, though their weapons were laid downe, and ancient hatred breed daily new discontent: one principall was misliked by Pope *Paul* the fourth, then an enemy vnto the Spaniards, whom Duke *Alua* had mured vp within the walls of *Rome*. His hope of helpe was in *Henry* the French King, vnto whom hee sent a triumphant batte, with a stately Sword, and therewith had success by the *Guyse*, who by force made his way open into *Rome*: But the French decreasing for want of pay, and the Spaniards still raising their Trophies of victory, the Pope thought it fittest to hold with the strongest, & so made frustrate his amity with the French.

(109) *Queene Mary* of *England*, now the Pope was for *Spain*, and *Philip* her husband preparing for *France*, to shew her great loue and obedience to both, rather sought an occasion against King *Henry*, then any misliked by him for the breach of peace. Her pretences were many, as that the French King had inflicted one *Dudley* and *Astons*, vnto a new conspiracy, which they conspired vpon in his Ambassadors house in *London*, and being revealed, fled into *France*, where they were maintained by an annuall pension. The like the alledged against King *Henry* for succouring of *Stafford*, and his rebellious complices, for suffering his Pyrats to molest her Seas, & for want of more, renewed the remembrances of *Northumberland* and *Myrtes* rebellions, who as was alledged, were supported by him.

(110) These things premised, a defiance was sent into *France*, and was pronounced vnto *Henry* at

Rhemes by *Clarenceaux* King at Armes. The French King loth to heare of these warres made his answer and preparations accordingly: and *Queene Mary* contrary to promise, entreating her subiects with the quarrell of the Spaniards, with sound of Trumpet in *London* proclaimed warres against *France*. To prosecute which, King *Philip* her husband paid o-uer to *Calles*, and thence into *Flanders*, where hee made provision to enter the field: after whom the Queene sent a thousand horsemen, foure thousand footmen, and two thousand Pioners, and the Earle of *Pembroke* was appointed Captaine General, vnder whom in severall places Irued Viscount *Montmarate*, the L. *Gery of Wilson*, the Earle of *Bedford*, the Earle of *Leicester*, and the Earle of *Warwick*, the Lords *Howard*, *De la Ware*, *Windsor*, *Tray*, *Shendely*, and *Dudley*, with many other Knights of approved valiancy.

(111) These passing the Seas, joined with King *Philip*, which the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Braunfuerth*, the Earles of *Essex*, *Horne*, and *Armsfield*, had invaded the French confines, and planned a strong siege before Saint *Quentin*; to whose rescue Monsieur *Montmarate* Constable of *France* came with one hundred men at Armes, as many light horsemen, seven hundred *Raisers*, twenty two Ensignes of *Lancequenets*, and fifteen Ensignes of the French and thus furnished, hee meant to put more Souldiers into the Towne, but in the assay so miscarried, that himselfe was both hurt & taken prisoner with eight Noblemen more, all of them Knights of the Order, and not many dayes after, King *Philip* with his English came to the siege, by whose manly prowess Saint *Quentin* was taken, for ioy whereof great triumphes were made in *England*, which long lasted not, through the losse of *Calles*.

(112) For this great victory made the English both negligent and careless, so that the Towne of *Calles*, and the Forts thereabout for defence, were vnprovided and regarded, and besides the neglect of supply to those peeces, the Souldiers thinking all out of danger, Roodgazing at the shadow till the substance was lost: for the French being needed, that *S. Quentin* was *Philip*, let slippe no occasion wherein was advantage: and the Duke of *Guis* employing the Constable's place, determined to put in proofe an enterprise for *Calles*, which long and many times had beene purposed vpon.

(113) This danger fore-seene, intelligence thereof was sent into *England*, but no supply heard of, first the Master of the Ordinance poited to the Councell, and secondly followed the Captaine of the Castell himselfe, but either by wilfull negligence or lacke of credit with the Queene and Councell, those businesses in *France* were slenderly regarded, vntill the supply was altogether too late. For the Duke of *Guis* with a marvellous celerity approached the English Frontier, vnder a colour to visitall *Bologna* and *Ard*, and vpon a little fower plate of ground, intrenched at *Sandgate*, and thence diuiding his Army into two parties, sent the one vnto *Essexbank*, whilst the other laid battery to two Forts at once, both which hee wanne within the space of twelue howres, the Captaine and Souldiers secretly departing to *Calles*. The like success had the French against *Essexbank*, being abandoned by the English Souldiers, and left to the *Guis* and his dispo-

(114) Then were Canons mounted against *Calles* it selfe, and with continuall haillery for three dayes together, a breach made in the wall, not farre from the Water-gate, but yet vnassailable, the English within so maintained the defence: this then a traine of false fire (for the French neuer meant their access that way) whilst all attended to make good the breach, the Duke had planted fifteen double Canons against the Castell, which once perceived, the *Callesians* knowing their resistance to weake, fled

A full view sent into France.

July 6.

An Army sent into France.

Leicester, Lord of Arundell.

Council of Lou. M. and the Ordinance.

S. Quentin taken by the English. August, 20.

The English negligent and regarded.

John Wilsford.

For King Charles.

The English Forts left to the Gais.

Newcastle left.

Calles besieged by the Duke of Guise.

Thomas Stafford beheaded.

Grimsby in the French History.

pag. 508.

Charles the Emperour resigned all his Dominions to his sonne K. Philip.

The Pope bullies god, sends to France his helpe.

John Skidder.

John Star Anach.

June 7.

red Barrels of Gun powder within the *Keep*, meaning to blow vp the *French* if they there entered, but that device failed; having waded through the ditch their clothes dropping wet, disabled the traine of powder to take fire, so that the *French* gotte the *Castle* with the death of *Sir Anthony Ager* Marshall of the Towne, his sonne and heire and foure score *English* besides.

(117) The Lord *Wentworth* then Deputie of the Towne seeing all in like danger if means were delayed, sent vnto the *Castle* to haue a Parlee for composition, which the *French* forthwith accepted, and sent out two Gentlemen for pledges whillett *Iohn Hayfield* Master of the Ordnance, and *Edward Hall* Constable of the *Castle*, concluded vpon these dishonourable Articles, as followeth:

1 That the Towne, the great Artillery, Victuals and munition should bee yielded freely to the *French*.

2 That the liues of all the inhabitants should bee saved, and haue their safe conduct to depart.

3 That the Lord Deputie with fifty others whom the Duke would appoint, should remaine prisoners and be put to their ransom.

(116) Things thus ordered, the *English* were commanded into the Churches of our Lady, and *Saint Nicholas*, where they remained that whole day, the night following, and vntill the next day in the afternoon, without either meate or drinke, in which time the Duke of *Guise* commanded by Proclamation that all Jewels, Plate and Money to the value of a groate should bee laid vpon the Altar, and that vpon paine of death, a sorrowfull offertory towards the *English*, and a great enrichment vnto the *French*. Thea was the Towne voided of five hundred ordinary Souldiers (a small Garrison indeed to man such a place) of Townsmen, women and children, foure thousand two hundred; the Lord *Wentworth* Deputy, *Sir Ralph Chamberlain* Captaine of *Riohanche*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captaine of *Newnambridge*, *Edward Grimston*, *Iohn Rogers*, and others, to the number of fifty were sent prisoners into *France* vntill ransom were paid: And thus the Town & Forts that were won by the victorious *K. Edward* the third, & that by no lesse then eleven months siege, hauing now bene possessed by the *English* the space of two hundred and eleven yeeres, was in the compas of eight daies besieged, surprized

and wonne in the depth of Winter to the worlds wonder, and great suspicion of treachery, which happened the fourteenth day of January, and in the lame month were surrendered the strong forts of *Guise*, and *Hames*, where by all the *English* footing was lost in the Continent of *France*.

(117) This winning of *Calis* & the other strong holds as they were ioyous to the *French*, and with *The Deame* & Bonfires celebrated with no lesse solemnity, then was that for the recovery of the Countie *Oye*, & the fort won from the *English* in *Dec.* 1347. so was it greivous vnto the *English* Nobility, and most of al vnto *Queene Marie* her selfe. In so much as shee could not to trauell with the King and Councell how to counter the dishonour of her Raigne, by this losse of *Calis*; and albea some assaies were made against *Brest*, and *Monsieur Thernes* the new Captaine of *Calis* taken prisoner by Countie *Egmont* General for King *Philip* in the Low Countreys, yet the maine was neglected, and could not be recontered for any composition, which stroke to deepe a melancholy into *Queene Maries* minde, as shee letted not to lay, *that the losse of Calis was written in her heart, and might therein bee read when her body should bee opened*. In which passions she continued the rest of her Raigne, which neuer had bene very prosperous, nor greatly pleasurable vnto her selfe, after shee had abolished the Gospell, restored the Popes Supremacy, and married a stranger, who was vnto her a stranger indeede.

(118) Of al since the Conquest her Raigne was the shortest, only excepting that of *Richard* the Tyrant, but much more bloody then was his, and more blood spilt in that short time of her Raigne, then had bene shed for cause of Christianity, in any Kings time since *Lucius* the first establisher of the Gospell in this Realme. Her conception; failing, extreme dearths raging, hart done by thunders from heauen, and by fire in the royall Naue, forraigne losses, *Calis* surrendered, and King *Philip* keeping from Court, daily augmented *Queene Maries* melancholy, which laste increasing to a burning fever made an end of her life, at her Mannor of *S. James* neere *Westminster*, the 7. of Nonem. and yeere of Christis incarnation 1558. whil shee had reigned five yeeres foure months, & eleven daies, and liued forty two yeeres nine months and six daies, whose body lyeth interred in a Chappell in the Minster of *Saint Peters* at *Westminster*, without any monument or other remembrance.

Calis surrendered
and to the *French*.

*Victorious
Articles*.

The hard vnto
of the *English*.

Queene Marie
is wept for the
losse of *Calis*.

Queene Marie
is wept for the
bloody.

Edward the
eleventh from
whom the
Conquest
was
it and Mary
the eleventh
from *Edward*,
lost it.



Q. Elizabeth.

Monarch 61

ELIZABETH QUEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH CROVNE SINCE HINGIST THE FIRST SAXON, AND THE LAST BEFORE THE V-NION OF THE VVHOLE ILAND. HER GLORIOUS RAIGNE, LIFE AND ACTS, VVITH THE TREASONS AND INVASIONS ATTEMPTED AGAINST HER PERSON AND STATE



CHAPTER XXIII.

An.D. 1558



HE Cloud thus set, that threatened more stormes, and a quiet calme happening when the rage was at highest, that withed Sonne then ascended our Horizon, whose rayes (as had beene hoped) presently dispelled all foggy Mist from Englands faire Skie; which was, the most milde Princesse Lady Elizabeth, another Debora, and nursing mother of Gods Sunne, who being then at Hatfield in Hert-

fordshire, was there first saluted *Queene*, and the same day, with great joy and full content of both the Houses of Parliament (at that time assembled) was solemnly proclaimed *Queene of England*, with all other Titles rightly belonging to that Imperiall Title.

(2) Shee entered her Government vpon Thursday the seauenteenth of November, the same day that her sister *Queene Mary* died, the yeere of Christs assuming our flesh, 1558. and of her own age, twenty foure yeeres, two moneths and ten dayes. From Hatfield she remoued vnto *Charterhouse* in London, from whence shee was royally attended vnto the

Q. Elizabeth.

* November 19.
* December 10.

The first people
meeting long
Religion.

Her passage
through London.

Queene Elizabeth
takes England
in possession.

The Bible pre-
sented to Queene
Elizabeth.

The religious
rites of Queene
Elizabeth.

Her Coronation

Cardinal Pole
and Q. Mary
died within one
day.

First prin. Edic-
tion.
The Regall Su-
perstition.
chap. 1.

Queene Maries
Acts repealed.

Conference at
Windsor
touching Italy's

The Propositions
to be discussed.
July 21. 1544.

The Differences
on both parts.

Tower, and all complements prepared for her Coronation. In which time Proclamations came forth, forbidding any man to preach but by appointment, or to alter any Ceremonies, but according to the rite sin her owne Chappell, as also that the *Litanies*, the *Epistles* and *Gospels* should be read in all Churches in the *English tongue*.

(3) All things in a readines vpon the fourteenth of *January*, with great triumphes and sumptuous shewes, shee passed through *London* towards *Westminster* to receive the Imperiall Crowne; but before shee entered her *Chapell* in the *Tower*, acknowledging that the seat was Gods into which shee was to enter, and shee his *Piercer* to wield the *English Scepter*, in that royall assembly with eyes and hands cleaved to heauen vpon her knees, shee prayed for his assistance, as *Salomon* did for wisdom when hee tooke the like charge; (with a thankfull remembrance vnto God for his continued preferment, who had brought her through great dangers vnto that present dignity. In which triumphall State as shee passed through the *streets of London*, when the *Booke of God* was presented vnto her at the *little Countess in Chape*, shee received the same with both her hands, and kissing it, laid it to her breast saying, that the same had ever bene her *chiefest delight*, and should bee the rule by which shee meant to frame her government. And to testify her benign acceptance of the Lord Maior and Citizens approved loyes, she assured them that shee lacked no will, nor (as shee thought) power to bee to them as gracious a Prince as ever reigned in the Land, and that for the publicke good, if occasion were ministered shee would spend her dearest blood.

(4) The fifteenth of *January* (being Sunday) the Coronation was solemnly performed, and the Imperiall Crowne set on her head by Doctor *Owen Oglethorpe* Bishoppe of *Carlisle*, the Archiepiscopall See of *Canterbury* being vacante euer since her entrance by the death of *Cardinal Pole*, who died the same day that *Queene Mary* did.

(5) Presently there followed a *Parliament*, wherein the Title of *Supremacy* was againe restored to the *Crowne*, with the *first fruits*, and *Tithes* of all Ecclesiasticall living, and the *Booke of Common Prayer* ratified for a uniforme celebration of Gods diuine service in the *English Churches*, as also those *Articles* repealed, that were enacted by *Queene Marie*, in fauour of the *Romish Religion*. Things thus established, and liberty given to the Gospell, many that had fled the Realm in case of conscience, returned, and were provided for according to their worthes; and that *Gods Truth* might be established, (which thing her princely heart chiefly fought after) a conference was commanded and begunne at *Windsor* the last of *March*, concerning certain *Articles* to be discussed amongst the *Diuities*. The Propositions were three.

1 It is against the words of God, and custome of the ancient Church, to use a tongue unknowne to the people, in common Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments.

2 Every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies, and Ecclesiasticall rites, so the same be to edification.

3 It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the Masse offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead.

The Impargners of
these Affertions
were,

The Bishop of Winchester,
The Bishoppe of Lichfield,
The Bishop of Cheshire,
The Bishoppe of Carlisle,
The Bishoppe of Lancaster,
D. Cole,
D. Harpsfield,
D. Longdall,
D. Cledyng.

The Defensors of
those Affertions
were,

D. Scorie,
D. Case,
D. Sands,
M. Whitehead,
M. Grindall,
M. Harne,
M. Goff,
M. Elmer,
M. Ierrell.

These being solemnly met with many Honourable Counsellors among them, before the Conference could well beginne, it was finally ended, and all through the default of the *Bishoppe* (as *Steu* hath acknowledged) who, first pleaded a mistaking of their directions, and in the next sitting, vnto the others reasons, whereby all was vadone that was intended, and whereof a part was * Imprinted as is yet to bee seene.

(6) During the time of this *Parliament* a Petition was made vnto her Maiefty for the hope of roiall Issue, to moue her vnto marriage; vnto which eloquent Oration delivered by the *Speaker*, shee replied with great thanks for their louing care for her, and their owne Countrey: but as touching their request, shee answered, that from the time, when first shee considered her selfe to bee borne a seruitor of God, shee happily did chooseth, and in earnest belistked a *Virginitie* life, from which, neither Ambition of high marriages, which had been formerly offered her by her Prince, nor the grieuances sustained by her, whilst shee liued among those enemies, whose indignation was death, had hitherto bene able to diuert her: but whether her yeeres and answer could concord together in their iudicious minds; shee certainly knew not; yet this shee assured them, that as then shee stood so affected, and if that affection changed, her choiceth should be onely of such a one, as should bee as careful, shee would not say, as her selfe, (because shee knew her selfe best) but as any of them for the Realmes good, and yet wishall shee considered, that although her selfe, for their welfare (if neede were) would not shunne death, yet might her Issue, (as often happeneth to the best parents) grow out of kind, and prove vngenerous. And therefore to leaue behind her a more lasting and grateful remembrance, shee held it sufficient, that a Marble-stone should declare to posterities, that for a *Queene* shee had reigned, lived, and dyed a *Virgine*; and so with many thanks dismissed the assembly. How the first was accomplished, wee that liued vnder her reigne haue seene; but how insufficient that one stone is to containe, & continuall remembrance of her vertuous, pious, and glorious gouernment, the whole world doth at this day, and shall at all succeeding ages witness, whilst the Earth rests in the Center, and the Heaueins haue reliefe mouing.

(7) For the cause of Religion shee sent into Germany touching a league defensive, the Pope troubling the waters of that cleare fontaine, and disabliing her Title with the calumnie of illegitimation. In the meane while a peact being on foot betwixt the Kings of France and Spain, Queene Elizabeth also interposed for England, wherein the rebelling of *Calles* was a maine point, whereupon her Highnesse flood, which was thus.

(8) For the Earle of *Arundell*, the Bishoppe of *Ely*, and Doctor *Watson* Deane of *Canterbury* remaining Commissioners in France at the death of *Queen Mary*, vpon composition for the regaining of *Calles*, & other peeces lost in the cause of K. *Philip*; her Maiefty sent them instructions to continue their demands, and certain sure grounds whereon they might worke. The first was that the quarrell of war was not *Englands*, but *Philips of Spaine*, in whose fauour *Queen Mary* his wife against the will of her Council, leue him aid of her Subiects. And if in case the

The Conference
ended almost as
soon, as began.

* By K. Ierrol
and John Coward

Alexander Ear-
le.

Q. Elizabeth her
reply touching
marriage.

Q. Elizabeth
talking on the
Parliament.

Her selfe abiding
with her most
Princes.

By Handwriting
Her selfe.

The clearest
reflection of
Calles from the
French.

Ex 208.
The instructions
of Q. Elizabeth
sent to the
Commissioners.

French

Proffers that Cal-
is was English.

French should challenge *Calis* as inhereditary vnto the Crowne of *France*, that they should auer, that there were many Signiorities and places in *France*, wherunto the *English* might make their iust claime, and some in possession since *Calis* was English, which Towne was not onely Lawfully granted, and assured from the French themselves vnto the Crowne of *England*, but was also allowed by Articles of all treaties of peace, for the space of two hundred yeares and more, this furthermore specially provided, that *Calis* should remaine in the quiet possession of the *English*.

Great Summes of
Money owed by
France.

And the better to impresse the deliuiery of *Calis*, in the mould of the French, they were to demand certain arrerages, whereto their King and Realme had fallen for great summes of monies and debts accruing to the *English* Crowne: as well by the acknowledgement of the mother of King *Francis* then being Regent of *France*, and iudgement thereupon giuen, as also by the treaty of *Mers*, de *De*, 1521. The treaty of perpetual peace, de *De*, 1527. and the late treaty between King *Henry* the eighth, and King *Francis*, for the deliuiery of *Bullion*, de *de*, 1546. by all which appeareth, that there was two Millions of Crownes due, and very little thereof yet paid, the copies of which treaties and confession, the said Commissioners haue with them. Also another debt of an hundred thousand crownes, as appeareth by a Bill of King *Francis* hand. And where also there is one perpetual pension of fiftie thousand crownes due, as appeareth by the treatie of perpetual peace, and one other pension of Salt, as appeareth by the same treatie. All which notwithstanding, rather then the French should recaine *Calis*, her maiesty was contented to remit the whole debt and arrerages: but without that in no wise she held it convenient to conclude peace with *France*, and that obtained, she remitted the other Articles to the discretion of the Commissioners. But the *English* *Queene* was no more desirous to haue *Calis*, then the French King was willing to let it goe. Whereupon laithly it was thus concluded, That *Calis* should remaine French, the terme of eight yeeres, and those expired, should returne to the *English* vpon forfeiture of five hundred thousand crownes; the branch of which agreement, from the Latine, and that from the originall, is thus translated.

(9) It is cōmēdēt, agreed, and concluded, that the said most noble Lady *Queene* of *England*, shall suffer and permit the said most Christian King of *France*, his heires and successors, to hold, possess, and peaceably enjoy, from the day of the date of this present treaty, vntill the terme of eight yeeres following, the Towne of *Calis*, with the appertinences and appendices belonging to the same, and also the port or haven of the said Towne, with the Tower of *Ruyhaek*, and also the Towers, Lordships, colleges, and places of *Norwimberidge*, *Mers*, *Oye*, *Hams*, *Sandgate*, the Tower and Towne of *Goufou*, and all the rest of that County taken in this last warre, and all other Townes, Castles, Villages, Landes, Dominions, Territories, Waters, Rivers, Hauens, Defences, Forts and Shores, and generally all places whatsoever situate vnto them by the sea, which the said most Christian King hath gotten in this last warre, and taken by force of Armes, in the raigne of the most noble Lady *Mary*, late *Queene* of *England*. And the said most Christian King, hath promised, and doth promise aforesaid in his owne name, as in the name of the King *Dauphin* his sonne, his heires, and successors, for which *Dauphin*, the said most Christian King hath made himselfe, and doth make himselfe answerable, promising that hee will take care of, and effect that the said King *Dauphin* shall approve this treaty, and ratifie it, within two moneths after the date of this treaty, which said terme of eight yeeres being complete and ended, the said most Christian King his heires and successors shall presently without delay, relinquish, deliver, and restore, or cause to be delivered, and restored to the said most noble Prince *Elizabeth*, *Queene* of *England*, her heires, and successors, or to those that should be thereunto

deputed by her, or her heires and successors, the said Towne of *Calis*, with the appertinences and appendices aforesaid, and all other singular places aforesaid, and also the Towers, Castles, and fortresses whatsoever in the aforesaid parts, and also the places now of late divided, fortified, or reedified during the said terme of eight yeeres, and the said most Christian King his heires and successors shall leaue the possession of all the said places, and depart from it, and wholly forsake the same. So that the most noble Lady *Queene* *Elizabeth*, her heires and successors may peaceably enjoy, and quietly hold the possession of them, with all the rights, priuiledges, preeminences, superiourities, reuerences, and all other authorities in the like manner, state, condition and nature, in which the Kings of *England* haue held them, and possessed them before the beginning of this last warre. Provided notwithstanding, and expressly cōmēdēt, that the said most Christian King, his heires, and successors shall not be bound to restore or deliver the Townes and Fortresses, and places aforesaid, or otherwise then in the same state, manner, and condition, in which now at this present they are, and hereafter shall be strengthened and fortified by them, during the said terme, yet so notwithstanding as neither in the time of such restitution nor before, that there be not any thing done of set purpose, whereby the former state of the strongholds, and fortifications which now it is in, or which hereafter added by them, bee in any wise misused, broken, or otherwise, but that all things without fraude, bee restored inure and compared, in manner aforesaid.

As it is cōmēdēt and agreed that during the terme of the said eight yeeres, it shall neither be lawfull for the said Christian King, nor for the said most fortunate King and *Queene* of *Scots*, nor for the said most happy *Queene* of *England* to invade, attempt, or enterprize by warre any thing against each other, or for any one of them against the other, or against the Kingdome, proper dominions, and Subiects of each other, either directly or indirectly, to the prejudice of this present treaty, &c. And likewise if any shal shall bee so invaded and attempted by the said most Christian King, and most happy King and *Queene* of *Scots*, or the subiects of them, by the authority, commandement, and approbation of them, or any of them. Then the said most Christian King, and King *Dauphin*, their heires and successors, by such kinde of innovation attempted, vpon the dead shal be bound and obliged to leaue and depart from the possession and occupation of the said Towne of *Calis*, and of other places aforesaid on this side the sea, taken of late from the *English*, by the said most Christian King. And all those things they shall deliver and restore without any delay to the said most worthy *Queene* of *England*, in the same manner and forme, in which at the said terme of eight yeeres, they were promised and cōmēdēt to be restored: which restitution if it shall not be so made, the said Merchants and pledges shall be bound to pay the said penalty of five hundred thousand Crownes to the said most worthy *Queene* of *England*, and the covenant notwithstanding of restoring the said Towne *Calis* notwithstanding remaine in force. Moreover if any of the Subiects of any of the Princes aforesaid, of their owne authority, shall endeavour or attempt any thing against the subiects of either of the said Princes in prejudice of this Treaty, he shall be punished as an infringer of the peace, according to the quality of the fault.

These cōmēdēt notwithstanding they were failed and sworne vnto, yet were neuer performed at the yeeres of expiration, though Marchants were bound, and hostages assigned to remaine in *England* till the money were paid.

(9) So suspiciously had this Towne of *Calis* bene recovered from the *English*, that the Lord *Westworth* (the Deputie) was indicted in *Queene* *Maries* daies, and now arraigned at *Westminster*, the Marquess of *Norhampton* being his Iudge, and Lord *Chiefe Steward* of *England* for that day; but that Nobleman so nobly defended himselfe, that he was acquitted by his Peeres, and was a most honourable opinion for his many and faithfull seruices.

(10) Her Highnesse hauing thus decreed the *English*

English are from all Papall infection, and establishing Peace, the greatest benefit for the Subject; on the fourteenth of May, being *Whitsunday*, *Queen's Service* began to be celebrated in the *English tongue*, whereby Gods Trumpet might be heard in a perfect sound, and the prayers of the Congregation vnderstood with an understanding heart. To the end therefore that the *Clergy*, the *Teachers* of others, should not be infected themselves, the *Oath of Supremacy*, with other Articles, was offered unto them, the refusers whereof were forthwith deprived, and others furrogated that were more loially affected. In place of *Pole* deceased, *Dodder Parker* was consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of *York*, *Doctor Young* in stead of *Heth*, who refused the *Oath* (and so of some others: then went forth *Commissioners* to suppress those Monasteries restored by *Queen Mary*, and to call out those Images set vp in Churches, whose sight hitherto heated the blinde zeale of many poore ignorant people in places of Oratory, were now themselves in the flames consumed in the fire, at whose flames might be said, as in *Isaiah* touching peeces of like huffe, had hence said: *I am warme, I have beene at the fire.*

(11) After the reducing of this purer worship into Gods Church, the next care the Good *Queen* tooke, was to enrich her Realme, by reducing her Coynees into fine and pure Sterling, and debasing of Copper monies: causing likewise great store of Manition, Armour and Powder to be brought into the Land, and laid vp in a readines as occasion should serue, that nothing might be wanting either for the wealth or safety of the Societie.

But the first hissed beginnings in England were little as it seemeth to the liking of the French King, *Whose hope* (saith *Leſtie*) by certain acts of Parliament made by *Queen Mary* against her sister the Lady Elizabeth to disbarre her from the succession of the Crowne, was to establish *Queen Mary* of Scotland, who had lately married Prince *Dolphine* her sonne, laying her title from *Margaret* the eldest daughter of King *Henry* the seventh, linked in Marriage with James the fourth King of that name, sister being the daughter of King *James* the fifth his sonne. And therefore as the neerest in blood, and lawfull heire to the Crowne of England, he caused by Proclamation in Paris his stile to be published under the name of *Mary Queen* of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and called the *Armes* of England, to be joined with Scotland and France, which the *Dolphine* and she did assume, both in their *Steeles*, *Plate*, *Tafforie*, and other adornments, which caused great troubles (saith here) betwixt the Kingdomes of England, France, and Scotland.

(13) In Scotland Religion (as England had embraced it) beganne to be practised; Preachers spake boldly, and booke were daily brought thither, which nothing as all commended the Pope, and by them (saith the Bishop) the people were moved to a sedition, which to prevent, the *Queen Regent* caused an assembly of the Bishops and Barons, unto whom the Ministers presented their Articles.

1 That their diuine prayer and publicke administration of the Sacraments should be in the English tongue.

2 That Bishops and other Ecclesiasticall benefices should be bestowed upon qualified men.

3 That such persons enjoying the profits, should performe their duties and preach the word to the people.

4 That none should be admitted in time to come, into the Ministry, untilt he life and learning were answerable to that excellent calling.

(14) To the two first, the Bishops alleging the customes of the *Romane Church*, would in no wise consent, leaving every man at liberty privately to pray in what language he best liked; and the election of their Bishops to the prescription of the *Canon Law*, and to the appointment of their *Queene*. For the two latter, they affirmed, no better order could be prescribed then that of their *Common Law*, which importeth vpon them, as much as was required; and

thereupon they began to put the same in execution, commanding all that had charge of soules to fit themselves to their functions, otherwise to looke for no fauour from deprivation, after the terme of fixe months. Which was (saith the same Author) the principal cause, that a great number of young Abbots, Priors, Deacons, and beneficed men, did disp the cathe-dralize, and practised deuises for the ouerthrow of the *Catholike Religion*.

(15) True is, that at the preaching of *John Knox*, and other Ministers affecting reformation, not onely the Images, Altars, and other like things of abuite, were cut downe and burnt, but also the Charterhouse of the Priests at *Perth* destroyed, which was the fairest Abbey in the Realme of Scotland; then followed the ouerthrow of the Monasteries of *Saint Andrewes*, of *Stone of Striding*, and of *Lindislaw*; which ouerbearie proceedings caused such furies in the Land, that the Lords of the Conſtablement encamped at *Cowper*, to abide battle against the French (who came into Scotland to impach their purposes) had not the trauels of some Noblemen preuailed on either part.

(16) The French King, thus ouer-burſed about Scotland, was onceruleſſe of his own, when (at following the marriages of his daughter and sister) he would needs be a Challenger at tilt, seconded by the Duke of *Guise* & *Ferrars*, which triumphant toy, was suddenly clouded with a sad Catastrophe. For to runne his last (and indeed his last) course in fauour of his *Queene*, he sent a Lance to the Laie of *Montgomery*, with a command to haue him enter the tilt; but hee excusing himselfe from running against his Maieſtie, alleged, that fortune the day before, afforded him not to breake one ſtaffe, and that now (as he feared) the would put him to a second shamefully to the King, desirous to enforcing, and his date fully runne, least him a second command, which *Montgomery* very vnwillingly obeyed, and breaking his Lance vpon the Kings Cuirasse, a splinter thereof, his Beauer being somewhat open, shoke him so deepe in the eie, that thereupon shortly he ended his life.

(17) After whole death, *Francis* his sonne, and second of that name, at the age of sixteen yeres succeeded him in the Crowne of France; having by the marriage of *Queen Mary*, the Title of Scotland annexed to his others. He hearing of the troubles raised there, in case of Religion, sent *Antoine de la Broche* to gather the Field, and the Bishop of *Amarans* to assist the *Queen Regent*, with his farr reaching and inferring counsell. Sorely the preparation to withstand them was great, and the combinations many that stood for Reformation, as namely, one *Duke*, fourteen Earles, and cleuen Lords, besides other of name and account; but knowing their Adversities forces, and seeing those strangers to possesse diuers of their Townes and Forts, to the oppressing of the Kingdom vnder foraigne subditiō, they were enforced to become Petitioners vnto *Queen Elizabeth*, for aide to expell the French, who sought the Inboerſion of the Realme ſtate.

(18) The Magnanimous *Queene*, nothing fearing the threats of that potent Nation, nor liking such neighbours as formerly professed to rob her of her right, and now vnder pretence of suppressing the *Sects*, were not valiently to attempt an inuasion vpon her Realme; (for so the *Admirall* hired by the French were told they should doe) gaue them assistance vpon Articles assured; whereof one was, that they should hold faithfull concurrence with England during the life of the French King, and one yere after. For the performance whereof, sixe young Gentlemen were sent into England; and the Duke of *Norfolke* into the North, who from *Barnie* dispatched the Lord *Gray of Wilton* for Generall into Scotland, accompanied with many worthy Captaines, fixe thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred and fifty horsemen; therie comming to *Salt-Preflon* were

Mary Scotch
Abbot, Priore,
&c. advance
was Religion.

Stirres in Scot-
land raised by
some lewdy pro-
ceedings.

The French Good
knew into Scot-
land.

ſhot his daughter
married vnto
Philip, a King of
Spain, who after mar-
ried vnto a French
Duke of Guise.
June 30. 1578.
John Iames.

King Henry of
France killed in
Tilting.

Francis the second
King of France.

He sends *Antoine*
into Scotland.

that *Antoine*
the *Queene*
Regent sends.

The Scottish Nobles
cause
Queen Elizabeth
to be assisted
Religion.

Queen Elizabeth
affirms the
Scottish Lordes.

John Iames.

The Lord Gray
General of the
English.

The Lord Gray
General of the
English.

were joyfully received of the Scottish Lords, who there in Council decreed what was to be done.

(19) From thence they marched toward *Leith*, where a Trumpet from the Queene Regent met them with a safe conduct for Sir James Croft, and for Sir George Howard, with five other Gentlemen to accompany them vnto her presence in the Castell of *Edenburgh*; vnto which the Generall and the Scottish Lords agreed, with an abstinence from Armes during the conference. But the French (the meane while) vnder the command of *Monsieur Daisell* assailed forth of *Leith* and in good array took the field, when the Lord *Gray* perceived, he sent an Harold vnto them, willing them to depart till the English were returned, according to the order betwixt their Regent and him; but they returned him answer, they were on their Mistresses ground, which they meant to make good, and therupon discharged a whole volley of shot vpon the English Army.

(20) The Allarum thus giuen when least it was expected, a cruel skitmilsh beganne, wherein died of the French about fiftie score persons, the rest were enforced backe into *Leith*, and many of the English both harte and flaine. Whereupon they entrenched the *Crag*, and planted their Ordnance against *Leith*, vpon whose Steepes the French had mounted their great Canons, whence their Bullets flew amaine; and ere long a bold attempt was undertaken by them, who with fiftie horsemen and five hundred Harquebusers issued out of *Leith* and assailed the English new trenches with such valour, as they entered, & a while possessed the same; where they tooke *Maurice Berkeley* prisoner, wonne his ensigne, droyd the touch-holes of three great peeces, and slew no small numbers of their reliuers.

(21) The English by this time had armed themselves (for this assault was vnespectedly giuen) and Captaine *Paulsen* with his, brauely entered the Trench, who being seconded by Captaine *Jaumes*, *Beade*, and *Arthur Grey*, recovered the same with some slaughter of men, the Ordinance from *Leith* discharging vpon them to the great annoyance of their honourable seruies; and now being Matters of what was late losse, they cleared the great Ordinance which the French had stopped, and cast a new Trench along by the old Chappell, whence with their great Peeces they beat downe the Steepes of *Saint Anthony* and *Saint Nicholas* in *Leith*, and dismounted the Peeces that therein lay leuelled against them.

(22) In the full course of which dissensions, the Queene mother, Regent of Scotland (a Lady of excellent endowments of minde) consumed with thoughts, displeasures and Melancholy, departed this life in *Edenburgh* Castell: the Lords waxing stronger, and *Leith* much weaker through extremity of famine, and the French King, (the onely pillar on whom their strength did consist) not able to assist them. Who being brought daily into leares through new tumults arising, and Increased in his owne Countrey of *Ambush*, was forced (alth *Leith*) to yeeld vp all the Dominions, both of France, and of Scotland, vnto Pope Pius the fourth, to bee at his command and defence; but his Holinesse fearing his owne tottering estate, like a wife man, that meant to warpe no more then he could well weare, suffered king *Francis* to seek for other redresse, which hee did from her, that was more willing and better able to giue him content.

(23) For sending his Ambassadors vnto Queene Elizabeth, whose noble spirit himselfe had first provoked, desired her peace to bee had with Scotland, & that Commissioners might be appointed to meet with his in that Resime; alledging that it was violating to a Soueraigne to sue to his Subjects, as hee was ouer them by his marriage with their onely Queene. Her princely mind caer forward to assist the afflicted, and now desirous to see Christian blood, dispatched into Scotland, Sir *William Cecil*

her Principall Secretary, with Doctor *Watson* Deane of *Canterbury*, one of her sacred Councell, eminent for his singular prudence, and formerly employed vpon like affaires in France.

(24) These falling in conference concluded finally vpon certaine Articles, whereof those that concerned England were these: That neither the King of France nor his Queene of Scotland, should thenceforth vie the Armes or titles of England or Ireland, and that all letters sealed with those Armes should bee called in within five monethes space: that both the English and French should depart Scotland, some few excepted, employed vpon occasions, and that a generall pardon should bee enacted by Parliament concerning all such as had bene in these sturres. Which Parliament was assembled at *Edenburgh* in August following. These things accomplished, an Ambassage of thanks was solemnly addressed vnto Queene Elizabeth by the Earles of *Arundell*, *Glenwarne*, and the young Laird of *Leinsington*, with profert that the Earle of *Arundell*, the greatest Lord in account among them, should be at her disposal for marriage, which (as they well hoped) would be to her selfe.

(25) With the like conceined hope the yeere before, John Duke of *Finland*, second sonne to *Gustab* King of *Sweden*, was sent to her by his father, to treat a marriage for his elder brother *Eric*, who was most honourably entertained, but dismissed without all hope of his suite. Notwithstanding, *Gustab* being dead, *Eric* now reigning King of *Sweden*, hauing imprisoned his brother *Johan*, solicited her Maiesty the second time, but to his dishonour as it fell out, for his suite reected in the English Court, hee attempted to match with the yongest daughter of *Philip Laurance* of *Spain*, who hearing that hee had twice received deniell in England, desired him also with some disgrace, giuing his daughter vnto *Adolf* Duke of *Holf*, vnto vnto *Fredricke* King of *Denmarke*, at that time enemy to *Eric*.

(26) The Peace scarcely was concluded betwixt England and France, when *Francis* the young King was taken away by death, and another popill King crowned, even *Charles* his younger brother, and ninth of that name, who was guided altogether by the Regency of the Queene mother, and molested with the ciuill dissensions betwixt those Princes of *Guise* and *Cande*. For whose reconciliation Queene Elizabeth sent Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord President of *Wales*, vnto which her endeauours, howbeit the French gave countenance in Court, yet on the Seas they tooke her Merchants shipper, imprisoned the men, and seized their goods, no other cause alleged but that they were Hugonots.

(27) These misdeameors, England's great Queen tooke not well; yet did shee not so much blame, as pitty the young and overruled King, brought to such a straight, that hee was neither able to defend the authority of his owne lawes, nor to vphold the leagues made with other Princes. But most especially the cause of Religion (the onely pretended moitie of all these disturbances) together with the sollicitations of the French themselves (as from *Raan*, *Drep* and *Newbaun*) moued her Maiesty first to let forth her greiuances publicly in print, and next to lend aide vnto Monsieur *Villars* Captaine of *Newbaun* against such as sought to subuert both religion and the Estate.

(28) These landing in *Normandy* were with great ioy receined into the Townes of *Newbaun*, *Raan*, and *Drep*, which were willingly surrendered into the English Queenes possession (the onely Cloud-pillar that hood betwixt Gods chosen Israel, & the blood-seeking Amalekites in this wilderness of *Spain*) with this reuerberation by the Queene her selfe inferred, as way to preiudice the Kings Sueraigne authority, nor the estate of the Realme, for vpright was the, notwithstanding their late vnuilt intruding vpon her right and title.

The Queene Regent desires contentions.

The French disturb the intended peace.

The French and English encounter.

The French assault the English.

The English recover their Trenches.

Paul Armp. The Queene Regent dies.

The French King yields vnto the Dominions to the Pope present Pope, 4. 5. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

The Pope yields to assist the French King.

The French King comes for peace with Q. Elizabeth.

Commissioners of England and France come to Ireland.

Articles offered.

An Ambassage of thanks to Q. Elizabeth.

Eric comes to the King of Sweden to treat a marriage with Queene Elizabeth.

An. D. 1560. An Reg. 2.

Francis the young French King dies. (wherein the p. is inserted but broken).

Q. Elizabeth labourd to see the peace in France. The French gives on English Marches.

The French King returns the English.

The English support Religion at France.

An. D. 1562 in September.

16. de Sept.

titles and her own estate and ancient title to those foraine parts, and especially to *Normandy*.

(29) The General of these English is sent, was the Lord *Amherst Dudley* Earle of *Warwick*, who following his charge before gone to Seas, arrived at *Newhaven* the nine and twentieth of *October*, where his Commission was proclaimed, and oath taken, vnto whom strengths of Scottish men were sent him from *Dunee*, whereof Monsieur *Montgomery* was presently made Governour, having John *Reau* vnto the King of *Norwarr*, though the vnfortunate King bought the victory with his owne death, as he viewed the weaker parts of the City.

(30) To withstand the English then seded in *Normandy*, the Conte *Engrenay* was sent, and in familiar conference told the Earle of *Warwick*, that he was come to bee his neighbour, but proved indeed to conuince an encroacher, as lastly he dispossessed the Earle of the Towne. For albeit that many manly feates were therein performed by the English, and the place stored with prizes of wines, yet wanting fresh victuall, but especially fresh water, which the enemy had cut off, the calamities were great, and much more augmented by a contagious pestilence that slew many more the did either famine or sword, so that the English having posselt the Towne for eleven moneths space, now were constrained to surrender it vpon compulsion, bringing thence many sicke soldiers that dangerously infected England with a long continuing plague.

(31) Times motion in England now moued only with the benefite of peace, and no act memorable to commit vnto history; let vs supply this Interim with looking a little into the state of Religion in *France*, as wee haue scene, and somewhat touched the proceedings thereof both in *England* and *Scotland*. The Gospell spreading farre in that faire Continent, the impugnors tooke occasions to raise many flrites, and all in these to race out new heresies, as they accused & called the reformed doctrine. For which cause the French Townes burning in the flames of seditions, the Protestants blood was thought fitt to quench them, & the rapines committed vpon chaste virgins, was pretended to be canceled by a marriage wrought and contracted betwixt two Princes of the blood: which were *Henry of Bourbon*, Prince of *Norwarr*, a fauourer of the Gospell, and *Margaret of Valois* the third daughter of King *Henry* the second, and sister vnto King *Charles* now reigning, a Princesse much devoted to the *Romish* Religion. These must bee the Birds to bring others to the Net, and one of them laid for, to bee caught in the same laire.

(32) This match was plotted by the Marshall of *Coffe*, and the *Chaple of Requey*, with the deuile no doubt of some in higher place, who wrought the Queene of *Norwarr*, vnder the pretence of great affection, that the French King bare vnto her, and the *Chastillain* Admirall (a most zealous Protestaut) vnder an intent of employment for the defence of the Low Countries, against the King of *Spain*. This match indeed seemed to confirme a publike concord, only the Popes disposition must bee had by reason of pretended conlinguinity of the parties, the one being petty Nephew, the other grand-child of *Francis* the first King of *France*. And the Queene of *Norwarr* made some scruple of the Ceremonies for the celebration, place and Church: but ciuill reason owerwaying all difficulties, the Theater must be *Paris*, as the Capitall City, and the marriage acted without any change of Ceremony, or of royall forme.

(33) *Chastillain* the Admirall was formost at Court, where the Papales gaue him place, and to take from him all ieaousie or mistrust, the King countenanced him so much, that he repayed his losses sustained in the warre, grants him the reuenues of his brother the Cardinall *Chastillain*, that lately fled and dyed in *England*, creates with him fa-

miliarly, giues him a place in his Priuy Councell, and euer honours him with the plausible name of *Father*; inso much as the people beganne to murmur that King *Charles* not only fauoured the *Huguenots*, but was now become a *Huguenot* himselfe. And the Admirall for his part thinking all vpright, so that end moueth the King to treat a peace with the Queene of *England* to the preiudice of the *Spaniards*: with these motives among others that *Elizabeth* was vnmarrried, and *Henry* Duke of *Annon* had no wife, the dignity of so high an alliance was honourable for the Duke, and the quality of a Kings brother was not to be condemned by the Queene, he having in his yong yeeres purchased great honour and reputation.

(34) The charge of this meslage was committed to Marshall *Montgomery*, both to haue his absence at Court, the better to worke what was intended, & to stay her Maicesty by vertue of that peace, from attempting any thing against *France*, in fauour of the Protestants. The foord thus founded by the well menning Admirall, seemed the more safely passable: for the two Queenes of *England* and *Norwarr*; the first of them granting the Peace so desired, and the other without all ieaousie repaiored to the French Court; where eighteen dayes after her arriual, a quotidian feuer freed die, though others laide not without suspicion of poyson by the perfume of a paire of Gloues presented vnto her.

(35) Soone after, the marriage was solemnized vpon a high Scaffold, built before the Church dore of our Lady in *Paris*, and foure dayes spent in plaies, feasts, dancing and Maskes: all which were but traines and introductions vnto what was intended: for the Admirall departing the Kings presence with all complements of amity, as hee passed from the Loure, and in reading a *Petition*, was with a Harquebussie leuelled out of a widow, shot into the left arme, and dangerously hurt. At which traitorous attempt the King and *Queene-mother* seemed to bee greatly perplexed, wishing him with all expedition, and for his further safety commanded all his fauourers (the Protestants) to bee lodged, nere about him. But the night now approached, *Casseres* brake into his Base-Court, and three of his Company entering his Bed-chamber, with their weapons barbarously murdered him, whose goared body at *Guises* command, they cast out of the Window, *Guise* himselfe wiping the blood from his face, acknowledged him to be the man. His head they cut off, and presented to the *Queene-mother*, and shee bawling it, sent it to her Holy Father for an assurance of the death of his most capital enemy.

(36) The Pallace Clocke strikes (the Watchword vnto the Alarm) when the other armed troupes flee to the Admiralls lodging, cut off his hands, dragge his martyred Carcase through the streets, and lastly hang it vpon the feet at *Montfaucon*. And with the like hellish fury the bloody faction oppressed the Protestants, both in the City & Suburbes, sparing neither sexe, condition, nor age through whole streets nothing was heard but pailly horron, armes, howles and death, with the pitifull thinkings of the Innocents, crying (but alas in vain) for mercy. On the other side, the shoates of the murderers preuailed, saying, that this one day should end the quarrell, which neither penne, paper, decrees of Iustice, nor open warre for twelve yeeres together could end doe. Lamentable was the spectacle of those sacred and massacred carcases strewed in the streets, the puyments, market-places and riuers dyed with their blood, and that Saboth made direfull, and to the Papists insatiable, with the bloody pollution of ten thousand Innocents, in the staine whereof we will leaue them, and returne out stile againe for *England*.

(37) As these ciuill seditions were on foot in other parts, so *Ireland* too too rebellious, sought vnder the shelter of *Shan O Neale*, to throwe themselves from the obedience of Queene *Elizabethes* government.

Amherst Dudley
Earle of Warwick
General of the
English.

The King of
Norwarr
sane at
them.

Normandy
conquered.

The plague
brought into
England from
Newhaven.

The state of
Religion in
France.

The Spectacle of
Henry of Bourbon
and Margaret de
Valois solemnized
with blood.

The plotters and
persecutors of
the marriage.

The temples of
the Queene of
Norwarr.

The fauer then
made to Chastillain
in burglie him
and the
Protestants.

Job Scarp.

A march withed
betweene
Elizabeth and the
Duchesse of Annon.

An Ambassage
for peace with
Elizabeth.

The Queene of
Norwarr death.

The marriage of
Bourbon and
Lady Margaret
Solomonical.

The Admirall
wounded death
died.

The Admirall
has brauely
murdered.

A grieuall pre-
sent sent to the
Popes by the
Queene mother.

The Massacre
of the French
Protestants.

With Elizabeth
under Elizabeth
(1) John O. Neale

ment; a man cruell by nature, and claiming an inheritance right of the Province of *Yfler*, as the *O-Neale* formerly had done of all *Ireland*. For in the troublesome times of *Robert Brur*, when his brother *Edmund* named him self King of *Ireland*, *Donald O-Neale*, rowled out of his lurking holes, in his mislike letters vnto the Pope, stileth him self King of *Yfler*, and in right of inheritance the vndoubted heire of all *Ireland*. But his glorious shew being clouded before it was scene, his posterity pild in their homes like snailles, vntill the firebrandes of Ciuill dissensions betwixt the Houses of *Lancaster* and *Torker*, gave light to their footing, whillett the *English* left *Yfler* vnto their custody, and followed in *England* the faction which they best fauoured.

(38) At which time, *Henrie O-Neale*, began to be great by marrying the daughter of *Thomas Earle of Kildare*; as afterward also his sonne * *Cam-O-Neale*, married the daughter of *Girald Kildare* (his mothers brother) both of those *Kildares* being Deputies of *Ireland*. From the bed of these *Catholickes*, issued *Cam O-Neale*, surnamed *Races*, because he halited; who was so right *Drift*, that hee curled all his posterity, in case they either learned the *English* language, sowed wheate, or built their houses, leatt the first should breed conuersionists, the second Commerce of sustenance, and with the last they should speeche as the *Cowse* that buildeth her nekk to be beaten out by the *Hawke*.

(39) But King *Henry* the eight, with whom was no dallying, seeing his tallant salt on *Kildare*, in whose rebellions *O-Neale* had engaged him self deepe, so ouer-dares this enuying Irish bird, that hee flies into *England*, sues to the Eagle, reconneeth the name of *O-Neale*, and puts his whole estate into the Kings hand. Whose humble fobmission so satisfied this crowned bird, that his life was delivered out of his claw and letters *Patentes* granted vnder the Great Seale of *England*, to hold his teenewes in Fee of the King, together with the Title of *Earle of Tir-Owe*, to him and to *Mathew* his false repared son, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten, at what time the said *Mathew* was created Baron of *Dungannon*.

(40) *Shan O-Neale* (with whom wee began) the eldest legitimate vnto this *Cam-Races*, seeing him selfe disherited, and a bastard preferred before him, suddenly set his heart against his father, as also against *Mathew* his high honoured and half-reputed brother, whom he neuer left till hee had murdered, and pursued his father with such irreconcilable hatred, as he stript him out of house and all, and neuer left, till for want and griefe, the olde man pined away.

(41) *Shan* then chosen proclaimed, and inaugurated *O-Neale*, by an old shoe cast ouer his head, leized vpon his fathers inheritance, and with all diligence sought after the sonnes of *Mathew*, to secure him selfe of that which he had got. *Brian* the eldest he caused to be slaine by *Mac Donnell Tutan*, one of the *Oweale* race, but *Hugh* and *Cormack* by means of the *English* escaped his hands. Thiblicated in *Yfler* he beganne to tyrannize ouer the great men of that prouince, accounting them his Subiects, as in his answeres vnto the *English* Iustices, expostulating with him vpon that point, he laid his Title.

(42) That hee was the vndoubted sonne and heire of *Cam-Oweale*, borne of his lawfull wife; and that *Mathew* his suppoled brother, was the sonne of a *Blacke-Smith* borne in *Dundalke*, and vnto the age of fifteene yeeres had bene so repared and taken; that then hee was obtruded vpon *Cam*, by the said Smiths wife, whom hee had formerly kept for his Concubine, with an intent to interuene the inheritance and honour of the *O-Neale* another way. That his surrender vnto King *Henry* of *England*, was of no validity, considering that *Cam* had no longer therein than his owne life, neither could that lawfully be done without the consent of the Nobles of *Yfler*,

by whom he had bene elected *O-Neale*. That him selfe was by Law both of God and man, the onely true heire, being the first begotten sonne of his father, lawfully borne in *Wedlocke*, chosen, delected and proclaimed *O-Neale*, by the generall content of the Peeres and People of *Yfler*, and that according to the ancient law *Tamillyr*, whereby a man at his full yeeres is to be preferred before a boy, and an vnle before a nephew, whose Grandfather suruived the father, and lastly, that hee had done nothing, but what he had sufficient authority to doe, and winch his ancestors had not vied before him to doe.

(43) His stile thus pleaded and passed without opposition, he presently fell into other outrages; for *O-Rayle* he ouerthrew in the Field, tooke *Cathagh O-Daniel* Lord of *Tir-Conel* captiue, call him and his children in prison, carried away his wife, and in adultery begat bastards vpon her, leizing vpon lands and goods at his pleasure, and bare him selfe as absolute King of *Yfler*.

(44) These his doings *Thomas Earle of Suffex* (the Lord Deputie) sought to redresse, whose preparations so strangely terrified him, that by the counsell of *Girald Earle of Kildare*, hee came into *England*, and callt him selfe prostrate at *Queene Elizabeths* feet, and vpon his submissiue behauiour and promised allegiance, with her gracious fauour returned home; where for a while in his diet and apparell, hee comforted him selfe to all kind of ciuility, yea and did some office of seruice in driving the *Sents* out of *Yfler*, slaying their leader *Mac-Consel*, and in protecting the poorer sort from the violence and oppressions of the Nobles. In which his doings he drew vpon him selfe their hatreds and complaines, and he whose nature could digest neither, fell furious for reuenge vpon *Mac-Gair*, Lord of *Fermagh*, freed *Armagh* the Metropolitane City, laid siege vnto *Dundalke*, and harted the Country on eury side.

(45) Against whom *Sir Horre Sidney*, then Deputy of *Ireland*, came in person him selfe into the Field; and *Edward Randolph*, a renowned Coronell, with leuen Ensignes of Foot, and a Comet of Horsemen, encamped at *Derry* by *Lagh Foul*, that so hee might charge the backe of the *Rebell*; which *O-Neale* well perceiving, halted with his forces to remoue: where *Randolph* in a pitch field entered battle, and there manfully fighting with honour, lost his life, but gaue the *O-Neale* so great an ouerthrow, as neuer after hee was able to make Head against his Soeraign, and in many other Skirmishes was so foiled, as hee euidently saw his owne dreadfull downfall. Wherefore he minded once more to sue for the *Queens* mercy, and with a halter about his necke, intended to humble him selfe to the Lord Deputy, for his fauour and mediation vnto her Maiesty.

(46) But making *Neale Mackeuer* (his Secretary) secret to these his delignes, was by him counselled to try fortunes fauour yet another way: the occasion well fitting, and the persons of great hope (if hee could fasten amity with them) which were the *Sents*, who held their standing Summer-Campe in *Clanchy*, vnder the conduct of two Brethren, *Alexander Oge*, and *Mac Gillaspie*, whose father and brother these *Shan O-Neale* had lately slaine, in an ouerthrow giuen to the *Sents*. For the surer gaining of whole fauour, hee sent before hand *Surlay-brer*, *Alexanders* brother, whom hee had taken and retained prisoner a long time, and sooner asked him selfe with the wife of *O-Daniel* (whom adulterously hee kept) repairing vnto them was kindly welcomed and intertained in a Tent; where after their Caps, they fell to a brawle about *James Mac-Consell* (*Alexanders* brother) whom *Shan* had slaine, as also about the honesty of his sister, whom hee had married and cast off, for the looe hee bare vnto *O-Daniels* wife. Whereupon after a signal giuen, in hate of reuenge, *Alexander* and his brother with many wounds hacked *Shan O-Neale* to death, a few of his followers escaping their swords by flight, by whose death *Yfler* recovered their wished peace,

See Chronol.
1547. 14.

Domesticke to
Queens strength
foreigner weakness.

The raising of
O Neale's fami-
ly. * There is, The
great Com.

Cam O Neale a
signe Irish.

King Henry the
eighth created
O-Neale.

The Title of Tir-
Owe first granted
Cambair to the
heires, de O-Ne-
ale.

Shan O-Neale
cause of rebellion.

Shan O-Neale
killed his Father.

The Law Thel-
try in Ireland
what it is.

Shan O Neale
ouertaken.

Thomas Earle of
Suffex demands
O-Neale.

O-Neale's sub-
mission to the
Queene.

O-Neale's death
long good
O-Neale.

O-Neale's against
English.

A.D. 1565.
Sir Horre Sidney
L. Deputy of
Ireland.

O-Neale's power
broken.

He shewes of
submission.

O-Neale's secret
from submission
by his Secretary.

* There is, After
under the penne.

Shan O Neale
killed.

after a greivous distillure of oppreſſion and warres, in which was a while leaue them, and returne to the affaires of England.

A.D. 1567.

Callis demanded
of the French
King.
April 28. 1567.

(47) The time now expired for retention of *Calis* (soe thirled after, and so thirthingly kept; *Queene Elizabeth* presently first vnto *Charles* the French King, to demand the deliuey according to covenantes. He let in estate, accompanied with the *Queene* mother and others, the *English* Embassadors had audience, and the Title contoured among them as followeth. The *Queene* Letters read and attendancie given what would more be said: Sir *Thomas Smith* (for he was the man) demanded in her Maiesties name, the Towne of *Calis*, the Forts, and other the appurtenances, the Castle and Towne of *Genes*, and generally all such Castles, Townes, and places as had bene taken by his Father *Henry*, the late French King in his late warres, from *Marie* late *Queene* of England, her Maiesties sister: which in a Treatie of peace made at *Castellon* in *Cathol* the yere of Christ, 1559. was agreed vpon, that his Soueraign, *Queene Elizabeth* should permit the said French King and his successors to possesse, and peaceably to enioy the said Townes, Castles, and places, the space of 8. yeeres, and thole expired the said *K. Henry* covenanted for himselfe and Successors to deliuer the same ingirely vnto the *English*, which being compleat and ended the second of that present month 4 April, himselfe with Sir *Henry Norris* her Maiesties Ambassadors vpon the third day of the same month demanded in her name the possession thereof accordingly, but could not attaine or get speech, either with Lieutenant or Gouverneur. Whereupon they were inforce to make preface to her maiesty, whom hee doubted not but would accomplish the performance, and likewise keepe perpetual amity with his Soueraigne Lady and Mistresse.

The Towne Governours would not be spoken with.

King Charles
speaks to the
Ambassadors.

Objections against the
Q. of England.

(48) King *Charles* but young and altogether gouerned by the *Queene* mother, hauing well learned his lesson, made present answer, *That Callis was his, and that none had right thereto but himselfe*, neither should any deliuer it to any other, and that the Treaty, named by the *English* Ambassadors, did wholly eue it from. Whereunto Sir *Thomas* replied, That neither her Maiesty nor Counsell did so take it, nor indeed could, the words of the Treaty being so plaine and manifest. *Why,* says *Smith*, quoth the *Queene* mother, *I marvel the Queene your Mistresse would not send for such a purpose, and especially you, who knoweth more better, how all things have passed: you know that your Queene hath forfeited Calis, and all her rights in these places diuorced. As for by invading the Kings Subiects in Scotland, then most manifestly at New-burgh, where the King, my sonne, was faine with an whole Army to recover it, and in the said Treaty was an Article as hath bene disputed; that if the Queene of England should invade any part of my sonnes Dominions, she should forthwith lose her right in Calis.*

Answers to
the French
objections.

(49) Madame, said Sir *Thomas*, said *King Henry* and his successors were bound to lose *Calis*, if they invaded England, and yet did *King Francis* brother to the King here, doe it by the way of Scotland, as is most manifest, after the said Treaty at *Castellon*, and not in assuming the Armes and Title of England and Ireland, but contrary to the Article of Peace, which concluded that both *English* and *French* should depart Scotland: which incontinently her Maiesty performed, in rucking thence her Lieutenant, Captaine, and Souldiers: whereas contrariwise *Monsieur d'Avall* their Chiefeaine abode therein still, and the French power daily augmented vnder the conduct of *Monsieur de Martignie*, and de la *Brulle*, and also by an other great Commander, whose Naue was disperbed by tempest, and whose strength his shipwracke did testifie, in Holland, Zealand, Norway and Denmark, by the losse of Armour, Men and Munition: to let passe *Britaigne* and *Normandy*, then in preparing to invade England; and *Landenburgh* likewise hired in *Saxony*, and the Land of *Lauenburgh*

to assist the French in that enterprise, when these *Almanes* according to their nature loth to take Seas, and desirous to know whether their service intended, were told, they should no further then Scotland, and to the Land adjoining, which was plentiful of gold, silver, and all kind of wealth, and where no *Almanes* Souldier had made spoile for the space of an hundred yeeres before, and to some of them in plain termes it was told, that they should into England; which was likewise signified vnto her Maiesty, both from her neightbour Princes, warning her highnesse to take good heed vnto her selfe; as also by letters intercepted, that declared their intents; whereof shee did not onely admonish *Monsieur de Seure* then Ambassador in England for France, but also by her Ambassador to the French King, praying him to delist from such attempts so preiudicial to her Highnesse, and so directly against the treaty of Peace. To colour which matter the said de *Seure* made a Protestation in print, the answer whereunto is likewise printed in *English*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Latine*, wherein may appeare the History of that time. And since her Maiesty hath had a more manifest prooue by men which are yet alive. For when the most part of the French power was arrived in Scotland, the *Queene* Mother, *Monsieur de Oseill*, and *Monsieur de Martignie* called the Scottish Lords with their Forces vnto *Almouch* besides *Burwick*; where they declared that their minde was to invade England, and to give to the King and *Queene* the possession of the *English* Crowne; of which they now had the Titles and Armes. But the Lords of Scotland vpon consultation, made answer, That they had often attempted to invade England, but they neuer got any good thereby; further affirming, it was against the peace newly concluded and sworn: so neuer was it to execution. Vpon this there followed a treaty of peace at *Edinburgh*, wherein the numbers of French Souldiers were to be lessened, the Title and Armes of England left downe, and the treaty of *Castellon* renewed and confirmed: all which may appeare by the hands of them which were Commissioners, authorized by the French King vnder his Great Seale: which treaty when it was signed with all the Commissioners hands, the *Queene* my Soueraigne for the lone of peace being contented to feile and sweare, the said King *Francis* did refuse the both, still refusall her Maiesty doth, and hath alwaies taken that the right of *Calis* both propriety and possession was deuolued vnto her by reason of the attempt, and hath demanded it diuers times, yet was content to stay the time of composition; which now being clearly expired, it must needs bee hers, and cannot iustly be denied.

The French charged with hard dealings.

The Scottish Lords now will to be led by the French.

The French King refused to looke on the peace.

(50) Why (said the *Queene*) all this while you have said nothing against the King my sonne, why he should forswear it, hee hath done nothing, and in the bearing of your Armes to great matter with you; yea heere the Arms and stile of ours, and so many, beere others Armes also, NoMadam said Sir *Thomas Smith* the bearing of the Armes is not so great a matter, but that with other things doe declare the intent, and the attempt maketh the right forfeited by the treaty. And though the King your sonne did not forswear it, yet the right being once lost from France, and accrewed to the *Queene* of England, how should it goe from her againe? All this while (said the *Queene* Mother) you speake but of the King of Scotland, who did it in his wares right, and there you must aske your amends, and not here, you heare what my sonne saith, and every man feele the right to his, your *Queene* hath forfeited it, and therefore I marvel my good will shal find it in, or send to demand it. This is the answer said Sir *Thomas* which I had carry to the *Queene* my Soueraigne. That? Nay, said the King, I will talk with my Councils, and then shall you haue a resolute answer. Then were the *English* Ambassadors desired to absent themselves a while, and within an houre after were sent for againe.

Queene-mother.

Sir Thomas Smith

Queene mother

Sir Thomas.
King Charles.

* Ambassadors taken care of a former treatise written by Sir Thomas Smith.

The cause for
this declared be-
fore the French
King and his
Council.

(51) The King for in Council with the *Queen Mother*, the *Dukes of Anjou, Alençon, Montpensier, Anjou, and Navarre*, the *Cardinals of Bourbon and Chastillon*, the *Bishops of Orleans and Lincennes*, *Monsieur de Valence* and others, the *Ambassadors of England* were placed in the middle: unto whom the *Queen spoke* and said, *Monsieur L'Ambassadeur I pray you say your mind before the King and his Council here assembled*: which *Sir Thomas Smith* presently did in the same forme as hee had done before, adding with all, that this demand was grounded upon the lapse of the time, by which without ill controuersie after eight yeeres *Calis* was due to the *Queen of England*, and then by right, both the propriety, and the possession thereof was inuoyed unto her long ago, by the forfeiture made by the attempt in *Scotland*, by the commandement and consent of *France* the legat to invade *England*, seeing the King did not ratifie the treacie made at *Edinburgh*.

Calis forfeited by
Cousin.

Monsieur de Valence.

(52) *Monsieur de Valence* said the *Queen Mother*, I pray you answer that, when can be standing up, *Calis*, my selfe was sent to that treaty of peace, and am glad to hear *Monsieur L'Ambassadeur* confesse that the bearing of the *English Armies* was but a small matter, yet was that the chiefest thing impayed by their side, as for the means of warre, they were not above five thousand at the most, sent indeed because of a rebellion (for so much I term it in plain termes) they resist there. But the *English men* were about fifteen thousand that came against them at *Peter-Lith*. There was sent thither also the *Bishops of Amiens* with the *Pope's Bull*, to reduce them againe to the *Religious Romanes*. And as touching these matters I spoke with your *Queen* as I came thither *England*, and offered her as much as at the first as was done in that Treaty, if she would break the League betwixt her and the *Scottish Lords*, which were Rebels. But since she could not. Now for the ratification and confirmation of that Treaty which was signed with my hand and others: there should haue come into *France* certain *Scottish Lords* to haue agreed and subscribed certain Articles, which did deferre to come till the King was more sick, and could not attend them, who shortly after died, and so the Treaty was not ratified. And being dead the King that now is, had nothing to do to ratify it for the matters therein touched *Scotland*, and their *Queens dowry* and sister, which appertained nothing at all unto him.

The Romanes
begin a chaine of
these
Bishops.

Sir Tho. Smith.

(53) To whom *Sir Thomas* replied and said, I am not ignorant that the Article last, *Armies inuoyed, attentant moiri*, and doe not take Arms to signifie *Armies*. But the Arms that I meant to weigh the most, and the attempt with them done was the Armed men, and the good Captain whom I named *D'Oysel, Basse, Marignac*, and others, their *Engines and Companies*, marry the *Armies* and *Troops* did disclose the intent and meaning. And if there had bene none other but them which the Bishop brought, and none other munition but the *Pope's Bull*; *Queen Elizabeth* should not haue needed to haue armed so many ships, nor sent so many soldiers to haue let their enterprise, nor would euer haue complained of it: but it was farre otherwise as I haue declared. As for the League you speake of with the Rebels of *Scotland*, I thinke there was none, and the tunc did shew what Rebels they were. But thinke I thinke they were as weary to haue you so neere vs. And therein I thinke the *Queenes Majesty* and they did agree. And to excuse the refuse of the ratification, by the not coming in of the *Scottish Lords*, which small reason to beare it: for the Treaty made betwixt the *French King* then, and the *Queen of England* might haue been ratified notwithstanding, whatsoeuer was betwixt him and the *Scottish Lords* his Subjects: for our fact and peace did not stand vpon their doings; which Treaty being it was not ratified, I say, the *Queen my Sovereign* title to the possession of *Calis*, by reason of that attempt standeth whole and entire vnto her.

The Scottish
Lords stand
and.

But sir said he speaking to the King to say the truth I haue no commission, nor any commandement or authority to dispute or answer in these matters, but only to demand *Calis* and the other *forfeits*, and places according to the Treaty, which is so plain, that to mine opinion there neede bee no controuersie. And if there bee any doubt, now the time expired doth put it out of all doubt. But because you and the *Queen* haue charged mee that I know so much of the matter, as I cannot deny somewhat I doe, as hauing bene at the doing of a great deale in the dispute. Somewhat I mull, and may say for my selfe, lest it should bee thought that there were nothing to be said. Marry as I said, as *Commissaire* from the *Queen my Sovereign*, I haue nothing to say, but the demands onely, the matter being plain and in right iudgement, without controuersie, and also that I see no person here but such as be parties, and no competent person to bee iudge of the controuersie. Whereunto the *Comptable* replied and said, Who should bee iudge of that which is the Kings but himselfe? it is his, and none could take or give it to any other but himselfe: with that the *Queen mother* asked *Monsieur Chancelier*, why hee did not speake.

No Commission
to get the title
lost to demand
Calis.

The Comptable.

Queen Mother.

Monsieur Chancelier.

Kings title
that was Calis.

(54) Who after some pause beganne a long and well composed oration, the sum whereof was this: That the present Kings right to *Calis* was long before any claime could be made thereto by the *English*, which was not much above two hundred yeeres, and then was it got by the fortune of warre; but more anciently, that it had bene the inheritance of *France* more anciently, as being vpon the Continent thereof, and not vpon any *English* ground. King *Edward* (quoth he) we grant want it, and your father noble King *renuance* it to his Crown. But the *English* will say they haue possessed and enioyed it many yeeres: Why so they did *Aquitaine, Gasconie, and Guyen*, and other dominions besides, which they claimed by our Elizer, the repudiate of the King of *France*, who was inheritrix vnto it: indeed some titles they had, yet so as they held them of the Crown of *France*: for the whole which in *Calis* appertained to you for our King: and so doth *Calis* which is of no great antiquity than I canred of: for Counte *Bologna* was the first that did inuoye it, being afore but a burgard, as the most part of the *Townes of France* then were. At the battell of *Croisly*, dolorous to vs, King *Edward* of *England* after nine monethes siege by compulsion had it surrendered, the poor inhabitants perished of life at the great fur of his good *Queen*, else had they died every mothers sonne, and so with white hands in their hands were expelled the town: To whom the King of *France* was so mercifull, that hee commanded of every thing vnto them, they should bee the first provided for: And I thinke when your father King *Henry* took it the *English* were likewise so feruad. These claime two hundred yeeres possession, the others before them, above five hundred yeeres: that God doth to punish, or to essay his seruants. And although the *English* claimed *Gasconie*, and *Guyen*, by succession of *Blonnet*, although *Normandy* by our williams, and *Patricius* by a Dowry of their mother, daughter of *Philip de Arle*. Yet to *Calis* they had no right, but onely by Armes, and by Armes your father againe recovered it. But since will say, by the peace at *Brignoly*, they haue right; I say for every man knowes what exceptions were taken at this peace: and I see, that so long a possession makes a prescription; I say no for prescription is among priuats men, but among Princes prescription cannot stand, and yet theirs was not much above two hundred, ours above eight hundred yeeres. But to you *Monsieur L'Ambassadeur*, I will say, that at the peace of *Tripes* in *Champaign*, were your selfe and *Monsieur Threlmorten*, both of you well able in such affairs, and nothing thereon done I doubt not without the *Queen and Councils* consent: no one word was spoken of *Calis*, which chiefly was the cause of the warre; so that all standeth clear for al which was then talked vpon, and it is a plain enuiflowe, that they did acquit their right thereto: This Article I say is translatiue in the peace of *Caiffen* in *Cambray*, and is no more but such as forgoeth all, or because

What Calis had
been.

The French
Kings conquest
from vpon the
reigning of
Calis.

Among Princes
Prescription
is not.

A pretty dispute
drawn right.

K k k k k k because

because all small things cannot be mentioned in conference. But *Callis* was the chief point, which being omitted; say by meaning it was acquiesced. But now to your reasons Monsieur *L'Amboisier*, the Article for the lease of *Callis* at this treaty was forced in by you the English, who of all nations be the most wary and circumspect in making their peace. Whereupon the *Queene of England* layeth it out as a question, a main point, a circumstance, a gift, that a King of France would have invaded England. But every suspicion must not make a breach: for so whensoever any France should arme his men upon any occasion, his neighbours might say it was against him: And so you English lay gesses against the late King *Francis* the second. But the *Queene of England* was open favoured the Kings Realm, with a goodly pretence to keepe the townes to the Kings use, yet when alwas reduced into their due obedience, he would keep the town of *Newham* as a pledge for *Callis*, by which deed, she hath left all her right in *Callis*. And sheweth hath made a natural separation betwixt you and vs, a sure wall of defence, *Ex petitis toto dantis orbe Britannos*. So that naturally you ought to have nothing but peace and amity with us. But doe not thinke Monsieur *L'Amboisier* that I say this as fearing what you can doe: for there was neuer any King of France since *Charlemaine* so great as the King is now, had so many men of warre, so ready, and so good Soldiers: and yet his Highnesse hath desired the amity of the *Queene of England*, and the love of this nation: of which there is the more hope, if all these pretences and demands were cancelled, and *Callis* forgotten, which hath bene the continuall quarrell betwixt these two Realmes. You neuer read Monsieur *Smith*, that the French ever invaded England, I speake it not to your disgrace which are English, but to your praise; yet this I thinke, had there not bene so easie a desert, so convenient a place, and so ready, for you to make warre here, yet would not (as I suppose) have come hither so often, and troubled our Country, nor the amity betwixt you and vs. And I dare boldly affirm and gage any thing, that the *Queene of England* shall gaine more by continuall peace with vs, then shee shall doe by *Callis*: & therefore your *Queene* may leave off these demands and quarrells, and come to a perfect peace with vs, which shall be more profitable for both the Realmes, and thus I dare assure you, here is no Counsellor among of that dare once open his mouth to render you *Callis* for my part I will not be one to move or agitate thereto. Nor I said the Constable, and so all the rest.

(55) They quoth Sir *Thomas Smith*, Monsieur *Chancelier*, methinkes you fetch your Title very farre to have *Callis*, and howsoever the possession was cometh, by and by the right is his in possession, then by your reason all our dispensation is in vaine, and it maketh no matter, *besides an mala fide possidet, the King* once in possession as a thing returning to his primer estate possession or gotten of the enemy, yet admit no contract, or latter treaty, so as it doth appeare, yet open that which was thought of some men, and alwayes spoken, that what promise former was made, the French would never render *Callis* againe to the English, but keepe it still, *per nos possgat*: this reasoning passeth all answer, for whatsoever the *Queene of England* had done *quasi facti*: to ever shee had kept her treaty of this eight yeeres, though ye could object nothing against her, yet she should never have had *Callis* restored, to this kind of reasoning and to that, that no man dare move the King to render it being due, I cannot answer; but to this that toucheth my fact in the making of the *Treaty in Champagne*, where I must confesse, and am not ashamed, that I was a Minister, I doe not yet acknowledge that either I am worthy to be accounted so wise as you would make mee, nor our Nations always so circumspect in making Treaties with you, your owne Writers asserting otherwise, and gize you the praye therein against vs. But for the point wherein you touch vs, that the peace at *Trent* should be *mutuo contra Titum*, and wee should thereby acquit our right of *Callis*, it is

Antistrophe, and turneth a great deale better vpon you. For it becaus our take was of our right to *Callis*, by reason of the attempt in *Scotland*, you of the forfeiture of it by reason of the descent to *Newham*, neither condescending to other, and not concluding thereupon, wee did agree vpon that *Peace*. And if that *Peace* doth make annuities, then the forfeiture of our right by keeping *Newham*, which you impute to vs is wiped away, noised and cled by this *Peace*; and our right which was not yet in *esse*, & *causa dei mandam venit*, remaineth still. So as it toucheth you rather than vs, and by this meanes have you nothing to say against vs, but wee still our right against you. But the truth is, as Monsieur *Le Comestable* here can tell, who was part the occasion that wee came to it; for when this was contended, that *Callis* was already due unto vs, you, that wee had forfeited it, so that wee could enter into no other Article of peace; why said you, have not wee the wit to make a peace, and make no mention of *Callis*: neither to speake of it one way, nor other: your time is not yet come to ask it, yet vs live in peace in the meane while, and let each France have right such as it is, released; whereupon you Monsieur *L'Amboisier* were one of the first that came with vs, and you know what passed.

(56) *Tea* (saith he) but we would never grant that it should be put in, that you should have *Callis*: you say true (saith Sir *Thomas*) not were that the *Queene* might should acquit it, nor the halldges neither. But in the end when it came to the Conclusion, as the Bishoppe of *Orleans* and Monsieur *Bardouin* can tell, it was agreed that expressly the right be referred, as well to that, as to any other thing, not expresse there mentioned. Comes also pretences & demands & similes exceptions & defences in apperance by the Treaty. And as touching *Newham*, Monsieur *Chancelier*, more in it twatching. The one, the first eare, the other, the keeping after the peace as agreed vpon amongst your issues. As for the first eare, I deny that our men of warre made any invasion or came by force. But being requested and desired aide of a great number of Noblemen, and other who were in peril and danger. And whether did they like invaders (I make for all the time that they were not assailed) spoile any, or robbe any I no, they tooke not an hancane or an egge, but they paid for it: I, if any complain I offer to pay it: This is no invasion, not no hostility: but the aid of a friend, and at their requests and pursuins: whose doings I, as well for matter of *Armes*, as for other things done in that tumult, you have declared by *Edict* to have bene done: a *bon facit per vestre force*, which may truly be said, for by their means and defence a great number of your good Subiects, as well men as women, as well *Captives* as *Souldiers*, of whom Monsieur *Le Chancelier* did now boast, as of other not *Souldiers*, are saved now to doe you service: which else should have bene a prey and spoile to them which fought but the ruine of halfe or third part at the least of your Realm. For the consideration of whom, yet in part may thank the *Queene my Mistress*. And this for the first dissent of our men. Now where Monsieur *Chancelier* saith that the *Queene my Mistress* changed her pretence, I will doe say shee kept her first protestation. That she would appropriate no *Land, Towne, nor Fortresse* of the King to her, nor shee did neuer claime *Newham* as hers, but coming peaceably into it, having bene at great charge and cost, it was both wildeome and reason all other being satisfied and content, shee should at the least have some reason offered her in her right to *Callis*. And otherwise shee did not hold *Newham*, which thing was manifestly declared at *Gallies*, where *Articles* were drawn not unreasonable, and the matter to farre forward that they were signed with my hand, and carried but for power and Commission to affirme them. But the mortality and pestilence growing so great in *Newham*,

The French had rather make faults then lose lands.

A little there is that the English.

Callis a continuall pike-quarrell.

The Constable.

So the Smith.

The French all for them have who doe not they look.

Philly Cousin.

The French the cause that *Callis* was not recovered in the peace.

The conditions reserved.

No hostile attempt in entering *Newham*.

The benefit accruing vpon the French by the side of the English.

Newhaue, gave too much advantage, in this matter taken; and the reasonable dealings in this matter broke off, other meaning her Maestie had none.

(57) *No said the Comptroller, what meant such preparation, and promise? I cannot shill of things, but in that art wherein I have been brought up and exercised all my life, I can shill little. There was such a number of Horse burnes for the carter's number of a Dragoon, such provisions of Games of Bacon, Cheese and other things, and above five thousand men, that am I sure went out of it, besides all those that were dead: can you make me believe that all this was for Newhaue alone? No Maesire (said he) I know what belongs to a Towne of Warre. Yea, said another and the Ships also that came: Nay said the Comptroller they came too late. Why, said the Queene-mother smiling, will you make us believe that all that preparation was for Newhaue alone?*

(58) *Widowde would, Madam, quoth Sir Thomas Smith, because the sea and winde doe not serue at all times, that there should be good store of all manner of provision. No, no (said she) there was a further meaning but as you have quitted Newhaue, so will you quit Calis, and let us be friends; I am able to say for those demands, nor of the sums of money for which you had H-flags. All is gone from you quite. Your Queene in coming to Newhaue hath quitted all. Shee must forget that matter cleane, and let us be friends still. The King my sonne hath offer as much friendship as need to be, but as for Calis ye must neuer speake of it. It is hard, Madame, said Sir Thomas Smith, for a man to forget his right, or not to remember a wrong offered. Nay, no wrong (said she) you have heard what Maesire Le Chamberlain hath said, and what all those of my sonne Counsell doe say. Madame (quoth he) it is for the most part piece that men be partiall in their owne causes, I doe assure you, that the Queene my Soveraigne doth thinke that she hath as good right to Calis as any Towne in England; and so doe all her Counsell: and whatsoever ye have heard, I am able to say for her right even out of hand, but they a great deale more. But Sir, quoth Sir Thomas, is this the final answer I shall have? Yea, said the King. That ye will not render Calis unto her Maestie, according to the Treaty, nor pay the five hundred thousand Crowns which is for the peice.*

(59) *No said the King, I will keepe them both according to the Treaty: well then said Sir Thomas I have no more to say, but to bring this report to her Maestie, which I shall be loath to doe: and thereupon himselfe, and Sir Henry Norris, rose up to depart, doing their obeisance. But you take not your leave, Maesire Le Chamberlain for altogether said the Queene. Yes forth said Sir Thomas. Doe you intend to come no more at Court? No Madame, except the Kings Maestie doe command me. But I am faine to carry this answer so precise, and that there is so little regard of the Queene my Soveraigne right. No right, said the Queene, for if there were any, the King my sonne, would be loath to offer her any wrong: ye have heard all the reasons, I am well that you will take upon you, you that are learned, to defend yourselfe escape. Ah Madame (said he) I see well, it is true on your part, that men be blinde in their owne causes and advantages. Surely (quoth she) the Queene (my good sister) shall have more advantage than as it is, there to demand Calis. And I pray you persuade her. I Madame, against her right? You must not say so, I pray you commend me hartely to the Queene, my good sister, and desire her to keepe the amity and love which I trust her and my sonne, and I shall be ready to doe her what for mee or pleasure I can quoth the Queen and so said the King. Thus this conference ended, and Calis kept still by the French.*

(60) Now as these distillures fell betwixt England and France, and these broken Covenants ministered occasions to set each against others: So at the same time, the affaires of Scotland was carried with so violent a motion as set the Lords at dissensions, and the land in civill sedition; so as not onely outrages were committed vpon the best Subjects, but even

vpon the vertuous King and Queene themselves, him they shamefully murdered in a most barbarous manner, and he they tooke prisoner, forced her to resigne government, and lastly to flye into forraigne parts for succour. But knowing that this Subject is to be writ with a farre more noble pen, and our extant relations from vacante and suspected reports; we will forcefull to intermeddle in the particulars of that Queene's affaires, excepting onely in such intercourses of State, as are women in ours, and cannot otherwise be assayed without maime of History; this onely in generall.

(61) *Mary Queene of Scotland* having imbarcked herselfe for France, where she well hoped to finde many friends; by contrary winde (accompanied with fixtene persons) landed at *Workin* in *Cumberland*, and from thence was conueied to *Carlisle*, to *Bolton Castle*, and lastly to the custody of the Earle of *Sherburne*. Whose troubles and misfortune, *Elizabeth* both pittied and sought to redresse; writing in her behalf vnto the Regent of Scotland, and blaming the Lords of the many wrongs done to their *Queen*, which indeede were intolerable to roiall authority, and such, as other Princes could not but looke to redresse, and reuenge; notwithstanding such was the distillure of those discontented Lords, or the frownes of those small times, that in England the remained ever after during her life.

(62) As the melours grew great betwixt these two great Queene, *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, by the working instruments of the Pope and forraigne Princes; so by the like meanes, were the like distillures bred and nourished in some of the greatest English Peeres, towards their Soveraigne, whose Peace, under pretext of Religion, they irreligiously disturbed. Among these, the first in rank, time and disloyalty, were the two Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, who with *Leicester Dukes*, *Nesbit*, *Norton*, *Tempest*, *Dawley*, and others, purposed on the sudden to have intirized the Earle of *Suffolk*, the *Queens* Lieutenant of the North, in his house at *Cressley*, but therein prevented, they were enforced to keepe secret their intents, till some fit occasion should chaffe to be ministered. They had in readinesse against their rising, certayne English Priests, *Morton*, and others, with *Buller* and instruments of abolition, reconciliation, and taking of Oathes to the Pope and his doctrine, which was not so secretly done, but that *Queen Elizabeth* vigilant Counsellors had an inkling thereof.

(63) *Thomas Perrie*, (so was *Northumberland* Earle named) lying in his Castle of *Towsey* in *Yorkshire*, had gone so farre in his intended purposes, as he could not returne; who being sent for vnto the Court, strooke a great amazement and sudden feare unto the other conspirators heere; and his owne gilty minde was much more distracted, vpon notice that some forces were approaching for his apprehension; and whereupon all affrighted, he rose from his bed, and caused the Bels to be rung in a most confused manner, so that the Townesmen called, all sought to defend and follow him their chiefe Lord.

(64) The nest thus broken before the birds could well flye, he departed to *Windsor*, where he met with *Charles Nesbit* Earle of *Westmerland*, and his following consorts; who joining in Council, made no conscience to vndoe many true Subjects, and innocent men: Forshewing the *Queens* name in their Proclamations and Commissions, they commanded the Countrey to follow them in Armes; sometimes pretending the safety of her Maesties person, in danger (they said) by Treason in working; and sometimes in case of Conscience for restoring their former Religion, which if themselves should neglect, other forraigne Princes (said they) would doe, to the little perill of the Realme.

(65) In this zeale they hasted to *Durham*, with as forward an intcut as *Ierobam* did to *Bethel*, to set

Tucking of their
Lachment
mould to it.
The Queene
Surrender
appell
ed by her owne
Subject.

Queene Mary of
Scotland in prison
in England.

Queene Elizabeth
in Scotland
the same in her
behalf.
Table. 68. 19.

The Pope's in-
fluence con-
tributed
in the English
towards their
Soveraigne.
The Earle of
Northumberland
and Westmerland
in rebellion.

Shew as a Popish
first advances
the rebellion
with Popish
Bishops.

An.D. 1569
The Earle of
Northumberland
sent for to the
Court, brought
northward.
Novem. 14.

The persecutors
of the Rebels.

On the 22nd of
Feb. 1570.

upon his golden Chain, where they rent and tare the Bible, in as great a contempt, as *Isachin* did the rowle that *Ieremy* wrote: at *Durham* they besprinkled their Host with holy water, for feare of spirits, and at *Windsor* heard Masse, to forward their Treason, with the assistance of that Propitiatory Sacrifice. Whence, with Banners displayed, they entered *Brewinbridge*, and *Norton* being their *Ancient*, whose Ensigne was the Crosse, and fine wounds of our Lord.

The strength of
the Popish Re-
bels.

(66) From thence they went to *Tadcaster*, *Wetherby*, and *Bransham Moor*, where they mustered hundreds hundreds of Horsemen, and some thousand footmen, intending therewith to march unto *Turke*. But their mindes altering, they fell upon *Barnard Castle*, which after eleven daies resistance, was yielded unto them: as that fortunate enurance did soo-animateth their rebellious conceits, as that in their letters sent to their favourers, they daigned their Sovereign no better stile, then *Elizabeth the late Queene*, pretended *Queene*, and so *Queene* indeede: as likewise did the Countesse of *Northumberland* in her Letter sent unto *Shelsley*, and others of the faction, in far worse termes.

The Rebels im-
pudently towards
their Sovereign.
M.C. of Pack-
ment.
The Ditch of
of Favers, &c.

There are great
and great.

(67) These things diligendy, and their rebellions still going on, *Proclamations* came forth denouncing them *Traitors* to their *Queene* and *Country*, and the Lord *Sergeant* Warden of the *West-Marches*, with the assistance of the Earle of *Cumberland*, and other Gentlemen of the *Countrey*, kept the Castle of *Carlisle*, while *Sir John Foster* warden of the *Middle-Marches*, accompanied with *Sir Henry Perrie*, exercised their manly assistance against these proud Rebels.

The Earle of
Suffolk leads a-
gainst the Re-
bels.

(68) To withstand their still-growing outrage, *Thomas Earle of Suffolk* (her Majesties *Lieutenant General* of the North) gathered some forces, whose *Lieutenant* for the footmen was *Edward Earle of Rutland*, and for the Horsemen, was *Henry Lord Hunsford*, Lord Warden of the *East-Marches*, *William Lord Eversley* the rearward. They followed the enemy to *North-Alerton*, *Croftbridge*, *Alke*, *Durham*, *Newcastle*, and *Hexam*, came close at their heeles; whose power was so weak, and purle to empty, (being defrauded of an hundred thousand Crowns, promised them by the Pope, to maintaine the Rebellion) as that those Rebellions heads entered conference with *Edward Dacres* at *Neworth*, of their desperate estate, being both monileffe and powerlesse to withstand the puissance of the Lord General, now on their backs, as also the Earles of *Warwick*, and *Lincolne*, the Lords *Ferrers*, *Willelmis*, and *Howard*, approaching very nere them, came at *Brewinbridge*. No other succours their consultations could pitch on, then by flight into *Scotland*, unto those Lords that there stood out for the Romish.

His Majesty
personally en-
deavours to sub-
vert the Rebellion.

The Rebels dis-
perce off.

The chief Re-
bels flye into
scotland.

The remaining
rebels are ex-
ecuted.

Lernard Dacres
conquers the Re-
bellion.

(69) So the Night following they put it in practise, not bidding their intrapped traine once farewell, which as *Sheepe* without a *Shepherd*, stood gazing at their owne destructions, whilst *Suffolk* surprized them without any resistance. Upon whose ringleders, Justice is seized, that at *Durham* died, by *Murthall Law*, an *Alderman*, a *Priest*, and sixe six *Confessors*, and in the *Countrey* for a great Circuit, a great number of such as were forward in the Action.

(70) Not warned by these successes (which vinally prove unhappy, in such disloyal attempts) *Lernard Dacres* of *Hartley* began to gather head againe; whose aiders were the more resolute, in revenge of their friends executed; and women also became stout Soldiers in quarrell of their husbands, as forward enough, and too forward to mischiefe. They upon a more nere unto *Neworth*, to impeach the Lord *Hunsford*, that made thitherward, had set downe their battell in a triangle forme, where they continued a long and most desperate combat, but in the end were forced to give backe, and *Dacres* to flee from his flaine, wounded, and scattered people, towards

Scotland, the then Refuge of Traitorous transfu-
gers.

(71) *Scotland* thus harbouring those disloyal *English*, and their owne Lords divided into feircall factions, some of them sought to concelle, and some to apprehend these guilty *Earles*: so that *Westmorland*, was shifted away into *Flanders*, but *Northumberland*, taken by the *Regent*, and committed to *Custody*, was afterwards sent into *England*, where having bene attainted by Parliament, upon the twentie two of *August* was beheaded at *Turke*: viling liberty of speeche, in anowing the *Popes* Supremacy, denying subjection unto his *Soveraigne Queene*, affirming the Realme to be in a *Schisme*, and her obedient Subjects no better then *Heterodoxes*. *Charles Westmorland* his consort, a person vicerly wasted by loosenesse of life, even by Gods iust iudgement, in the time of his Rebellion, was bereaved of children, and afterwards wandring in foraigne parts, had his body eaten with vicers of lewde cruelties, as is most constantly reported. But from these temporal proceedings (being the Domestick effects of a foraining cause) let vs a while behold the spirituall Romish of the *Popes* leaden Sword, vnturbated at *Rome*, to enpire and enflame such traitorous dispositions against *England* *Queene*.

(72) *Nicholas Mercurius* an *Englishman*, made Bishop by *Pius* *Regimus*, that Pontifical and furie Pope of *Rome*, who now having turned the key of his Conscience, and set wide open the doore unto the complaints of his Clergy, against those Christian Princes, that wraged inhibition to their positive Lawes (a Note indeed ill sounding in the eares of his fionnes) amongst others, this puppet Bishop, commenced a feined suite and plea against *Queene Elizabeth*, whom thereupon *Pius* (like a transcendent Iudge) deprived from all Princely authoritie, as one vncapable either of Crown, or Government, and with the curse of his Impious mouth, fere forth his Bull to gauge her *Majesty* like to those of *Basilius*, that encompassed *Darius*; the treasure whereof (if the words corrupt not the aire, and the ink the eyes of the beholders) shal Rand for ever as a *Pillar of Saltpetre*, Monument of shame to this *Man of sinne*: the transcript whereof, taken from the original it selfe, is as followeth.

Pij Papa 5. Pontificis Maximi Sententia do-
clatoria contra Elizabetham, praefatum
Angliae Regem, & ei adherentes Hactenus.
Qui etiam declaratur absolutus omnes subditi a
iuramento fidelitatis, & quaecunque alia de-
bita, & ainceps obediencia Anathemate al-
lagantur.

Mercurius was
Peter called
our with a key
in his right hand,
with his left hand
he opened to a
Clergy he
opened a Bull,
and gave to a
long sentence, &c.
at last issued.

Mercurius the
Pope's confessor
was called in to
a line, &c.
a Clergy he
opened a Bull,
and gave to a
long sentence, &c.
at last issued.

Mercurius in Saint
Peter's day, in
his right hand
he gave to a
line, &c.
a Clergy he
opened a Bull,
and gave to a
long sentence, &c.
at last issued.

Pius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, ad fu-
turam rei memoriam.

(73) *Regnum* in *Excessu*, cui data est omnis in celo
& in terra potestas, unum semel cum Catholicum & Apo-
stolicum Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, vni soli in
terris, videlicet, Apostolice Principis Petro, Petri, suc-
cessori Romano Pontifici, in potestate plenitudinis tradidit
gubernandum. Hunc unum super omnes gentes: & omnia
regnum principem constituit, qui ecclesias, diffinit, dis-
perdat, placet, & adfert, ut vellet populum mutua
charitatis nexu constringat, ut vnitatis spiritus cruci-
net, saluemet, & in celum super ecclesiam ad Salvatorem. Quis
quidem in munere elevando, nos ad praesentem Ecclesiam ge-
neralem Dei benignitate vocati, milium laborem in-
fermittimus.

A.D. 1570.

Extraction of In-
fants, &c.

Westmorland
and.

The Pope in-
deavors to re-
store *Queene*
Elizabeth.

Mercurius com-
menced suit a-
gainst *Queene*
Elizabeth before
Pope in *Pius*
Regimus.

John 12. 13.

The Bull of *Pius*
Agrippa in dis-
tinct *Queene*
Elizabeth.

temissimus, amos opera contemnentis, ut ipsa unitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius Author, ad probandum suorum fidem & correctionem nostram, tanti procelis conspectui permisisse) integra conservetur. Sed impotens numerat tantum potentissimam, ut nullus tam in arde lacessit relinquit, quem illi pessima doctrina contumgere non temerant, admittente (inter ceteros) Regiarum Senatus Elizabetha, preterea Anglia Regem, ad quam veluti ad Asylum omnium Insuperiorum profugum invenerunt. Hæc eadem, Regem occupans, Supremæ Ecclesiæ caput locum in omni Anglia, vigisque præcipuam auctoritatem atque in iurisdictione monstravit. Iste visus, Regem ipsum, tam tunc ad fidem Catholicam, & bonam fragram redactam, rursus in nostrum exitum revoocat. Vsu namque vera Religio, quam ab illis deservire Hereticos ad nos olim cursum, clara memoria Maria Regina legitima heres sedis præfido reparaverat, potens manu inhibita, fovens, & complexus hæreticam erroribus, Regem Concilium ex Antiquæ Nobilitate constitutum diuina, illudque obsecrans humilibus hereticis emulans, Catholica fidei cultores oppugnat, improbos emendat, atque impotens admodum reposit. Atque sacrificium, preces, scintilla, cibum delectum, & cibum rursus Catholicos aboleat. Liberos mississimum hæreticos conueniens toto Regno præcipuam mississimum hæreticos ad Cæsum præscriptum à se sacroscepto obsecrata, etiam à subditis servari mandant. Episcopos Ecclesiarum, Rectors, & alias Sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesiis & Beneficiis egerit, ac de illis & alijs rursus Ecclesiis, in hæreticos homines disponere, deus Ecclesiæ causis decernere assu, Prælati, Clerici & Populi per Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, ut cum præceptis sanctissimis, canonibus obtemperarent, interdictis, plerisque in nostras suas leges venire, & Romanæ Pontificis auctoritatem atque obedientiam obducere, seque solum in temporibus & spiritualibus Dominum agnoscerent intercedendo ceteris, per nos & supplicia in eis qui dictis non essent audientes impetuit, eisdem alijs qui in unitate fidei & prædicta obediencia persisterant, excipit; & Catholicos Antiquos & Ecclesiarum Rectores in concula conest, ut multi daturum languere. Et tristitia confecti, æternum vitæ diem misere forent. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes perspicua & notoria sint, & gravissimo quædam morum sequestratio ita comprobata, ut nullis omnino locis excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur; Nos, multiplicatibus alijs atque alijs super alias impetuitibus & facinorosis, & præterea fidelium persecutione, Religionisque officio, impulsu & opera dicta Elizabetha quodlibet magis intransigente, quoniam illius animus ita obsecratum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modis par Catholicam Principum de fœderate & conversione preces, monitionesque contempnit, sed ne hinc quidem sedis ad ipsum hac de causâ Nuncios, in Angliam transire permittit, ad arma iustitia contra eam de necessitate conuenit, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamus in vnum animadvertere cum manere de Republica Christianitatis imperio meretur. Illius itaque auctoritate iussit, qui nos in hoc supremo Iussu Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolica potestate plenius declaramus prædictam Elizabetham hæreticam, & hæreticorum sanctorem, eoque adherentes in prædictis, Anathemati sententiam incurrisse, effugit & Christi corporis unitate præcisi. Quicunque ipsam prædictam Regem prædictam, nec non amicos & quoscunque Dominus, dignitate privilegiorum priuatum, & licet Proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, & ceteros omnes, qui illi quomodocumque iurauerint, & iuramento inuoluntati, ac omni prædictam Dominum, subditos & aliquos debite perpetuo obsecrat, prout nos illas prædictas auctoritates quibuslibet & primo mandamus Elizabetham prædictam Regem, alijs, omnibusque prædictis. Prædictisque & interdictis conuenit & fugatis proceribus, subditis, populo, & alijs prædictis, ut illi causæ iussu, mandatis, & legibus obediunt obedire. Qui seueri egerint, eorum simili anathematis sententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nunc esset preces quoscunque illi opus erit perficere, volumus ut eorum exempla, Notarii publici manu, & Prælati Ecclesiastici, eiusque Curia sigillis obsecrata, eandem illam prædictam fidem in iudicio, & ex tra illud, obsequio gentium faciant,

quoniam prædictis facerent, si essent existeret vel essent. Datum Roma apud S. Petrum. Anno incarnationis Domini, 1569. Quinto Calend. Martij, Pontificatus nostri Anno quinto.

The same in English.

The declaratorie sentence of the Vniuersall Bishop, Pope Pius the first, against Elizabeth the pretended Queene of England, and against the Hereticks that take her part.

Wherein also all her subiects are declared to be absolved from the Oath of Allegiance and any other due whatsoever, and besides they that doe obey her are pronounced accursed.

Pius the servant of the servants of God for remembrance hereby in time to come.

(74) He that reigneth above, to whom is giuen all power in Heauen and Earth, hath committed in fullness of power to be gouerned, one holy Catholike and Apostolike Church (where-out is no saluation) to one only in Earth, namely, Peter the Prince of the Apostles, and to the Roman Bishop the Successor of Peter. And him alone hath he made Chiefe ouer all Nations and Kingdomes, who may roote out, destroy, scatter, waste, plant and build: that the faithfull people knit together with the band of mutual Charity, might be kept in the vniuersity of the Spirit, and prebested in health and safety vnto their Satiour. For the vndergoing of which office we being called by the goodnesse of God to the gouernment of the said Church, doe refuse and omit no paines, labouring by all means that thin vniuersity and Catholike Religion (which the Author thereof for the trial of the Faith of those that be his and for our correction and amendment, hath suffered to be tossed with so great afflictions) might be preserved whole and entire. But the number of the wicked hath so much increased in power, that now there is no place in the world left, which they haue not attempted to corrupt by moit wicked doctrine, among the rest, Elizabeth the seruant of sinfullity, the pretended and vnlawfull Queene of England, with whom, as in a Sanctuary the moit wicked persons of all doe finde a refuge. This Queene, ruling the Kingdom, and monstrously vitiating by her selfe the place of the Supreme Head of the Church throughout all England, and the chief authority & iurisdiction of the same, hath reuoked againe to miſerable ruine this very Kingdom which was in a manner recovered againe to the Catholike faith and good deuotion. For the vse of the true Religion (which the moit lawfull Queene, Mary of famous memory by the helpe of this Sente, had repaired, being before by the Apostate, Henry the eight, ouerthrowne) now by strong hand restrained, and the errors of hereticks embraced and followed; she hath removed the Councell of State that consisted of the English Nobility, and filled the same with obſcure heretick fellows; she hath oppressed the Professors of the Catholike faith, and hath set vp wicked Preachers and Ministers of impieties. Shee hath abolished the Sacrifice of the Masse, Priests, Almes, disſtence of meate, single life, and Catholike rites. Shee hath commanded bookes to be let forth containing manifest Heresie, and her selfe viling and observing wicked Rites and Institutions, according to Cæſars prescription; hath also commanded them to be observed by her subiects. Shee hath presumed to cast our Bishops of Churches, Rectors, and other Catholike Priests, from their Churches and Benefices, and to dispose of them and other Ecclesiasticall livings among Heretickal men; presuming also to iudge of Church matters; shee hath forbidden the Priests, the Church and people, that they should

not acknowledge the Romane Church, nor that they obey his Precepts and Canonial Injunctions, she hath compelled many to yeld to her wicked Lawes, and to forswear and abuse the authority and obedience of the Romane Bishop, and to acknowledge her by their Oath the onely Governour in temporal and spirital matters; she hath imposed penalties and punishments upon those which were not obedient to her command, and hath exacted the like upon them which persecuted in the vanity of the Faith, and in the aforesaid obedience; she hath cast into prison the Catholike Governours and Rectors of Churches, where many, laden with daily languishings and sorrow, have woefully ended their lives. All which things forasmuch as they are notorious and manifest to all Nations, and so approved by the most graine testimony of very many, that no way is left them, for excuse, defence, or evasion; We mone by the impieties and mischiefes that more and more manifestly, besides the grievances of the faithfull, the affliction of Religion which groweth daily more intolerable by the means and working of the said *Elizabeth*, whose minde is so hardened and indurate, that she hath not onely contemned the godly prayers and admonitions of Catholike Princes for her health and conversion, but also hath not suffered the messengers of this See to come into *England* to her about this business; We, I say, mone by these causes, have of necessity broken our selves to the weapons of Justice against her, not being able to refuse from griefe and sorrow, that wee must needs punish such a one, whose Ancestors have so well deserved of the Common weale, and of all Christendome. Being therefore strengthened with his authority, who hath pleased to set vs in this supreme Throne of Iustice, though vnfit for so great a burden, we by the force of our Apostolike power, doe declare the foresaid *Elizabeth* an Hereticke, and a maintainer of Heretikes, and those that take her part in the things aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of *Anathema*, and to be cut off from the vinity of Christs body. And moreover that shee is deprived of the pretended right of her said Kingdome, and also from all Rule, dignity, and preheminentia whatsoever, and also her Nobility, Subjects and People of the said Realme, and all other which have sworn vnto her, by any manner of means are absolved to reuer from such Oath, and from all duty of Empire, fidelity and obedience, in such sort as we doe abillie them by the authority of these presents, and deprive the said *Elizabeth* of the pretended right of the Kingdome, and of all other things aforesaid. And we doe command and forbid all and singular of the Nobility, Subjects, People, and other aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her admonitions, commands, nor lawes. Whosoever shall doe otherwise, we doe enwrappe them in the like curse. And because it were too difficult a matter to bear these presents to euery place where there is need, we will that the Copies of them being signed with the hand of the publike Notary, and the Ecclesiasticall Prelate, or with the Seale of his Court, haue the same credit and authority in Court, and without it with all Nations euery where, that the prelates themselves should haue if they were exhibited. Given at *Rome* at Saint *Peters* in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1569. the fifth of the Calends of *March*, and of our Papacie the fifth.

(75) The webbe thus woven by these Spiders of *Rome*, and the Cockatrice Egge hatched into a Serpent, many were implored to patch vp this garment of iniquity, and Spies first abroad to corrupt *Englands* sweet aire; the one sort, plotters of insinuations to lay the Land waste, and the other, conspirators against her annoyed person. The chief of them both in this place, (omitting the order of *Annales*) that they may ranke together without interruption of better narrations, & not infect the paper in more places then one, I will heere lay downe; assuring

my selfe, that many more attempts were plotted then euer were disclosed. For the thunderbolt of curses throwne from that *Iupiter of Rome*, denouncing her Maestie vncapable either of Crowne or Kingdome, tooke such rootes in the hearts of these Locusts, that they both armed themselves openly to batell, and secretly fought to imbrue their barbarous hands in their Princes blood.

(76) For this Brutish Bull, calld in the Popes Consistory (or rather Cow-house) and now able to trauell from *Rome*; in *London* and at the Well end of *Pauls*, first put forth his hornes, being there hung vpon the Bishops Pallace gate, by a lewde person imploied as an Herald from the Pope. *Marian* an old English fugitiue (as hath bene said) had procured it: brazen-faced *Sanders* in his writings maintaineth it; *Brinsley* in his *Motives* approved it; *Northumberland* & *Nemil* had put it in practice, *Iohn Felton* had dialged it, the two *Norwies* supported it, and many after-followers assaid to execute it; all which, like Serpents bite the bolosoma, wherein themselves lay, but neuer could hurt her, the *Lords belind*, and holy *Annotated*, who in pence & glory came to her grace, and in a full age, as a ricker of *Corne* into the *Barne* in due season.

(77) The Marthallists, besides them in the North, were *Iohn Throckmorton*, *Thomas Brooke* and *George Redman* with others, who intended with sound of Trumpet and Drumme, to proclaim their duellish deligne at *Marston Faire* in the Countie of *Norfolke*; their heere being for the imprisonment of Strangers, but their maine end, to make a strange alteration in the State; whereby they hastened their owne ends, suffering a death due to Traitors.

(78) But more dangerous were those Conspirators, which secretly plotted to bring in *ferreigne powers*, or publicly by their writings animated men therunto, defaming the faire face of *Englands* Religion, and deforming the body of *Elizabeths* Government; in which kinde *Sanders* and *Brinsley* two English fugitiues, were the *lamnes* and *lambers* that *misflooded* *Moses*; men of corrupt mindes, and enemies to the Faith; Traitors, heady and badly minded, having a *flour* of godliness, but denying the power thereof, as the *Apostle* prophesied, that in the last daies *foreshould* arise: both of them approving *Pier Pontius* his proceeding about her *Marston* depuration, and iustifying the wicked in their rebellions, contrarie to the doctrine of that *Apostle*, whose Chaire they pretend to uphold. From which kinde of iniquity, issued those corrupt streames, that became bitter as wormewood, the taste whereof brought many to their vntimely, but well-deserved, deaths: among whom, first was *Felton*, the two *Norwies*, *Kensellorne*, *Barne*, and *Edmond Mathew*; not long after whom, followed *Doctor Stury*, who may not bee forgotten in our Story.

(79) This man by birth was English, though an Alien in heart, by profession a Civilian, and Doctor of the *Canon Law*, a persecutor of Gods Saints in the daies of the last Queene, and in this *Queens* raigne, a turbulent inuisager against the Religion established in the English Church. For which being apprehended and committed to prison, he found means of escape, and in *Antwerpe* received Commission vnder Duke *D'Alva*, to search all Shippes coming thither, for English books; not forgetting his tyranny whereby in he had bene trained, nor to further traitorously many and great attempts to bring in *ferreigne powers*, for *Englands* overthrow. But the pit that he digged, he fell into himselfe, and the destruction prepared for others, light on his owne pate; for *Colou Parker*, an English Marchant, loyally affected to his Prince, trading to *Antwerpe*, laid his snare faire to catch this foule bird; causing secret notice to bee giuen vnto *Stury*, that in his Ship were store of Hereticall books, with other intelligences, which might stand him in fledge.

(80) The Canonist concluding that all was Cock-sure

Apoc.
The Popes Bull hang'd up in the City of London has gone.

Persons and letters of the Bull
Said, de Vindicta, de Vindicta, de Vindicta.

161. 161.

An.D. 1570

History of the execution of the traitors.

Secret instructions to do as in the execution of the traitors.

161. 161.

161. 161.

Apoc. 161.

Letters received upon execution of traitors.

Doctor Stury.

His imprisonment and flight.

His imprisonment beyond the Sea.

161. 161.

The fruits and effects of the Popes Bull.

Cockatrice, hallooed to execute his Commiſſion himſelfe, where with lookes very bigge vpon the poore Mariners, each Cabbin, Cheſt and Corner, aboue board were ſearched, & ſome things found to draw him further on; ſo that the hatches muſt be opened, which ſeemed to bee vnrwillingly done, and great ſignes of feare was ſhewed by their faces. This drew on the Doctour to deſcend into the hold; where owne in the trap, the mouſe might well gnawe, but could not get out, for the hatches went downe, and the ſailles boyled vp, which with a merrie gale were blowe into England, where ere long hee was arraigned and condemned of high Treafon, and accordingly was executed at *Tilbury*, as he had well deſerved.

(81) To the like end came *Sherwin, Campion, Kirby*, with others ſeditious trumpetters of this infamous Bull, and *Sander* the Irish Legate, and greate maintainer of his goring authority, though hee eſcaped the Barre of iuſtice, yet was found out by a raiſing *Phœnix*, as he wandred ſuccourleſſe in the waile mountains of *Ireland*, wherein laſtly hee miſerably died. But to leave theſe poiſonous tougemen and libelous pen-men to reſpire their owne ſhame, and leave their conſciences with the brand of ſincke; let vs diſcouer thoſe other daring and ſwearing Monſters, who actually imploied themſelves, to lay, either violent hands vpon her Maieſties perſon, or the Land open to *forraine inuaſions*.

(82) The firſt of them (or firſt manifested) was *Iohn Semmorie* of *Elſſome* in *Warwickeſhire*, a furious young man, who like a tempeſt that threatened deſtruction, came ragingly forward towards the Court, with intent to murder the Queene; the progreſſe of which attempt ſommarily was thou. Keeping his *ſpight* ſent with *Arden* (his wiues father) he was there ſo wrought by *Halls* Seminary Prielt, as hee conceived a deſperate rage againſt her Maieſty, holding it a matter (ſeing there was no hope of alteration during the life of the Queene) meritorious to make her away; to which bloody reſolution, he was further inflamed by his wicked wife. Whereupon returning home, hee grew much perplexed, hauing many feares and conſults in himſelfe, which cauſed his wife to write vnto *Hall*, to come and ſtrengthen the man with firmer reſolutions. But hee, buſied elſewhere with the like purpoſes, by letter excuſed his not coming, yet therein adolied him to goe forward, promaiſing hee would aſſiſt him with his prayers to God for his good ſucceſſe.

(83) This letter reſcinded, hee grew fully reſolued to aduate the deſigne, and hallooed his journey a-mayue towards *London*, who no ſooner departed, but that his wife ſent *Halls* letter vnto her mother, and theer preſently made it knowne to *Arden* her husband, which letter hee cauſed to bee borne as ſoon as himſelfe was called to queſtion. But *Semmorie* diſcouered by the way, was indicted in *Warwicke*, and thoſe his Aſſociates condemned of high Treafon in *London*; *Semmorie* confeſſing his iocund ſaid, that hee had bene mooued thereunto by his wicked ſpirit, and by the incitements of certain ſeditious perſons, his Kinfmen and Allies, together with the often reading of pernicious bookes, publiſhed againſt her Maieſty. This deſperate Roſſian committed to *Newgate*, after his condemnation, moſt deſperately ſtruggled himſelfe to death, as an example of Gods ſuering againſt ſuch ſonnes of diſobedience.

(84) Of which litter in the dayes of this bleſſed *Deborah*, not ſo few as *hundred and twenty* of knowne *Leſuites* and *Semmories* ſcrawled like frogs, through her faire ſoile, croaking, and ſpawning their doctrine to recall obedience to the Pope, and diſſwading the Subjects from the allegiance vnto their Queene. Of this number fifty three with pardon of life were baniſhed the land, and the reſt as Traitors died for conſpiracy againſt her perſon, and breach of the law in that caſe enacted for the

indemnity of the State. To ſhrowdethemſelues and their Diſciples from that daunger of law, as the ſoile of *Campion, Perſons, Maynard, and Hart*, a diſpenſation was giuen to the *Catholike* Catholikes, from the rigorous exteior of the forſaid Bull: ſo that moſt of their *Seminaries* imploied for England, caſt off their *Serpentine* ſhinner, and ſhewed themſelves abroad in the attire of *Gallants*, the more ſafely to vent their enenomed drugges, and to keep their Coales from preaching at the Gallows.

(85) To which end faculties were granted to *Robert Perſons* and *Edmond Campion*, vntill they could make their party ſtrong in *England*, which faculties were croggled on this wiſe;

Petatur à Summo Pontifici uſque, expreſſis, &c.
Let there be deſired of our moſt high Lord an expreſſion or meaning of the Bull declaratory, made by *Pius* the fifth againſt *Killicrobb*, and ſuch as do adhere or obey her: Which Bull the Catholikes deſire to bee vnderſtood in this manner, that the ſame Bull ſhall alwayes bind her and the Heretikes, but the Catholikes ſhall by no means bind, as matters doe now ſtand or be, till hereafter, when the publick execution of that Bull may bee had or made. And in the Concluſion thus, The highſt Pontiffe granted theſe foreſaid Graces to *Robert Perſons*, and *Edmond Campion*, who are now to take their way into *England* the fourteenth day of *April*, in the yeere of our Lord 1580. beinge preſent, the Father *Olivierus*, *Marſhall* aſſiſtant. And though the one of theſe *ſpiders* ſpoune his *Webbe* ſo in cotoers, as bee could not be found, yet was the other ſwept downe by the hand of iuſtice, and drew his laſt thread in the Triangle of *Tyboroc*. After whom others, as ſome likewiſe before them, ploughing with the ſame Henſer, and ſowing the furrow with the ſame ſeed, reaped their harueſt with no better increaſe then tares or darnell could yeild, as was ſene by their ſucceſſes.

(86) Wherein *Cuthbert Mayne* in *Cornwall* had (before this time) borne a part, who armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an old Copie for a new Iubile, with ſome other Writings, maintaining the authority of *Rome*, diſſwaded the naturall ſubiects from their due obedience, deſirating diuers holy *Graines* (as hee called them) by which, hee that had ſuch things bee knowne to bee ſure of that ſide, and thereby to bee defended in the bloody day, as by his inditement ſtandeth vpon Record, and colleſſed vnder his own baud.

(87) *Nellſon, Hauke, Larter, Briant, Coten*, and a great number of others, were all of them imploied, to draw the hearts of the Subiects from their Soeraigne, and to prepare way to an intended inuazion. And laſt maſſing Prielts ſhould bee wanting to make eaſie the ſcrues of their winding deuices, when their Cobwebbs were woven, *Thomas* brought *Holy Oyle* to beſmeare their *ſhauen Crowns*; *Hemford* a diſpenſation of *Pius Quintus* his Bull, not to extend to the *Catholikes*, vntill opportunity ſerued; and *Wattſdenke* was doobly employed, both to prepare aides to aſſiſt the enterpriſe, and to note the ſureſt landing places, for ſoeraine forces, which himſelfe ſent word to Doctour *Allen* hee had done.

(88) But *Iohn Paine* a Prielt ſtepped yet ſome what further, in praſtiting the death of her Maieſty, who with fifty *Reſolutes*, furniſhed at the Popes charge, was appointed violently to aſſaſſine her, beinge ſtenderly guarded as ſhee tooke her recreation abroad. Theſe and ſuch others are the men that are made *Martyrs* in the Popes Bead-rolle, as choſen *viſſes* to ſuffer for the *Remitt* cauſe, of which number *Sanders* was not worthy to be, as himſelfe Doctour-like ſignified in his letter vnto *Allen*, which here I inſert, according to the original, to ſhew what honeſt hearts he & his Mates did beare towards their Native Country.

To the Right Worſhipfull M. Doctour *Allen*
Iſtue, S. P. in *Domina*.

(89) *Tours* of the ſeventh of Iune came to my handes

E. Reg. 27.

A diſpenſation obtained from the rigor of the Bull.

Faculties granted by the Pope to the ſeminaries.

The ſeminaries ſent on the Pope

The Popes graces to his Agents.

A. D. 1577. *Cuthbert Mayne*, *Trenton*.

The virtues of holy Gaius.

Writings and other inſtruments of rebellion.

Thomas, *Manford*.

Wattſdenke.

Paine.

The Popes holy Martyrs.

A Letter of *Sanders* vnto M. *Allen*.

to greater comfort, then the success that followed could maintain. O pitifull change of things, the more need of peace within, to withstand such troublesome persecutions as you there have suffered. I am not worthy to partake them: they are for more chosen vessels. God grant you all there to know your own blessing, and to thank God of it. I had as much before my eyes long before, and still think it will still have no steady comfort but from God: a x A A, not o x Therefore I beseech you to take hold of the Pope for the King of Spain as it is fearful of war, as a Child of fire: and all his endeavours is to avoid all such occasions. * A will give two thousand when you shall be content with them. If they do not come to go to England, at the least they will force to go into Ireland. I thank you heartily for the favour you have showed to Gibbons brother, it seems to be a blessed bond for Gods sake because your favour shall that way, albeit I hear more your Secretary will againe fall to desolation. I have none other thing in this world so at the heart as to be with you: nor can I get leave to depart hence. Therefore if it so fall that it be no hinderance for you to come hither, I will not the occasion. Vale in Christo lesu victima ego te fruar in Domino, qui te in eternum tueretur. From Madrid the 6. of November, 1577.

(90) By this we see, what plottes were intended for the subversion of England, and what fruits those Italianate Fugitives brought forth; but as men cannot gather grapes from the Thorns, neither do finde the figges on the Thistle, so let these brambles bring forth their owne berries, and let their hands be prickt that seek to plucke them; as indeed they did, their of whom we are to write; whereof Francis Throgmorton a Gentleman well educated and of a good witte was one; who weary of longer delay, after so many yeeres plotting and consulting of an Inuasion, resolved to be the man himselfe, to bring the matter to an issue.

(91) This man solicited by Bernardine Mendez, the Spanish Legat-Ambassador lying in London, undertooke a most dangerous designe against his dread Soueraigne, and native Country, which was to bring in a foreign Army, and to alter Religion, with alienation of the Crowne and State. His imploiments was to found the haues for entrance, and to collect a Catalogue of the names of such great men in every Countrey of England, as stood for the Papall cause, vnto whom Charles Paget (masked vnder the names of Mope and Spring) was ioyned for an assistant. Sir Francis Englefield in the Low-Countries, and others elsewhere had vehemently solicited the King of Spain to attempt Englands Inuasion, and the Duke of Guise, undertooke to be the principall leader, conditionally that Rome and Spain, would beare the charge of the warre.

(92) For compassing this plotte, Throgmorton (for his part) had plotted a chard of the haucens and harbours of England, and gathered his Catalogue of Catholike aidens, which he presented vnto Medecia. In this his Sorow no place was held fitter to land these foraine powers, then was Arundell in Suffolk, both for the neere cutte from those parts of France, where the Guise means to muster his men, as also for the opportunity of assured pectons, to give them assistance, as they did presume. The want was onely Money; for which, messengers were employed vnto Rome and to Spain, whole returne was daily expected with bagges and Bills of Exchange, as they wished and well hoped, which confidently was assured by Bernardine Medecia, promising that the King his Master would beare halfe the charge of the enterprise.

(93) Thetreason thus forwarded and ready for execution, the Watchman of Israell, who euer wayed for the defence of his Anointed, and walled her inward with his owne protection,ooke out the fruite of this ill-concoited seed from the huske, before it was ripe. For Throgmorton suddenly apprehended, and his body searched, the Catalogue of

Romanized Gentlemen of every Shire, and the Haucens for landing of forraigne power, were therein found: with certaine Penreues touching the title to the English Crowne, and some infamous libels published beyond seas against her Maiesties person. But a certaine Casket couered with greene velvet, was cunningly conuied from vnder a bed, and carried to the Spanish Ambassador, wherein many things lay hid that neuer after came to light; as also a letter which himselfe was then writing in Ciphers, hee conuied from the sight of the searchers: all which himselfe confessed, and with his owne penne wrote the whole Conspiracie, for which, after iudgement hee most worthily died.

(94) Nor waxed by these, William Parry (as hee named himselfe) a man of a profuse wastefull life, riot, and prodigality, hauing consumed two widows wealths and wounded his Creditor, by committing Burglarie, was for the fault condemned to die, but eased and obtained his pardon of life by the compassionate mercy of Queen Elizabeth, which hee, vngratefull man, sought to requite, by vowing her death, that laued him from his. For traouelling into forraigne parts, and there obtaining the title of a Christian Doctor, he fell from his natural allegiance (as rancorous Malecontents usually doe) and reconciled himselfe vnto the See of Rome, then hauing frequent acquaintance and conference with certaine Jesuiticall Priests, was finally inspired with a hellish resolution to kill her who had giuen him life.

(95) Whereunto hee was further incited by Bernardine Palmis a father lesuite, Christopher de Salazar, Secretary to the Catholike King, and Thomas Morgan an English Fugitive, Amias a Catholike his Confessor, approving the diabolical deligne; and Rapaccini the Popes Nuncio, promising that this Catholike service should be remembered at their Altar. Two things were yet wanting, to strike vp this Calistrophe, which were the Popes approbation, and his Absolution from all his sinnes: to procure which, Cardinal Come was employed, who if effectually followed the business, that both were shortly procured, and sent him into England with a warrant to proceed in his Holies service.

(96) This armed from Rome, his promises on earth, and his vovues in heauen, the worke seemed meritorious, and the Queene must die: to effect which, no lister way could be found, then to faine himselfe a false Traitor indeed. For hauing priuate access to her presence, was heard at large, that hee was the man who had undertaken her death, which to sound the deepe waters, and to beare life with the fairest hee promised to doe, with no intent, as hee constantly affirmed, to all that imposed charge, but onely to discover those who laid for her life. Her Highnesse (whose piercing vnderstanding was not easily blinded or beguiled with words) seemed to doubtfully to interpret his confessed fact, which yet three kepe secret from her nearest Counselliers) that hee in great feare departed; as how can a confidence be clogged but feare? Whereupon his late letters from Rome hee shewed; which seeming also to be little esteemed, and his suit to be M^r. of S. Katherine, verily reiected, confirmed more desperately his resolution to kill her and often hauing weapon, presence, place & opportunity, purposely thought to performe it, but euer was daunted when he beheld the glory of her presence, and Maiesty in her face, wherein to his seeming the Image of God, in her his Vice-gerent, was portraied, commanding him obedience, and threatening destruction to those who intend violence against his holy anointed.

(97) This second part thus saying, he sought to vndermine the wallies yet another way; his vovues resting in heauen were holy moities (forsooth) to this hellish act, and Aliter booke redoubling his former resolutions (wherein eueri word was a warrant for his prepared minde, and eueri line taught, that Kings might be depeined, excommunicated, and violently

Secret Charge then.

A. Scemeth to signify the Pope.

Labe 4. 43. March. 7. 14.

The long consultation about an Inuasion directed towards an issue. Throgmorton Treason.

A.D. 1573. See the Division of Treason.

His deligne and prosecution of it.

Charles Paget.

Sir Francis Englefield.

Arundell the haue appointed for landing.

Bernardine Medecia.

Throgmorton apprehended.

Throgmorton confessed the whole conspiracy.

A.D. 1584. Parry's Treason.

M. Hugh More in the Temple.

Parry formerly and last here by the Queen's pardon.

The influence of his diabolical example.

Cardinal Come solicited the Pope for the effect.

Parry's confession; which hee confessed himselfe a Traitor.

Parry showed the Queen Cardinal Come's Letters. Parry showed with denial of his suit for Saint Katherine.

The modesty of Queen Elizabeth's presence, whose defence Parry attempted.

Parry animated by Aliter's words.

McEdward Writ

violently deposed, in case of the religion of Rome upon these figures he pulled to a worthy Gentleman, whom he supposed as discontented as himself, opening his Treason for the bringing in of *forraigne* *comaders* soliciting his assistance, and threatening with dagger or dagger to kill the Queene.

Parvins Treason detected.

For Francis was the prime man of the up for intelligence of State.

Parvins Treason detected under his own hand.

(98) The Gentleman, loathing this horrible intent, revealed the Treason unto two principall Privie Counselliers, and they unto her Majesty, who committed his examination unto Sir Francis Walsingham her principall Secretarie, a man of exquisite judgement, integrity and industry in all state affaires and intelligences; the Treasons then found out, and confessed by him self, were divulged by his voluntarie pen, and subscribed unto, with his owne hand, with many other circumstances unknowne before, and againe were seconded by another letter, written to the Lords of the Council, which here out of the Originall, I have inserted.

Parvins letter to the Lords of the Council.

(99) *My Lords, now that the conspiracy is discovered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and made prepared patiently to suffer paines due for so heinous a crime: I hope it shall not offend you, if crying, Misericorde, with the poore Publicke, I leave to despair with cursed Caine. Caine's life is rare, and strange, and for any thing I can remember singular: a naturall Subject's duty to save the death of his naturall Queene, (so borne, so hallowed, and so taken by all men) for the release of the afflicted Catholics, and restoration of Religion: the matter first conceived in France, the service in general words presented to the Pope, continued and further taken in Paris, and lastly, recommended and executed by his holiness's disgested and refined in England, if it had not been prevented by accusation, or by her Majesties greater lenity and more gracious age of her Catholic Subjects. This is my first and last offence conceived against my Prince or Country, and death (I cannot deny) condemne all other faults whatsoever. It is now to be punished by death, or most graciously (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doe confesse to have deserved: life I doe (with all humble) crave if it may stand with the Queens Honour, and peace of the time. To leave so great a Treason unpunished, were strange; to drive it by my death, is example, were dangerous. A favour for want to take upon him such an enterprise, open such a ground and by such a warrant, hath not beene from England. To indite him, arraign him, bring him to the Scaffold, and to publish his offence, can doe no good. To hope that hee hath more to discover than is confessed, or that at his execution he will say any thing he hath written, is in vaine. To conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were very hard and against for my experiences. The he question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (if the matter be mistaken) upon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine own opinion (though partiall) I will deliver my conference. The cause good Queene Elizabeth; the offence is committed against her sacred person: and (for any of her mercy) pardon is without prejudice to me. When this I say, as few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, than to live. Pardon poore Parvins, and release him: for life without living is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous or dishonourable to the Queens Majesty (as by your favours I thinke is full of honour and mercy) then I beseech your Lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be executed, and afterwards, if I may die, humbly to commend the Queens Majesty to hasten my trial and execution: which I pray God, with all my heart, may prove as honourable to her, as I hope, it shall be happy to me. who will, while I live (as I have done already) pray to Jesus Christ for her Majesties long and prosperous reign. From the Tower the 18. of February. 1584.*

W. Parry.

Febru. 25.

(100) And according to this his last request, his indictment was framed, and arraignment performed at *Westminster*, where he pleaded himselfe guilty

and had judgement of a Traitor. Which accordingly was executed in the Palace at *Westminster*, upon the second of *March* following; where (whether for feare of preiudicing and discrediting the Romanists cause, or by whatsoever other perswasion) he imputently denied, that he ever had an intent to kill the Queene, notwithstanding all his owne former confessions, witness of the fact, and other cleare evidences of truth; amongst which, the letter received from Cardinal *Como* is not unworthy to be here annexed, whose translation from the originall, written in the Italian tongue, is as followeth.

(101) *Sir, his Holinesse hath sent you letter of the first, with the assurance included, and cannot but commend the good disposition and resolution, which you write to hold towards the offence and benefit publicke: wherein his Holinesse doth exhort you to persevere, with caution to be brought to effect that which you promise. And to the end you may be so much the more helpful in that good thing which hath moved you thereto, his Holinesse doth grant you plenary indulgence, and remission of all your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you that besides the merits that you shall receive therefore in heaven, his Holinesse will further make himselfe debtor to acknowledge and requite your deservings, by all the best means he may. And that so much the more in that you will the more modestly in not pretending any thing. For therefore to effect your holy and honorable determinations, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my selfe unto you heartily, and with all good and happy success. From Rome, the xxx. of January, 1584.*

At your disposing

N. Card. of Com.

(102) Had not then her Majesty iust cause to complaine, as shee did I when in the honourable assembly of Parliament, he openly professed, that shee knew no creature breathing, whose life stand honestly in more peril then her owne; and that even at the first contract into his estate, shee entered into infinite danger of life, as one that had to wrestle with many and mighty enemies. And yet, in confidence of her celestiall Protector, and of her owne innocency, shee often seemed somewhat too remissive and neglective in the care of her life and life as appeared manifestly by her proceedings with this last Traitor, in keeping his conference of that importance, from the knowledge of her Counselliers, and often admitting privately his access, though he had tolde her, he was the man appointed to worke her death. And indeed such was this Princesse's Magnanimity, that in an apparent danger, as great, though not fornicitous as this, shee shewed a resolution of courage farre above her sexe; when being in her Barge upon *Thames* to take the aire, accompanied with the French Ambassador, the Earle of *Lincolne*, and others, a Servingman in the Court with his Caliber discharged a Bullet, and thrust the Waterman, within five foot of the Queene (the second to her Bales) through both the armes; whereat all other being amazed, and the man abundantly bleeding, shee threw him her faviour, and with words of comfort had him be of good cheer, he should not want, for the bullet was aimed at her, though it hit him; and with such resolute courage bare it out, as all present admired. Neither so only, but knowing afterwards that it was done casually at random, shee both pardoned the parte of his life, when he was to die, and commanded his Master to retaine him againe into his service.

(103) And indeed, of so singular clemency, and imbred lenity was this Lady, that shee never heard mention of the capitall (though never so deserved) punishment of offenders, even of such as had sought her owne death, but it bred a kinde of horror and sorrow in her; whereby, had not her Counselliers earnestly inculcated the necessity of such exemplary justice, many dangerous attapters had escaped their

at Parvins execution.

Drumch his own confidence.

Cardinal Como's letter to Parvins.

St. Paris, in Feb. 1585. The letters and records thereof.

Queene Elizabeth's own declaration of confidence.

Thomas Heywood's description of the Queene's escape, 1584. July 17.

The Queen's post-drawn's offense.

Her singular clemency towards offenders.

* DR of C. C. C.
in Oxford.

Her gracious
love to her peo-
ple in general.

Her earnest com-
mendation bet
Councillors and
Judges.

Apoc. 2. 4.

A.D. 1585.
Henry Percy E. of
Northumberland.

His violent
death.

Our of the Re-
cord.

Philip Earle of
Arundell died in
the Tower.
S. John Piers
died.

A.D. 1589

A.D. 1592.

A.D. 1586.
Robert Greville his
father's Treason.

due punishment. Which moved her to say, being
once questioning with a great Divinie of Oxford, a-
bout bookes meetest for Princes to study on, that
her Reading of Seneca de Clementia, had done her much
good, but some would persuade her, it had done her State
as much harme. But for her love to her people in ge-
nerall, and tender care over the poorer sort, or any
wales oppressed, it was incomparable; whose cares
were not only open at all times to their complaints,
and her hands ready to receive their petitions; but
her manner was also to commend their cause vnto
her Councillors and Iudges, giving them and the like
earnest charges; *I have care of my people, you have
my place: do you to them that which I ought to do they are my
people, yet every man oppresseth and spoileth them without
mercy. I therefore can neither helpe myselfe: nor re-
newe their quarrells. See unto them, I pray you, see unto
them, for they are my charge, then therefore I charge you
with, even as God hath committed them unto me. I care
not for my selfe, my life is not deare unto me, my care is
for my people; I pray God my Successor here as carefull for
them; and surely they which might know my cares for
my people, may likewise conceive, that I take no great joy
in wearing the Crowne.*

(104) What heart then could conceive so great
malice, or hand could bee so barbarously vio-
lent, as to worke the destruction of so loving a
distracting Mother, but only those elaborate and enormous
Pipers, which ease forth the way from the wombe of
their owne conceptions? Or rather those Ring-
tailed Locusts, arising with foggy smoke from the bot-
tomme pit, who to reare up their Dreges or great
King Abaddon, call downe Princes with the wings of
their warre, and execute their damnable doctrine in
the murther of the Lords anointed; whereas Da-
vid durst not touch Saul, though he was afflicted by
God.

(105) Those Protestants to vncfaintly, yeeve by
yeere, prosecuted the *Roman* cause, that many of
them thereby deliberately came to their deaths; a-
mongst whom was Henry Percy Earle of Northumber-
land, gone so farre in such dissoluit enterprises, as be-
ing vpon suspicion of Treason committed to the
Tower of London, he laid violent hands vpon his own
life, by discharging a Dagger charged with three bul-
lets, vnder his left pappe, wherewith he pierced his
heart, and presently dying, was by a Iurie found
guilty of his owne death. The Treason laid against
him (besides the former of the iniunction in the
North, by himselfe confessed, and by the Court fi-
ned at five hundred Markes) was, that he had been
pious to the Plots of *Throgmorton*, for the bringing
in of *Exorcise powers*, to the destruction of the Queen
and Realme; which truth being reuieued by other
conspirators, he so deeply apprehended, as in that
desperate manner hee preuented his further iudge-
ment.

(106) In the same place (though after the *Span-
ish* attempt for Inuasion Anno 1583. which pur-
posely we yett pass over, to asoide interrupting of
particular men's Treasons and designs) Philip Earle
of Arundell, and Sir John Perce last Lord Deputy of
Ireland, both of them condemned of high Treason,
by course of nature ended their liues; the one, fea-
ring to escape the Land, was first fined at ten thou-
sand pounds, and afterwards found guilty of a
higher offence, had sentence of death: the other
likewise, for plotting with *Spain*, to open their way in-
to Ireland, gaue way to the Law to take hold on his
life.

(107) Neither were these great ones drawne a-
lone into the confederacie of *Rome* irreliigious pur-
poses, but others also, thirsting for *Englands* destruc-
tion, of lesse quality or place, had parts appointed to
be actors in the Scene; which parces themselves shal
now enter the Stage, even fourteene in numbers
wherof Anthony Babington Elquire, was the prin-
cipall, the others were *Chistie* Tichborne, Charles
Tilney, Edward Abington, Thomas Salisbury, and Ed-

ward Jones Elquires, John Savage, Robert Barnewell,
Henrie Dux, John Tranter, John Charnock, and Ri-
chard Gage, Gentlemen, and John Ballard a Semina-
rie Priest; for can there be any conspiracies hatched
without them? The plot was the more dangerous,
by how much the more secretly carried, and the par-
ties resolute to venture therein vnto death, wherof
fixe vnderooke to murther the Queen, and Savage
bound himselfe for her death.

(108) The new must be against the precise *Fari-
tanes*, whose chiefs or head in the Low Countrey,
not only threatened (as was pretended) the destruc-
tion of all Romish Catholics, but also to violate
the Crowne from the Queene; and therefore for
the security of both, they were thus enforced to
make ready for armes. Their siders in England were
many, as Babington beleued, who wrote that the
West parts, the North parts, all sides, the Counties of
Lancaster, Darby, and Stafford, were in great
forwardness, and had giuen heldey to giue aide to the
enterprise. That Lord Percy could doe much in the
North, Arundell in the South, and the Lord Paget in
the heart of the Land, though two of them were
then in Prison, and Paget in *Spain*; their only want
was of a Noblesse to leade them, wherof they were
deficite, as Babington complained, vntill it were
Westmorland, and he out of the Realme.

(109) Their forme assurers were many and
strong, especially *Spain*, as *Mendoza* assured them.
The Ports were appointed where the Inuaders
should land; and once landed, should be seconded
from all parts by the Italianized *English*, as they vainly
hoped; the *Spaniards* surprised which held not for
Rome; the faith restored that had been abandoned;
and the vltimate Competitor (for so they termed
the true anointed *Sauvageur*) dispatched by murther
themselves the only men marked (if euer) now to
redeeme the Land, from the seruitude and bondage,
which Heresie had brought, with the losse of thou-
sands of Soules. There were their glazes vpon *Pe-
rus Raimus* his alleged Text, and the faire vizards
that hid their foules faces; whom God himselfe vana-
laked to their following shame.

(110) For Ballard being sent to *Mendoza*, to sig-
nifie all things now in a readinesse, and ready to em-
barke himselfe for France, was suddenly apprehen-
ded, and part of the conspiracy discovered. Where-
vpon Babington, with Charnock and Savage, enters a
new resolution, which was immediately to kill the
Queene, whereas of their bounty it had beene orde-
red before, that shee should liue vntill the Inuasion,
which was appointed to bee in September following.
But being intercepted before he well wist, he was
committed to Custody, yet so he went abroad
with his Keeper, from whom he shortly made his e-
scape; and thinking to recover the Seas, disguised
himselfe like a Labouring man, blaining with wall-
ow-tree leaues his hands and face, which shadowed
neither his shame nor sinne, neither yet could hide
him from the eye that called him to account, for be-
ing desired and brought backe to London, he was
with curies of the people committed to the Tower,
whence he could not so easily start.

(111) The other conspirators, hearing of these
their confederates successe, dispersed themselves and
plaid least in sight, yet were they found out, indicted
and brought to their tryalls, all of them confessing
their Treasons without any torture. Yet at their ar-
raignment (persuading themselves belike, that
what they did by papall warrant, could not be cal-
led Treason,) they pleaded not guilty, which the
Iury vpon manifest proofes finding otherwise, they
worthily reuiedged iudgement of death, and died ac-
cordingly in *Lincolnes Inne fields*, even in the place
where they had often conferred for the execution of
their Treasons.

(112) The nest of conspirators thus broken in
England, and their inares still filling though neuer fo-
craftily laid, was a fore course to the *English* fugi-
tices

Babington letters.

Their pretence.
* Earle of Lan-
caster.

The false in-
surgers were
which Taintors
haue of Abertons
and Gounds.

Their forme
assurers.

Ballard a Semina-
rie Priest.

Babington dis-
cusses his resolution.

July.

The Treasons
executed.

times in other foreign parts; especially to the Iesuits, whose griefes were as great, as is the paine of a Scorpion when hee hath Runge a man. Among whom *Lopez* was a perfidious Traitor, and base Laundresse *Ionne*, seeing the *Catholicks* thus cast downe and their case desperate, if treasons were thus prevented and punished, pronounced this maxime out of his unwaived mouth, that the State of *England* then was, and would be so long as while *Mistress Elizabeth* (for so he termed his dead *Sovereigne*) were suddenly taken away, all the Duels in Hell would not be able to prevail against, or shake it. And *Stanley* that traitifous Champion for *Spain* and *Rome*, so impatient was of these vnprolept proceedings, that he hired *Patrick Colles*, an Irish Fencer and Russian, to undertake the death of the Queene; which he did for the summe of thirty pounds, but had no more for his money then the report of a Traitors death, which desperately hee suffered at *Tyburne*.

(113) To accompany and second these treasons of *Colles*, *Crispwell* the Legist lesuite in *Spain*, writ his traitorous booke vnder the name of *Philopater*, to ascribe him *Cromwell* alias *Parsons*, another Iesuite, and Rector at *Rome*, did the like, vnder the name of *Doleman*, concerning titles of the Crowne, both full of falshood, treason, and impudency, as (though the Authors be vnknowne,) whoeuer looketh on the brasse, will easily know their Fathers by the resemblance.

(114) This desperate designe failing, another as diuillish was affaid to bee practized, wherein, no English man was yet knowne to haue had any hand, the Actors being only *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, the one soliciting, by promises of great rewards, the other vndertaking to worke the death of the Queene; which was contriued, that poison should be giuen her in *Physicke* a designe indeed most feasible and inenitable, had not that heliish hand bene stayd by a heavenly. *Rodericke Lopez* was the Physitian, a Doctor of that profession and a *Portugall* by birth, in especiall trust and practise for the state of her health.

(115) Hee a fit instrument to set without suspect, received for an earnest, a *treasure of gold*, of good value, garnished with a great *Diamond*, and a large *Rubie*, from *Christopher de Cetera*, a speciall Counsellor of the King of *Spain*, whose lustre so dazzled his eyes, as the practise of treason possessed his heart, and vpon farther payment of fifty thousand *Crownes*, hee countermaund to take away her Maiesties life, in a poison giuen her vpon pretence of health. For the assurance of which money, *Mmanuel Andradra*, the bringer of the *seruice*, conferred with the *Comde de Fuentes* at *Calis*, and *Stephano Ferrera*, a *Portugall* also, did likewise with letters with *Stephano Ibarra* the Kings Secretary at *Brussels*, to make the same readie: *Lopez* himselfe assuring them the deed should bee done, when the money was paid, which daily was promised and daily expected; the onely day pretended was, that *King Philip* did not well like, that so base a person as *Andradra* was, should be employed in so weighty a cause.

(116) Whereupon *Ferrera* of better repute with the King, received bids of exchange for the money, deliuered by the *Comte Fuentes*, and from the said *Comte*, *Mmanuel Lewis* another *Portugall*, was presently sent into *England* to conferre with *Ferrera*, and they both with *Lopez*, who faithfully promised vpon the payment of the money to performe the villanie. At which very instant Gods mercy did bring to light the conspiracy, through the continuall vigilancy of some Lords of the Counsell, in which number neuer any Prince had more, *Sapient*, *Serious*, *Provident*, and experienced *Sages*, then *shee* had.

(117) And to make experiment of his intendments, *Lopez* was appointed to giue the Queene *Physicke*, who made ready the poison, and brought it to her presence. But her Maiesty knowing what hee

least suspected, told him, hee misloughe misalter to the Lord Treasurer, *Cecil*, who at that present had more need of *Physicke* then hee selfe; whereupon *Lopez* with double diligence repaired vnto him, signifying his couming was to minister his Lordship *Physicke*, so commaunded him by the Queene: yea marry said the old man but what is your *Physicke*! a purge and it please your honour said *Lopez*: a purge Master Doctor said the Lord Treasurer, I thinke I must become a Physitian to purge you, and thereupon hee apprehended him for a Traitor, who stood so perplexed with feare, that his presence was scarce tollerable for the linell. Then other Doctors of *Physicke* were called, for to examine the ingredients, who easily found that the poison was poison, for which hee was indicted and arraigned at Barre, where hee pleaded noe guilty, and his two *Comparts* by long circumstances sought to save their liues, yet their former confessions furnished with their owne hands, gaue sufficient testimony of their guiltes, for which at *Tyburne* vpon the twentieth of *June* they suffered death.

(118) *Stephano Ibarra* thus failing of his purpose, by their *Portugall* sale, sought yet to euile the fabrick of his wicked intents, vnder the resolutions of some *English fugitives*, among whom none were held more fit then *Edmund Turke*, and *Richard Williams*, fouldiers by profession, and two desperate Champions for the quarrell of *Rome*, vnto whom *Hugh Owen* an *English* Rebel, and *Spanish* *Presbiter*, shewed an assignation, vnder that Secretaries hand, of *four thousand Crownes* to be giuen them for to murder their Queene, and for assurance that the same should be forth coming, the assignation was deliuered in *Deposite*, to *Edmond English Iesuite*, who producing the Sacrament and kissing it, tooke *Iohanne Oath* to pay the money as soone as the fact was done.

(119) To forward this enterprize, three severall consultations were held at *Brussels*, wherein *Henry Iane* was President, and *William Stanley* *Proctor* for this diuillish designe, animating *Turke* by his vnder example, to be constantly resolu'd, as a man ordained for his Countries good, and though many had misseried in attempting the Act, yet that it was meritorious and eulie to be done. *Thomas Thiermerion*, *Atterbell*, *Meddie*, *Charles Page*, *Henry Owen*, *Edmond Garret*, and the two diuine Doctors, *Gifford* and *Wentington*, were principall speakers in this impious *Parlement*, all of them eager to egge on the two vnderwriters, and to ioyne to them a third man, named *Young*, whose task should be to kill the greatest Counsellors, as soone as the Queene should be dead. The last that spake was *Henry the President*, who after hee had ministered these Traitors their Ombes in the cunning wise, menaced to take from the English this high and acceptable seruice, and to employ therein Strangers, who were farre more worthy: and so sent the two formes into *England* with his blessing, which neuertheless could not save them from the Gallows: their purposes were to get entertainment of some great Courtier, the better to effect what they intended, and to seeme men of some note for intelligence, sent from *Calis* to procure their passport, but the vigilant eye of the *English* state had found out their treasons before, & bringing them after wards to their trials, they were found guilty, judged, & died liberticides.

(120) The last publike attempt, that assailed the Queenes death, was *Edward Sparre*, a Sericuer of *Greenwich*, who by deputation had employment of a Purueyer in the Stable, but being in waite about his vocation, and carrying his fables about his fortunes, put himselfe in action for Sea in the last volage of *Sir Francis Drake* made into the Indies. Embarked he was in a small shippe, called the *Frances*, who looting the Fleece about *Guadalope*, was taken by five *Spanish* Frigates, and with other brought Prisoners into *Spain*: where falling in acquaintance with *Richard Walspole* an *English* fugitive by order a lesuite, so great credit, and vicar General to *Parsons*,

Lopez apprehended at Tyburn.

Febre 18.

Stephano Ibarra.

Turke and *Williams* Traitors.

Owen.

Confessed by themselves. Had the Iesuite.

Confessors shew furthering the Treason.

Young.

Edward Sparre Traitor.

A. D. 1597. vnto the last.

in his absence, was by him obserued to be of more capacity then commonly was found in a man of his quality or education; for yeres, mature, and passed his middle age; for carriage well aduised, and resolute enough, if not too much, in not apprehending his eminent danger.

(121) Vpon him *Walpole* therefore meant to worke, conceiuing for his purpose two speciall advantages: the one, that coming into *Spaine* a Prisoner, and not a fugitive, his returne into *England* would be without suspect; the other, that *Squire* had beene employed in the *Queenes Stable*, and therefore had liberty of free access: But the more to inuolue what hee intended, hee subtilly caused *Squire* to be apprehended by the *Inquisition*, and put prisoner into the *holly House*: where mollified by distresse, hee got his heart into his hands, so that of a Neuter he became a fixed Romanist.

(122) This first assay proving effectually, for an introduction to his further incitements, he fell into the old song, whose burden was the tyrannies vied, and the persecutions exercised in *England* against the poore Catholics; vpon how few persons the English State did stand, and how easily those props were to be remooued, if any deuoted would put to their hands. *Squire* who wanted no wit to perceiue whereat hee aimed; first, gaue some slight signification, and after a more serious protestation, that hee was the man, that would sacrifice himselfe and his seruice in the cause.

(123) The good Father basing thus got him into the circle, began then the charme: *It were said hee doubt a worke monstrous to kill the Earle of Essex; but vnum necessarium, one thing is necessary*: And then told him plainly, that he meant to put a seruice vpon him of great worth, and reward; which he might accomplish without any euident perill of life, because it was to be done not immediately vpon her person, nor in her presence, neither yet in doing it (though hee were leene) should be endangered, being acted as hee would prescribe; and that was, to imposition the pommel of the *Queenes saddle*, at such time as shee should ride abroad, the Pommel being the place, wherein shee would rest her hand, and her hand not vnlikely to touch her mouth or nostrils, would giue access to the forcible poison. This said he, might easily be performed, he hauing familiar acquaintance in the *Curry*, yea and that very safely, as by otherwile, and immediate death happened, should be attained, that for the exchange of this present and transitory life, to charge the state of a *Glorious Saint* in *Heauen*.

(124) Which *Squire* long ended, and *Squire* inuigiled, confessions, voves, promises, recite of the Sacrament, and all, confirmed the resolution of the duellish attempt; and to preuent varying from this Center, *Walpole* would him, that were he stood in the state of damnation, if hee did not his uttermost endeavour to performe his vow, bidding him remember, how that the fumes of backsliding did seldom obtaine pardon; and if hee did, but once make doubt of the *Immortall* or merits of the *Act*, strait enough to cast him head-long downe into hell; and if hee did conceiue any difficulties, hee wished him to consider what it would be to win the whole world, and to lose his soule soule.

(125) *Squire* thus armed (though not with that complete Armour of the Apostles) fell downe in confession before this *Refugee* teete, whom he lifted vp, hogd him about the necke, with his left arme (such were *Squire* owne words) and crossing him with his other hand, mumbled a few words in Latine, and then distinctly in English spake thus: *God bless thee, and give thee strength my Sonne, be of good courage, I praiue my Soule for thee, and thou shalt haue my prayers dead and alive*. Therupon deliuering vnto him the poison, directed how it should be used, and shewed him the nature of the confessions, which was, to bee put into a double bladder, and wher it was to bee employed, to be pricked full of

holes, and so pressed out vpon the pommel of the *Queenes saddle*; the operation whereof was such, that vpon his hand hee must haue a thicke double glove, lest the poison thereof should infect himselfe; whose vigour also was such, as neither continuance of time, nor subtilty of ayre could checke or vntwaine the strength: And that the matter might be carried without all suspect, an exchange was accepted of two Spanish prisoners in *England*, for *Kerries* and *Squire*, to be released from *Spaine*.

(126) Thus himselfe poisoned in heart, and minding to poison others, being monied by the *Is-faire*, arrived in *England*, not long before the expedition for *Cadix*; which action (as hee thought) suited him well, and therupon made suite and obtained it, to attend the *Earle of Essex* in his owne ship; as well to be absent when the poison should worke on her *Measly* (which he meant to bestow before his departure) as to haue opportunity thereby, to poison the *Earle* himselfe. Occasion being giuen by the *Queenes* riding abroad, and her Hottie made ready and attending in the Stable-yard, thether *Squire* repaired, full of *evil spirits*; and laying his hand vpon the pommel of her Saddle, bruiued out the poison in the bladder, laying cheerfully, *God save the Queen*; with no better affection then *Isab* bid to *Amala*, when with his hand hee took him to kisse him, but with his sword strook him to the heart. His part thus plaiged, *Gods* wanted and *wonderfull protection* beganne, who vnder his Canopy or wings of mercy had euer shadowed her from the stroke of danger; for albeit the season was hot, and the veins open to receiue any maligne tainture, yet her body felt no distemperature, nor her hand felt no more hurt, then *Pam* did, when hee strooke of the Viper into the fire.

(127) The deed thus done, without all mistrull, *Squire* taking the remaine of the poison, within fixe daies after departed to the Sea, and had his entertainment in the *Earle of Essex* his owne Ship, where looking to finish his *double desire* betwixt *Faust* and *Saint Michaels* bestowed his confession, vpon the pommels of a woddren chair, wherein the *Earle* usually ate at meales: which in like manner (the Lord so working) took no effect, to the no little admiration of *Squire*, though very well satisfied, that the default was not his, but rather in the poison it selfe; and his vow now discharged (as hee thought) he slept the more quiet.

(128) *Walpole* the lesuite out-tickled with ioye of his hoped *Lucifer*, and not able longer to keepe secrecy, imparted his treasons to his companions in *Spaine*, who together with him daily expected the issue thereof, but all things silent, and no newes of the *Catastrophe*, they changed their opinions, and held *Squire* for a fall-brother; when also their long-ing hearts beganne to feare, lest the maine cause would bee mard, being cast into so bad a mould. Wherupon a confabulation was called, and the *Sicophant* condemned in the highest degree, whose end must be speedily wrought, or else those Catholic proceedings would surely come to wracke; for that hee knowing much, would (as was feared) reueale much more; and therefore it was politically concluded, that one should be let slip from them into *England*, to giue information of *Squires* treasons.

(129) This man to haue the more credit brought hie two letters in his budget, the one he affirmed, himself had stolne out of a *Equits* study, & the other brought from another person, both which indeed were found to be counterfeited, and *Squire* for the present repented an honest man. Yet because the matter was tender, and touched nere the quicker, *Squire* was sent for, and examined; at first hee denies all, but coming to circumstances, something was found, should taken, and the *Traitor* committed to Prison; who left alone, began to berhume him how farre his *Confessors* Confession might extend, and therefore by good Counsell (the truth withall working) therein

Squire is left to work upon.

Walpole protects the killing of the Earle of Essex.

He mentions how to poison the Queenes Saddle.

Walpole becomes euiladvised.

He flatterly Comends.

His fatherly benedictions.

The use hee makes of the poison.

Squire arrives in England.

Squire persists for the Queenes safety, when he attempts to poison her.

* In Italy.

all this.

Squire endeavours to poison the Earle of Essex going to Cadiz.

Squire Trembles succedeth.

Squire mistrustful to be a false traitor.

A counterfeited messenger sent from the Spanish.

Squire voluntarily confesseth his treason.

The left motion
to the flame to
make fiery Laws
in process Time
long.

1. Sam. xvi.

So many and so
continually were
the conspiracies

Many more con-
spiracies then
are done to
light.

The affairs of
Scotland.

First This.

English General
of border wars
Scotland.

The Earle of
Lennox Regent
of Scotland.

He is murdered

The Duke of
Northumberland.

The good o-
men of the
Queen.

he disclosed the Treason, and how farre he had there-
in gon, which indeed no man had knowledge of but
himselfe, and this confessed at the Tower, without
torture, and at the Barre with remote of conscience,
he had his sentence of death, which he accordingly
suffered.

(130) Had not then the wife statists of the Land,
cruell to enact such Lawes as they did, to let the
flaming sword in the entrance of this faire Eden, and to
shoote out the wilde Bore that would lay the vine-
yard wast? their *Queene* and lamp of Glory, heaving
thus often and narrowly escaped extinguishing, by
as many hands of murdering Priests and Jesuites, as
David had pursuers of his life, when to Jonathan hee
complained that there was but a *sheepe betwixt him
and death*? So that lastly in a conference of Parliamen-
t, for meanes to be had against the many con-
spiracies, daily krelling at her royall heart, one of
good repute, having experience of their desperate
designes, in the open assembly, with a feeling affec-
tion, thus vnttered his minde: that every night when hee
was abroad, hee feared to heare some news of desperate mis-
chiefe, and prayed before God, hee never saw the light of
the day, but that hee feared, before the Sun-set, to heare of
some strange attempt.

(131) For as the Pope had denounced vnder his
Bulls, an absolutio to him that would deethrow *Elizabeth
Englandes faire Queen* so were there many foule
minded Profelites, that repured her blood as an ac-
ceptable sacrifice, which many times they fought to
offer vnto their God; but hers and our God, the
Watchman of Israel, neither slumbered nor slept in protect-
ing her Person as the apple of his eye; whole last defence,
her innocency, and their bloody guits, haue often
diuulged to the whole world; neuer any Prince es-
caping so many dangers, as this most mild and mag-
nificient *Queene* in her daies had done, and many more no
doubt were put in practice, which lay groeling in
darkenesse, and neuer came to light, and as the *works
of darkness*, so let them lie, and let vs hasten to our
former, and faire more pleasing Subiect. Having
therefore from the yeere 1570. made our digression,
for the closer relation of all those treacheries to-
gether; let vs thence pursue the ensuing occurrences of
her raigne and life.

(132) The troubles of Scotland were about that
time, great and many, and much the mote by the
death of the *uew Regent*, who was slain by the hand
of Treason, with the shot of an Harquebussie, as he
rode through *Lathgus*, mistrusting no danger, at
which time a Roade was made into England, by such
a little regarded peace. Whereupon *Suffox* the
Earle General, accompanied with the Lord *Hanf-
don*, Governour of *Burwick*, in Hostile manner en-
tered that kingdom; and in *Tumult* did much hurt
to the Inhabitants.

(133) New troubles then arising for the death
of the *Regent*, and the Land full of factions, charac-
tering ciuill broiles, the English *Queenes* aide was sent
for, by some of the Lords, who with their helps,
preailed in winning and demolishing many strong
and faire Castles. And the Earle of *Lennox* lent into
Scotland by her Maiesty, was first made *Lord Gover-
nor*, and after *L. Regent*, by the election of their three
estates, who afterwards was as trayterously murder-
ed, as the other before him had beene, which caused
great troubles in Scotland; yea and some Nobles of
England were not exempted from the same.

(134) For *Lord Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk*,
intending some fauours for the Scottish cause, pro-
ceeded to farre therein, as the letter of the Law took
advantage of his life, to the great sorrow and la-
ment of very many. For being a man filled with
fauour, both of his Prince, and of the People, fortune
at length made him a Ball for her banding; who
first from *Burrow* besides *Windsore* was brought
to *Westminster*, and thence by water was left pri-
soner in the Tower, where he remained from the ele-
uenth of October, vnto the fourth of August follow-

ing, and then was removed to the *Charter-House*
nere *Smithfield*, where he abode thirtene moneths
space; til lastly he was sent backe againe into the
Tower, where, vpon the hill and Ordinary Scaffold,
he penitently suffered death; being the fifth vnfor-
tunate English Noble that for offence lost life since
Queene Elizabeth came to the Crowne.

(135) About which time, a strange case (which
we will infer, rather to shew the course of Justice and
mercy of the Queene, then for any other great use in
Story) happened at the Common-law barres: where
Simen Lane, and *Iohn Kyne* were Plaintiffs, for a cer-
taine Manor and demaines in the life of *Harry*, ad-
ioyning to that of *Sheppey in Kent*, wrongfully poss-
essed (as they alleged) by *Thomas Paramour*, against
whom they brought a writ of right: the defendant
offered to maintaine his title by Combat, which the
Plaintiffes accepted, and brought their Champions
before the Iudges to the Barre. For *Paramour* was
George Thorne, of a bigge and broad life, who cut
dwn his Gantlet as Challenger, to iustifie *Paramours*
right, which was taken vp by *Henry Naylor* Maile of
defence, a man proper and slender, and not very
tall, who appeared for *Lane* and *Kyne*, to make good
their claime.

(136) The place appointed for Combat was in
Tuttle-fields, where a plot of ground of one and
twenty yards square, was doubly rayled, and with-
out the Well-square a stage set for the Iudges, repre-
senting the Court of Common Pleas, behind the which
two Tents were pitched; the one for *Thorne*, and
the other for *Naylor*, the field with Scaffolds on euery
side for people to see: All things thus ready and
the day drawing on, her Maiesty, who euer abhor-
red all bloodshed, tooke the matter into her owne
hands, and gave command and directions for the
parties agreement, with a furcale from all further
suite, which could not well be, vnlesse the Cham-
pions appeared in field; who altogether ignorant of
what was determined, vpon the day assigned ap-
peared in place. *Thorne* was there first who was brought
to his Tent by *Sir Terence Baner*; then came *Naylor*,
hauing the Gauntletborne before him vpon a
swords point, a truncheon (taper-wise) ript with
home, about an elle long, and a shield of hard leather
carried after him; and so was conuoyed to his Tent
by *Sir Henry Chieuy*.

(137) The Court set, and the Combaters cal-
led, *Naylor* entered the lists, being led by the hand by
Sir Terence Baner, where making his obsequie, hee
came to the barre, and there held vp his Shield. Then
was *Thorne* brought into the lists by *Sir Henry Chieuy*
and with like reuerence hee held vp his Shield.
Whereupon sooth was ministred to the approuer,
the tenor wherof he spake as followeth. *Here thus
you Iudges, that I haue this day neither eate, drinke, nor
haue vpon me either hose, shoe, nor gaffe, nor any enchan-
ment, sorcery, or witch-craft, where-through the power
of the word of God may be mislead or diminished, and
the Devils power increased: and that my appaile is true,
so helpe me God and his Saints, and by this Booke.*

(138) Then was Proclamation made in her Ma-
iesties name, that no perion of what soeuer estate,
degree, or condition there preferre, be so hardly
to giue any token or signe, by countenance, speech, or
language, either to the prouer, or to the defender,
whereby the one of them may take aduantage of
the other; and no perion to remouee, but keepe
still his place: and euery perion to keepe their flau-
es and their weapons to themselves; and suffer nei-
ther the said prouer, nor defender to take any of their
weapons, or any other thing that may stand either
to the said prouer or defender any auale, vpon
paine of forfeiture of Lands, Tenements, Goods,
Chattels, and Imprisonment of their bodies, and
making fine and ranfome at the *Queenes* pleasure.
But when all these Ceremonies were ended, the
Lord Chief Iustice stood vp, and forbad the pro-
ceedings, aloting *Paramour* the Lands with the

Refused suit of
the Tower.

The Duke send
June 2.
A.D. 1572.

Doubt or combat
for title of
Lords

The two Cham-
pions.

The place of
Combat.

June 18.
A.D. 1571.

The manner of
their entering
lists.

The oath mini-
stred to the
Challenger.

The Law and
manner of a
combat.

The Combat
ended before
beginning.

satisfying of the plaintives, and thereupon commanded *Nalor* to give *Thorn* againe his Gaunter, which he unwillingly did; and so the Combate being ended, we may have lesse to proceed.

AD. 1573.

The Queene
breake aid to the
Regent of Scan-
land.

Edinburgh Ca-
lle summered.

The Ropall Ex-
change built.

English remon-
strated against.

Sir Martin Par-
bushes marriage.
A.D. 1576.
Queene Eliza-
beths forsaide.

Sir Francis
Drakes voyage.
A.D. 1577.
First victory in
English voyage.

Francis Drakes
returne to En-
gland.

The 12 of Fe-
bruary they came
to Lima, in the
degree 12. south
A.D. 1578.

(139) Peace flourishing in England, to no great liking of the *Seminary*, that often sought to disturbe it: the *Regent of Scotland* craued aide of her Maestie, for the defence of *they young King*, and the Countie, endangered at that time with civil broiles. She at tender in her affection, as he dutifull in his allegiance, sent him *fiftie hundred men*, whereof *Sir William Drury Knight Marshall of Berwick* was General. These coming to *Edinburgh* laid battery to the *Castle*, with no lesse then *thirty Cannon*, and were as valiantly resisted by the *Scottish* within, but for want of fresh water, and no aide to bee expected, the soldiers sick, hurt, pour-wearied, and divided in opinion, *Lord Peter* being let downe from the wall, by composition the *Castle* was surrendered, to the vic of *they young King*, wherupon the English returned to *Berwick*.

(140) This time of *Elizabeth*, like unto that of *Agastyl*, when the Temple of *Ianus* stood (for the most part) continually shut, made *London* like *Rome*, to be most magnificently repaired, and with many *flourish* adorned; among which forbeauty and commodious vie, none is more famous then the *Royal Exchange* (so named by her Highnesse) whose Founder was *Sir Thomas Griffin Knight*, Agent to her Maestie, built for the confluence and commerce of Merchants, whose Traffikes were great, and in these times of peace, extended their Navigations into the farthest (and till then, vnsearched) parts of the world.

(141) For the searching and vnquiet spirits of the English to the great glorie of our Nation, could not be contented within the banks of the *Mediterranean* or *Leuant* Sea, but that they passed farre, towards both the *Arcticke* and *Antarcticke* Poles, enlarging their trades into the *West* and *East Indies*: to the fourth of whose passage, that worthy Sea-captaine *Sir Martin Forbusher*, made Saile into the *North-East-Sea*, farre further then any man before him had ever done, giuing to these parts the name of *Queene Elizabeths forland*.

(142) The next yeere he attempted shirre leagues further, when finding *gould Ore* (as was thought) and taking a man, woman, and Child, of the *Savage Catagayes*, he returned into *England*; but as his gold proved drossie, so these lived not long, neither turned that discovery to any great profit, though it was againe the third time alaied by himselfe, and since by other most famous *Navigators*, the *North-west* by Englishmen being lately desired, to bee Sea more late, and the passage of farre better hope.

(143) Among these *Sea-worthies* our famous *Pfizer*, *Sir Francis Drake* is the first in the rancke, who the yeeres *Christ Iesus 1577* and sixteenth of November set saile from *Plimmouth* in a *Fleete* of six *ships*, and one hundred, sixty foure men, who having port of *Cape de Verde*, in the beginning of *February*, he law no land, till the fifth of *April* followiug, being past the line, thirte three degrees of latitude, in the 36. degree entered the *River Plate*; whence he fell with the *fruits* of *Magellan* the one and twentie of *August*, which with three of his *ships* he passed, having call-off the other two as impediments vnto him, and the *Marigold* told from her Generall after passage, was no more seene; but the other wherof *Master John Winter* was Capitaine, shaken also off by tempest, returned through the *Straites*, and recovered *England*; only the *Pelican* wherof himselfe was Admirall, held on her course to *Chely*, *Cogswin*, *Cumana*, *Palma*, *Lima*, vpon the *West* of *America*, where he passed the line the first day of *March*, and so forth till he came to the *Latitude* 47. thinking by those *North Sea* to haue found passage to *England*. But fogs, frosts and cold windes forced him to turne his

Course South-West from thence, and came to anchor 38. degrees from the line, where the King of that Countrey preferred vnto him his network Crowne of many coloured feathers, and resigneth therewith his Scepter of gouernement vnto his deuotion, his people to admiring our men that they sacrificed vnto them, as to their Gods. This place for the glory of *England*, he named *Vnus Albin* according to her ancient name; and at his departure reared a Monument to witnesse what there had bene done, which was a plate of brasse fixed in an eminent place, wherein was engrauen her Maesties name, and her right to that prouince, as freely giuen vnto her departy both by King and people. Whereto also was written the yeere and day of their entrance, and of the lands deliuerance; vnder which plate he put her Maesties picture and armes in a peece of Sallet to retaine the memory of this seruise vnto posteritie. From thence the fourteenth of *November* he fell with *Ternate* one of the *Isles* of *Malacca*, being curiously enured of the King, and from thence he came vnto the *Isle* of *Celebes*, to *Lana Maier*, to the *Cape Buena Spérance*, and fell with the *Coasts* of *Guainea*, whence crossing againe the line, he came to the height of the *Azores*, and thence into *England* vpon the third of *November* and yeere of *Saluation* 1580. after he had bene at Sea with such fortunate successe the space of three yeeres lacking twelue daies. The small vessel wherein this admirable voyage was performed, was, at her Maesties commandement, laid vp in the dock besides *Deptford*, where it remaineth as a monument of *Englands* great fame, vnto this day; and the worthy General honoured with Knighthood, being the first that by trauell encompassed the *Earth*, and law the wonderful works of God in those great deepe.

(144) The Seas thus knowne, our Merchants began to trade with the *Mozambiques*, and *Turkes*, whole priuiledge for Traffike the *Great Sultan* them, confirmed vnder his Regall Seale, and at their Ambassadors request (without direction from her Maestie) made peace with the King of *Palat*, as by his own letters sent vnto our Queene is apparant; the Coppy wherof being deliuered vnto mee by him who had bene Deputy Ambassador in *Constantinople*, I haue here inserted, translated word for word, as followeth.

The Sultan Murat his letters to her Maestie.

(145) Most glorious, and in brightness most glend woman, and of wises the chiefest Prince of the mighty followers of *Iesus*. Queene of the most famous Kingdome of *England*, most excellent *Elizabeth*, most sapient Gouernesse of all the affaires of thy people, and founder of the *Naturals*, the most pleasant Spring of brightness and glorie, the most acceptable cloude sweet flowers, the heire and Lady of perpetual happinesse, and blessednesse, of the most famous Kingdome of *England*, to whom all distressed soules do flucke for reliefe. I am willing from God the mighty Creator the most fortunate increase of all the affaires of thy excellencie and happy successes, and offering eternal vices and praiser worthy of our mutual and personal familiarity and league, and declaring the promises, and that which followeth with iugal decrements: We giue you to understand most friendly that euery yeere passed we had continual wars with *Catholike* Prince of *Portugal* in right of our people, by reason wherof we would not make warre upon other parts, wherby certain times in the parts of *Polonia*, called *Calixti*, and other wicked persons lurking in those confines, daily troubled and grieved our Subjects: now the *Perlian* being vanquished, and by the power of the Almighty Creator, matters in those parts being compounded, are determined to punish the said persons lurking in *Poland*, and other parts; and by the Belgerby of Greece our wars being ended, and sent with our charge by a Prince of *Turkey*, in the yeere last passed, a part of

Sir Fra. Drake
Ship burnt as a
Monument.

Trade with
Turkes and Moz-
cambiques.

M.P. 56.

AD. 1583.

Page Gregory in-
ter the King
of spaine against
England.

South Wilbury.

The Pope and
King of spaine
are happy, when
the truth relate.

The Shiprey and
Prince of the
emperor island.

The Spanes
in the island

the Kingdome of Polonia, was as our behalfe troubled, and wretched, and the said Catholicks, and other wicked persons were punished accordingly to their deserts, which the King of Poland seeing, and sending two messengers to our blisful Part, to enquire, fade out, and punish in full punishment, signified so much unto us, and required our acceptance of his presents; but we would not allow his petition, but had fully determined againe to find our Army against the said King of Poland; but the Ambassador of your Majesty remaining in our blisful Part, interposing himselfe, and signifying that he did wish your excellency, with Corne, Gun-powder, Meats, and other things, necessary for warre, out of the confines of Polonia; now when as the Kingdome of Polonia by our means was troubled, and your Ambassador declared unto us your singular and peculiar pleasure, the same his declaration and intercession was unto us gratefull and acceptable, and your excellency is whom we owe all favours and honour. We wrote our letters to the King of Polonia in this manner, that the said factions wicked persons and Catholicks should be found out and fully punished, but if on the behalfe of your Majesty, a lasting league of peace had not been solicited for the King of Poland, we would not by any means have entered League with him, but only at your request we have shewed this grace to the said King and his subjects, and for our familiarity is mutual and perpetual, we thinke it convenient that your Majesty among your selfe with the Kingdome of Polonia, doe not leave to continue warre with the King of Spaine, who seldome time hath kept warre against you, and if your Majesty be not grieved to write letters by some trusty man, we come, by the aide of the Omnipotent Creator, that all necessary things shall bee on our part furnished and ordered, that speedily dispatch may be made unto Spaine wherein for our parts no assistance shall be wanting, whereof you may nothing doubt. Given in our Royall Seat at Constantinople in the yeere of Julius 1590. and of our Prophet Mahomet, 998, in the month called Sadele, the xij.

Ende.

But from these farre trauels, long, and chargeable adventures, let vs returne to our deere home proceedings vnder the Government of our prudent *Queene Sherba*.

A.D. 1583.

(146) Gregory of that name the thirteenth, and fourteenth man of Rome seeing Pope Pius his thousandbolts fall short of the marke whereunto they were aimed, thought it necessary to raise that begun foundation (though with ill burnt bricke, and bad tempered mortar) as that his mounted Cannon on the height, might reach and command where the other had left: To which purpose hee solicited *Philip King of Spaine*, after his fortunes had set him in *Portugal* Anno 1582 to undertake warre against *Queene Elizabeth* either directly or vnderhand, in fauour of the Irish Rebels, vnto which charge he offered not only his holy blessing and spiritual treasure, but also to acquire him of the fruites of the *Arch-bishopricke of Toledo*, long retained in his hands, whilst the Archbishop remained suspended, and the King received some millions of Crownes, which the Pope claimed to belong vnto the See of Rome. But *Philip* not yet ready to attempt vpon England, joined with him for the Conquest of Ireland; the one, leading sixe hundred men vnder the command of *Thomas Stukely*, whom he had lately stiled Marquess of Ireland, (a profane and defamed person throughout all *Christendome*, flying out of England, for his many Piracies, and now implored to follow the consecrated Standard of the Church;) the other, bearing all the charge with an addition of three hundred Spaniards sending money with them to wage foure thousand men more; and the more to kindle the flames of Rebellion, *Dudley Sanders* (the Arch-Rebell and English Fugitive) was sent from the Popes holy side.

(147) These landing in Ireland and Countie of Kerry, vpon a Promontory shooting it selfe into the *Irish Sea*, raised their consecrated standard, built their Fort *Del-Ore*, and with many threats gave forth that

the Countrey should shortly know wherefore they were come: and *Desmond*, a man desperate to cull, put in action by papall auctoritie, had laid his hopes no lower (by these aides now armed) then presently to become the sole King of Ireland, as *Escadad* boasted our *Ireland* before his haraſſe was put on.

(148) To salure this puppet King, and to welcome these papals with such entertainment as his martiall sword would allow, *Arthur Lord Grey* Baron of *Wilton*, then *Deputie of Ireland*, halted to *Dingle*, and so to *Del-Ore*, where he had them to fo sharpe a banquet that all the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Portugals*, notwithstanding their bragging brauadoes pickled their weapons at the first brunt, and vpon the points of the aduersaries died without mercy, the Capaines, Coronell, Secretary and few more referred for ransom. The Fort they had stored with money, Bisket, Bacon, Oile and wine, sufficient to hold out the space of sixe moneths, and furnished with powder, shot, and armour sufficiently for two thousand men: with them all the Irish as well women as men died; and *Desmond* driven into extreme want, fearing the prick of every thorne, and the shadow of every bulle, notwithstanding he was armed with an *Agas* Dye, and an enchanted ring lent from the Popes owne finger hung about his necke, yet could hee not keepe his traiterous head vpon his shoulders; when like a wolfe wandering in the woods for his pray, was in a poore Cottage wounded by a souldier rushing in vpon him, and being knowne was presently cut thorow by the head. But with his ende, ended not the troubles of Ireland, especially those parts of *Ffiffler*, that lay most remote from England.

(149) And whereunto, *Walter Earle of Essex*, accompanied with the Lord *Rich*, and others, had formerly made an expedition, shew to reduce those wilde Irish vnto a more ciuill life and respectiue obedience vnto the English Crowne, as to wisme them to the knowledge of Christ, whom they most ignorantly worshipped. But the death of this Noble man hapning before his inendments could bee accomplished, left that to be followed by others which himselfe had begun.

(150) The troubles of which Province we haue partly touched vnto the death of *Shaw O-Neale*, whose legonies by Parliament were inducted into the *Queenes* hands, and a Law enacted, that from thenceforth no man should assume the name or title of *O-Neale*. After which some small flakes of peace breathed vpon those parts; till shortly *Turlough Leinigh*, a brothers son of *Cow-More* the Grandfather of this *Shaw*, by a popular election tooke that stile vpon him, a man steeped farre in yeeres which made him more quiet, and much the rather for feare of *Shaw O-Neale* loones, but especially of *Hugh Earle of Downe* whom the sonne of *Balthard Mathew*, vnto whom he had given his daughter in Marriage, and the said Baron had lately repudiated and cast off.

(151) This *Turlough* was most obsequious and seruicable to *Queene Elizabeth*, stirring no troubles to the English, though to his neighbours the Irish he procured most sterne: For, *O-Donnell* hee disquieted, hee sent of the *Hande* he molested, and in an encounter slew *Alexander Ogethe* the slayer of *Shaw O-Neale*, and indeed became so fearefull, that his soone in law *Flugh*, lay hid from him in his owne Countrey, and lastly escaped his hand into England; where to raise himselfe from his obscure estate and condition hee got comend of a troupe of Horse, with a pension of a thousand markes by yeere from the *Queene*. Whose seruice against the Rebellious *Desmond*, was so well performed and accepted, that he obtained the place and title of Earle of *Tir-Ore*, pleading the Letters patent of King *Henry* the eight granted to his Grandfather, and his heires males, whereof himselfe was the soone of *Mathew* created *Baron of Downe* by the same King. Thus growne vnto greatness, old *Turlough* vpon certaine conditions

Desmond well know
ed to be the late
King of Ireland.

1. King of Tir.

The Lord Grey
Deputie of Ire-
land.

The Spaniards
came by the
Lord Grey.

All the Irish al-
well women as
men were cut
off.

James Desmond
killed by a com-
mon Souldier.

A. D. 1573.
Walter Earle of
Essex, in Ireland.

The name or title
of O-Neale last
bitten.

Turlough's a tyrant
against his neigh-
bours.

Baron of Downe
the sonne of
the Queene.

150 in mode Earle
of Tir Ore.

Pope Gregory in-
vites the King
of Spaine against
England.

Spanish History.

The Pope and
King of Spaine
sent supply vnto
the Irish rebels.

The Stukely and
a band of Spaine
attempts Ireland.

The Spaniards
truly in Ireland

conditions resigned vnto him the Government of *Fisher* where shortly cōbining himselfe with the men of most might, they together associated their strength to defend the Romish religion, for that was the mantle that euer covered their hatched rebellions.

(152) The first *Champion* that founded the *Altum* was *Mac-Guyre* a man of a turbulent spirit, thrust forward by *Garraus* a Priest, whom *Pope Pius* the second had ordained Primate of *Ireland*, commanding him in the name of God to fight there the *Lords Bataile*, affuring him by his Apostolicall warrant, of most fortunate proceedings and happy successe. But few how this great Prophet was deceived; for by the valour of *S^r. Richard Bingham*, *Mac-Guyre* was discomfited, and the primate Priest slaine in the field.

(153) The Confederacy thus broken, *Mac-Guyre* let himselfe for open rebellion; whom *Tyrone* in shew of his dutifull obedience perswaded, and was so forward in seruice, that hee receiued a wound in his thigh to his no little honour. Whereupon he became of greater respect in the *English* Court, and more enhanced in his owne esteem; so that hee feared not to exhibit Complaints against the *Lord Deputy S^r. William Fitz-William*, the Marshall whose sister hee had married, and the Garrison soldiers that garded those parts. But the Deputy recalled, and *S^r. William Russell* appointed in his place, as if all quarrels had bene quite forgotten, he came vnto the new *Lord Deputy*, and exhibited an humble submission vpon his knees, wherein hee dolefully expressed his inward griefe, in that her Maiesty had conceived some indignation against him. His affirming himselfe from the State, he confessed was disagreeable to his obedience, albeit to be somewhat excused by the hard measure (as he alleged) of the late Deputy, and Marshall that were combined for his destruction. Hee acknowledged that the Queene Maiesty had advanced him in title, dignity and great liuing, and himselfe unworthy of any, but rather dishonour and ruine, if he should become vngratefull vnto so good a Prince. With these and the like complement of his true heart and meaning, hee posseth the Councill of *Ireland*, that albeit *S^r. Henry Bagnall* the Marshall was present, and charged him with many subornations of *Mac-Guyre*, the Primate, the beldice of *Sir-Felton* and others, hee was by them dismissed and sent home, to the great discontent of the Queene and disquietnesse of the Land, as afterward followed, and in course of time and story shall be declared.

(154) Long before these last Irish troubles, (as you may obserue in the relation of some former attempts against the Queene) the brands of dissension were blowne vnto flames, betwixt *Queen Elizabeth* of *England* and *Philip* the second of that name King of *Spain*; whose first breaking-furth was in the *Netherlander* cause, the one persecuting, and the other defending the religion that those people profess; and thus it began in the yeere of Grace, 1575. *Don Lewis*, gouernor of those Low Countries for the said King, sent his Agent vnto *Queen Elizabeth*, desiring her to banish such of them as repaired to *England*, only their flight, and their religion all the cause alleged against them.

(155) Her answer was short and nothing acceptable, that she held it unworthy the Maiesty of a Prince to chase away those poore exiled and scattered *Netherlanders*, that were fled into her Dominions, for the safety of their liues, and to auoid the Spanish tyranny, exercised only in case of their consciences. And yet the forbade some men of speciall note, as also such as bare Armes, to enter *England*, vpon condition that *Westmerland* should be banished the Low Countries with such other Rebels as had fled to the *Spaniard*. But the Clergy intending to bring their Spanish Inquisition into those parts, the Prince of *Orange* entered conference with the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, touching the de-

fence of their professed religion, and the preferuation of their distressed Countrey, vnable of themselves (as was alleged) long to defend themselves, and therefore it was thought fittest to choole them a Protector.

(156) This passing for current among the Councillors of estate, there were in name, the Emperor, the French King, and the *Queen* of *England*; for they were past all hope of any assistance with *Spain*. Yet of these in choise, some excepted against, as neither life nor conuenient to be yeilded vnto. Against the Empire was alleged the diuinities of religion, the small vnion of those Germane Princes, and hauing their hands full to keepe their owne at home, would bee the lesse able to alid with helpe abroad. The French (they feared) had waiked their money the onely means for warre; with their owne ciuill dissensions; if not, yet might they hardly be trusted, as witnessed the cruell massacre lately committed. *England* then was the Pillar to which they must leane; yet the Queene the greater of all Christian Princes, their Nany the Commandresse of the Seas, and their people professing the same Religion with them, the farest band of Christian society; further it was alleged that the Realme of *Denmarke* and *Sweden* desired it, the Countie of *Friesland* and the *Hanse Townes* in the East intreated for it, *Brabant* and *Flanders* sought it; yea and the rightfull Title of the *Princes Elizabeth* issued from the *Earles of Holland* and *Zeland* by the Lady *Philip*, daughter to *William* the third of that name, *Earle of Holland* and *Holland*, did warrant it.

(157) Thus then concluded, the States were sent vnto *England*, and made the end of their coming knowne to the *Queen*; who wisely weighing into what a Labirinth they should enter, fought rather the safety of her owne, then to consent to their motion; for *Spain* they well knew would storme at the Vnion, and *France* bee in great iacobin to haue such a neighbour; shee therefore promising to be a mediator vnto the King of *Spain* for their peace, and after some complements of Princely entertainments with thanks for their offer, and sufferance to carry with them many voluntary English souldiers, let them depart: whose deuall made knowne, was nothing welcome to those distressed Provinces.

(158) Long after this, *Lewis* the Gouernor liued not, whom *Don Iohn* of *Austria* (his brother to King *Philip*) succeeded; who at first made shew of most fauourable affection, yet as vrging their subiection to *Spain*; and obedience to the Apostolicall See of *Rome*. Neither would hee come to their Councill, without hostages deliuered, and most of their troups to guard his suspending person, esteeming them *Libertines* and *Hereticks*, in whom was no trust.

(159) These mooued the States once more to sue vnto her Maiesty, that by her meanes, with peace they might enioy the ancient Priuiledges of their Provinces, and the freedom of their own consciences against the Inquisition and Tyranny of *Spain*; and indeed so lamentably deplored their case, that the pity-full *Queen* sent into *Spain*, to desire the King in commiseration to withdrawe these excrements from the distressed. But *Philip* desce on that care, and *Iohn* planting his Garrison with suspicious intents, *Elizabeth* began to looke to the maine, sending the King word, shee liked not that his Souldiers should bee her bad neighbours, and the *Gouernor* notice that she would not suffer the Christian *Netherlanders* to be tyrannized by his *Spaniards*. And thereupon caused the value of forty thousand Angell in Bullion, vnminted (in part of an hundred thousand pound sterling promised) to be sent vnto *Brussels*, preciecing the States obligations for the same; where also were confirmed certaine conditions betwixt her and them.

(160) This moued *Don Iohn* to such conceits, that he intended to doe wonders in *England*, by inter-

The Emperor the French King the Queen of England in distinction are deduced.

Objection against the Emperor.

Objection against the French King.

Queene Elizabeths reason to be the detour.

The reasons alleged to haue Elizabeths first grant.

The States of the Low Countries sent to the English Queen.

Don Iohn made gouernor of the Low Countries.

The States sent against to the Queen.

The Queene solicited the Spanish King for the States.

p. 414.

St. Grim. lib. 10. pag. 419.

John Guyre.

Garraus brought his party to a decisive issue.

Tyrone good friend to Mac-Guyre.

Tyrone grows very bold.

Sir W. Russell Deputy.

Tyrone dissimulation.

Edward Grimmon in his History.

The Spanish history with England.

Don Lewis first governor of the Netherlands brother and son of England.

Conference among the States here is only. Read the Spanish Inquisition.

terposing himself in the Scottish affairs, yea, and by the distraction of *Queen Elizabeth*, whereto hee is said to have got the *Pope's* good furtherance. But whether by poison or discounts this great conceited Monarch left the Crowne of England where it gloriously stood, and laid his owne head in the grave of death.

(161) And indeed so glorious was *Elizabeth* fame, grown now more potent by the Low Countries engagements, that the wife Semites of *France*, leered their owne Starre would be dimmed at the presence of her bright Sonne. For *Henry* their King, though he made great shewes to doe much, both in the Church and Councill of State; in feasts, in masks, and in treading the measures of dances, dallied out both day and night in vnumerable delights: And yet the Clergy to hold in their owne hands the raines of Church-government, with Bels, Bookes, and Beads, founded forth the trale of his religious piety in the cares of their auditories: And to manage all temporal affairs at their owne dispose, the *Rosen Archer*, and the *Guine* laide lookt the bridle in his owne necke, notwithstanding his pleasures with their greater advices. But lest the *English* maiden *Queen* should bee a male to the Churchmen's Mullings, or disturb these State-guiders by claime (as she had done) of her owne right in *France*; the marriage motioned nine yeeres before, betwixt their Kings brother *Francis* *Valois Duke of Anjou*, and *Elizabeth* *England's* faire *Queen*, was againe solicited in hope by this match to make her wholly theirs, the better to establish their peace: & to effectually was the fate mooved, and so acceptably heard of her Maiesty, that the *Manservant* came ouer to perlon to wooe her himselfe: though to the little liking of many Nobles, and great discontent to the Commons, as (amongst other appearances) was made knowne by a booke written against it, for which (by reason of some personal and over-lustful passages) the *Laditor* lost his hand. But whether her Maiesty affected not marriage, or disliked the man, or else out of her tender care not to give the least griefe, or distaste to her Subjects, after most Princely and magnificient entertainment ther let him depart without any promise of a nuptiall knot.

(162) The fame of this *Duke* was very renowned, and much the more by the *English* *Queens* favours; in so much, that the distressed vnted Provinces, after they had declared *Philip* of *Austria* (then King of *Spain*) by his too violent Government against their priviledges (wherunto hee had sworn) to be an enemy unto their state and peace, and therefore vpon breach of covenants to have fallen from his interst among them, chose this hopefull *Manservant* to bee their Protector, as a Prince most powerful to defend their cause; of whose triumphs and *French* treacheries there, let *Serres* and *Peris* report for me.

(193) He dying in *France* penitent and sorrowfull for what hee had done; and *William* of *Nassau* *Prince of Orange* (by an Edict from *Spain* proclaimed a Traitor, his Lands and goods given to them that could bring him either dead or alive, with a further reward of twenty five thousand Crowns annuall) was first dangerously wounded in the face with a Pistol, and at last murthered with the like shot by the base hand of an odious traitor at his Court in *Delft* in *Holland*: whereupon the oppressed Provinces once more fied for reliefe, both to her *Majesty* of *England*, as also unto *Henry* the *French* King.

(164) Shee much disliking the cruelties of *Spain*, whose hands were thus dippd in the blood of this Prince, commended their cause unto King *Henry* by an honorable Ambassage. But hee, finding himselfe overmattered at home, and in danger of the *Guise* and the league; himselfe without forces, and theirs grown very strong; recommended their distressed unto *Queen Elizabeth* by his owne Am-

bassadors, promising her by the faith of a King, assistance for those *Netherlanders* reliefe: and the like requestt bee made unto the King of *Namur* in their behalfe. Hereupon their *Procurators* were sent into *England*, with full Commission to dispose of their Provinces at the *Queens* pleasure.

(165) Her Councell then assembled to confesse of the business, many waighy considerations amongst them were mooved, and lastly concluded, that her Maiesty ought to accept of the offer. The defence of *Gad* *Gysel* was the first motive the being the nursing mother of *Christ's* distressed Saines: The *Spaniards* Inquisition, that without respect had persecuted her Subjects contrary to right, was too cruell to be tolerated: *Philip's* Army with flying colours sent lately into *Ireland* vpon gift made vnto him by the *Pope*, with a purpose of the like enterprise for *England*, betwixt their intents; and lastly the hard measure that was to bee expected for *England*, if the *Spaniards* located in these neere *Netherland* Provinces was to be prevented. These important reasons for her owne State, and pity of theirs, mooved her Maiesty to become their Defender, but would in no wise take the Title of *Soveraigne Lady* thereof, which they would have conferred vpon Her and her heires.

(166) And thereupon Articles being drawne, (to the number of thirty) *Sir John Norrie* (a renowned Marshall man) was appointed General of five thousand foote, and a thousand Horsemen *English*, all retained at her Maiesties pay during the said warres, which monthly amounted to twelve thousand five hundred, twenty five pound sterling, accounting 56. dayes to the month, according to the Contract. For which monies hee disbursed, the Townes of *Flushing* and *Breda*, with two *Schooners*, and the *Casle* of *Ramshorn* in *Holland*, were delivered to her Maiesties vie in pledge, vntill the money were repaid: these Covenantes were dated at 27. of such the tenth of *August* in *Anno* 1585.

(167) This Protection, vnderaken by the *Queen* of *England*, was very ill taken by King *Philip* of *Spain*; neither better digested by the *Pope* his holy Father, as was shewed in two *hung* *libels* published against her: where amongst other things, there was taxed with Ingratitude towards King *Philip*, who in the raigne of her sister, was said to have faued her life, and that treacherously hee had sought the death of the Prince of *Fernando* the present Governour in those parts vnder the said King: vnto which impudent slanders hee made answer in a booke printed both in *English* and *French*, shewing the shameful vntaith of those impolituous liars, and the reasons that led her to assist those poore distressed States, whereof these were a part.

(168) The natural situation of those Countries, lying directly opposite to *England*; the neerenesse, commodious haens, and commerce of these people with the *English*, euen when they were feirall, and not yet vnted together, as of late yeeres they have beene, by inter-marriages, and reduced vnder the Governments of the Lords that succeeded in the Dukedome of *Burgundy*, betwixt whom and the *English* Kings, hath beene a continual league, as also betwixt the natural Subjects of both Countries, both of commerce for Merchants, as all other speciall bonds of morall amity. For testimony of which, there are extant sundry Authentick treaties and transactions for mutual commerce, intercourse and frative amity of ancient times; as betwixt King *Henry* the sixth, and *Philip* the Second Duke of *Burgundy*; which was renewed by Duke *Charles* his sonne (Father to the King of *Spaines* Grand-mother, and husband to the Lady *Margaret*, sister to King *Edward* the fourth) and againe confirmed by King *Henry* the seventh and the Arch-Duke *Philip*, Grand-father to the King of *Spain*. And of later yeeres betwixt King *Henry* the eight, and *Charles* the fifth, Emperour of *Almane*, Father to *Philip* now

A. D. 1535.

Consideration who it behooved to assist the Low Countries.

Sancton and Orygynall letters.

Elizabeth's letters vnto her the defence of the Low Countries.

Sir John Norrie General.

Great summes of monies disbursed, for which cert. more libels were discurd.

Libels lying libels against her Highnesse.

Printed by Christopher Barker. A. D. 1585. Anno Reg. 37.

John de Erten, p. 47. c. 65.

The States of *France* how they were divided in 1522. A. D. 1522.

A marriage followed.

A. D. 1581. Anno Reg. 24.

Francis *Valois* comes into *England* about a marriage with the *Queen*. a 1581. State.

His departure.

Ed. Grimston p. 724. A. D. 1581. addressed to the *States*, *Manservant* chosen Protector of the *States*. p. 727. *Francis* p. 729. See the History of *France* and *Netherland* p. 313.

The Prince of *Orange* murthered.

Ed. Grim. Hist. Nether. p. 734.

The Provinces againe fied to her.

*Bazle of *Dorly* Ambassadors into *France*.

King of Spain. In all which treaties it was at all times specially contained in expresse words, that the naturall people and Subjects of either side should have mutual fauours and duties one to the other. But now Philip of Spain departing the Low-Countries, and appointing Spaniards, Forreiners and Strangers, men exercised in warre, and delighted in blood to bee chiefe Governours of all the said Low-Countries, contrary to their ancient lawes & customes, who upon ambition, and for primate-lure base violently broke the Liberties, as the people calledenge, and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroyed within the space of a few monethes many of the most ancient and principall persons, of the naturall Nobility, haue brought in intestine warres, made the Country in a manner desolate by famine, sword, and other exactions. So that the people are forced for the safety of their lines to seek the protection of other forraine Lords, or rather to yeeld themselves wholly to the souerainetie of some mighty Monarch, as not onely by the ancient lawes of these Countries they may, but even by speciall priuileiges granted to the people by some of the Lords and Dukes of the Provinces as they doe affirme, whereby they are free from their former homages, and at liberty to make choise of any other to bee their Prince and head.

(169) Besides these reasons concerning them, the practises of *Bernard de Mendoza* (Liege Ambassador in England for Philip King of Spain) who by the direction of *Francis I* began to contriue to bring in a forraine power to the destruction of England: elate, it was not onely helde a worke of piety to defend these distressed Christians, but also a necessary policy to mende the Low-Countries Protestants with England supply the better to impace these dangerous allies. And how ioyous her protection was to these Provinces, the delivery of *Flushing* into the Castell of *Rammstein* vnto Sir Philip Sidney, and the *Brill* vnto Sir Thomas Cressly, appointed by her Maiesty the Governours thereof, is witnessed by the letters of Prince Maurice himself, wherein hee signified the great ioy and hopes that he conceived, and his willing surrender of the same towne *Flushing*, being his patrimoniall inheritance.

(170) Things ordered thus among these great Potentates, *Robert Dudley* Baron of *Deuonshire* was the man, whom the Queene appointed to bee her Deputy General, honourable by birth, being the Duke of *Northumberland* sonne, by creation Earle of *Leicester*, and of the Order of the Garter, gracious in the eye of his Soueraigne, and sufficient fortified with all courtly complements, who being accompanied with a gallant traine of Earles, Barons, and other great Personages of England, landed in Zealand the nineteenth of December, and thence was honourably conuained vnto *Dambrige* in Holland, where hee was entailed, and the States took their oath to the Queene, which no sooner was accomplished, but that a insurrection began to arise, vpon this occasion.

(171) The States having drawne instructions of Counsell for their Countreys affaires, presented the same to their new made Goernour, whose answer was, that such instructions would proue limitations, which his authority now being absolute, could no wayes indure: they greatly mistrufling wherewith hee did aime, bewailed the miseries wherewith their Country seemed to bee brought, and suffered him to choole his Counsellors of Estate, and to stamp his owne Armes both in their great and Countreys-Seale: which when the Queene their sister vnderstoode, shee was offended both with them and him, supposing her selfe to bee drawne further then euer thereintended, or that hee had yeelded vnto in the Declaration, where hee selfe had granted to bee their *Admiral*, but neuer would grant to bee the *Soueraigne* of those Countries.

(172) Things thus passing betwixt England and the United Provinces, the English Merchants, Ships and goods were arrested in Spain, which caused many to leaue the trade of Marchandizing, and to become men of Warre on the Seas, where alwayes the Spaniard, who forer wanne, went to the work. But on the land, the Prince of Parma held Pisa, for whose further safety Pope Sixtus the fifth sent him a consecrated sword with a harte, and to his men of Warre the Apostolical blessing, with eternall life for them that should die in the Catholike Romish faith.

(173) Another feare was blowne into the Netherlands eares, which feare troubled them, though without all cause; for it was divulged by sinister reports, that Queen Elizabeth meant to make peace with the King of Spain, without either mention or regard for the safety of her vnted Confinement. Shee touched in honour, wherof there was euer iaculous, wrote her letters to Prince Parma in answer of his, that had mentioned the same, and to these doubtfull Netherlands, to assure them the contrary, both which were dated from *Buchemond* vpon one and the same day.

(174) Now Leicester not liking to lie still, and doe nothing, made his preparation for *Zurphem*, which being in want of victuals, the Prince of Parma fought to supply, to intercept which, Sir John Norre was sent, and to the same seruice came the Earle of Essex, the Lord Willoughby, Sir Philip Sydney, Sir William Stanley, and Sir William Russell, to all two hundred horse, and sixtine hundred Musketeers and Pikes: the Parma having seauen hundred horse, and two thousand foot, appointed with the like defence.

(175) The day being darke through great foggy mists, the Spaniard which their Vigils made forward, layed in a place of advantage neere vnto *Zurphem*, vpon whom the English were entred before they were aware, and were entertained with a furious charge of shot, which notwithstanding they abode, and so valiantly followed the skirmish, that they ouerthrew a corner of horse, and took *Cressly* the Captaine thereof prisoner, and after him Count *Hammill Guncage*, another Count also they put backe and flew. But in this day was made vnfornate, that the worthy Sir Philip Sydney as hee changed his horse, was shot by a Musket about the left knee, which so thinned the thigh-bone, that the Bullet could not bee recovered, of which wound hee died five and twenty dayes after, to the no little griefe of her Maiesty and many others, for the great hopes they had of that worthy Gentleman; in whom were compleat all vertues and valours that could bee required or residing in man.

(176) Good seruice done vpon the Scones neere *Zurphem*, so that the Towne seemed to be blocked vp; his Excellency (so did they now entitle the Earle) made *Arundell Turle* the Governour thereof, and ouer Designer Sir William Stanley, to the great discontent of the Estates, for that *Turke* had bene a double Traitor in seruice, and Stanley before siue had serued the Spaniard. Other grieuances also they then began to complain of, and by Petition to his Excellency sought the redress, but hee minding for England, with faire words held them in expectance vntill such time as hee should reture againe.

(177) The State-Souldiers found themselves agreed, that they were not dealt with according to custome, degrees or desert, (as that the Sergeant should be aduanced to be Ensigne, the Ensigne Sergeant Maier, and so vpward) they venturing their liues to winne reputation. And the Earle of *Arundell* held himselfe much wronged, in that Sir *Arundell Norre* vpon words spoken at Table, sent him a letter of challenge to fight with him body to body, the Earle then lying sick of a wound receiued at *Zurphem*, which hee did dauidally take, as being his

Troubles in euen-
like vpon the
last.

A confirmed
sword from
Prince Parma.

The feares of the
distressed Ne-
therlanders.

July 19.
A.D. 1586.

A conflict at
Zurphem.

Sir Philip Sidney
shot with a musket,
wherof hee died.

The Philip Sidney
shot with a musket,
wherof hee died.

Turke and Stanley
made ground
of towns.

Gravels and
Lansdowne
Lansdowne.

The Low Countries
in a more
dispute.

Rowland
Lange Ambad,
false practises
an insouion.

The ioy concei-
ued at Kingdome
protection.

The Earle of
Leicester sent
into the Low
Countries.

A.D. 1587.

Ed. Grifith Adj.
Norre.
Pag 811.
The Spaniards
Arundell, & Lan-
downe pride.

unequal

Sanity and
True content
By it their
Tortures.

An.D. 1587

February 5.

* Yet Strider
(in his *Antiquities*)
supposedly
that the Queene
thereupon was
transported
down with her
white Couch
horres.
* Secretary
Draught.

Maurice Nassau
chosen govern-
ment of the Low
Countries.

St. John Wood
from upon Ireland.

July 6.

Elmer seconded.

Ed. Gr. in. J. H.

75. 579.

Leiford discharg-
ing of his go-
vernment in the
Low Countries.

Spaine courtiers
were under the
false profits of
peace.

Q. Elizabeth
delivered of peace.

The Low Coun-
try States have
no longer peace
with Spaine.

vanequall and partly imputed it to the sufferance of his Excellency. But more neerly touched the losse of *Droner* and *Seaver* at *Zutphen*, traitorously folde into the *Spaniards* by *Sir William Stanley*, and *Rowland Yorke* Englishmen, whom *Levesley* had left there at his departure. These things droue the Councill of State into many calouities, that the English endured as the French had done.

(178) The occasion that moued the Lord Generall to return into *England*, was for his presence in Parliament, wherein was handled the waythey cause of that great Princesse *Mary Queene of Scotland*, whose vtumelic death and vnfortune ended was finished at *Wetheringby Caille* in the County of *Northampton*, to the great dishonour of her Maieity, as was manifestly scene * to all her people, by the griefe shee conceiued, and high displeasure shee tooke against the forward * Actor, both in calling him into the Tower of *London*, and neuer admitting him after into her presence, or his place. The bodie of the deplord Queene was solemnly interred in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*, where it yet remaineth vnder a hearle of blacke velvet.

(179) In this absence of *Levesley* euery fereall Captain tooke vpon him the place of a Generall whereby many desperate seruices were attempted, and great Robbery by their Souldiers committed, so that it was feared all would come to ruine. To prevent which, a Councill for State was assembled at *Dunbar*, where *Maurice Nassau*, the younger sonne of *William Prince of Orange* was elected their Governor, and the Prouinces sworn vnto him, with a refection had vnto her Maieity; when also a great complaint was sent into *England*, which to examine, the Lord *Buckhurst* was sent into *Holland*; at whose doings *Levesley* tooke offence, but especially against *Sir John Noris*, that renowned Leader whom to the great dislike of the States, hee caused to bee recalled, and sent into *Ireland*.

(180) *Levesley* the Lord Generall hoping to recover his wel high lost reputation, landed in *Zeland*, gallantly accompanied, where hee made a forward shew of great seruicy, but such was the successe, that *sluer* was surrendered, and the occasion thereof partly imputed to him; when also begonne many tedious abettings betwixt the Estates and his Excellency, so that some Townes vtely rected his gouernment, and hee againe sought to seize vpon some other.

(181) The care of preventing further mischiefs, moued her Maieity hereupon to recall the Earle of *Levesley* into *England*, well knowing that a Kingdom diuided could not long stand: who on his returne, shee commanded to reigne his gouernment of the *Netherlanders* into the hands of the Generall Estates, which was performed by assigneing vnder his hand, and sent vnto them: which resignation receiued, was perfectly proclaimed through all the Prouinces, to the end that euery man might know him selfe discharged of his oath to the Earle of *Levesley*.

(182) Now *Philip King of Spaine* clyping these diffinitions, thought it his true advantage for him to worke vpon, hauing a long time projected an attempt for *England*, and at that time preparing a mighty Naue vnto the sea. To call therefore a mill ouer her Maieities eyes, and to driue all calouities out of her head, hee importuned by all meanes the Realmes vnto peace. Shee measuring other princes by her owne true meaning and peacefull dispositions, gaue care to his guilefull lullaby without suspicion of any snake to be hid in so floury a garden; and therefore sent to the Estates to vnderstand their resolution for a vtumelic peace, protesting that if they stood out, shee would withdraw her whole forces from thence.

(183) They, like themselves answered with a bold deniall, neither thought they that shee could haue any peace with him that was head of the *holly League*, and persecuted the exercise of the reformed

Religion, whose policy (as they feared) was but to detraet time, till his sea prouisions were better repared, as indeed the sequell soon proued, the terror of this prepared, and *Invincible Naue* (as the *Spaniards* termed it) spreading it selfe wide, and menacing fearful stormes both vnto the English and Flemish; in somuch that the Estates like prouident respecters of themselves, and thankfull men to their Proceedresse, prepared their shippes of warr to affilit her Maieity, and preffed a thousand sailers of the *Netherlanders* for her seruice on sea.

(184) During this brate of the Spanish proceedings, Commissioners were sent out of *England* to counterposon conditions of the pretended peace with the Duke *Parma*, Lieutenant for the King of *Spaine*, who for that purpose came to *Offend*. For her Maieity were assigned *Henry Earle of Derby*, *William Lord Cobham* Warden of the Cinque-ports, with *Sir James Croft* and others. For King *Philip* were *Maximilian Earle of Arenberg*, Governour of *Antwerp*, *Messieur Richard* President of *Artois*, and Councillor of State, besides other Ciuilians. These stayed at *Bruges*, and by messagers too and fro much time was spent for precedence of place, where they should meet, and what hostages should be giuen for security of sides; yet lastly, the English had the priority, and the place was *Offend*.

(185) The demand of the Queene was, to haue a farcase of Armes, with a pccent and vndeelayed truce, mistrusting the Kinges preparation at Sea; the sending away of forraigne Souldiers out of the Low-Countries for *England* safety, a restitution of such summes of money as the Queen had leaue vnto the Estates, which the King had promised by his Edict made at *Brussels*, that the *Netherlanders* might enioy their antient liberties and priuiledges, nor bee gouerned by a stranger, but by a Native Prince; that the Religion might bee permitted for two yeeres at least, and lastly, that the Articles of Pacification of *Gent*, and other like Treaties might bee obliterated: and these being concluded, the Townes shce possided should bee deliuered vpon such reasonable conditions, as all the world should witness hee tooke them not to her owne vic, or commodity, but onely vpon a necessary defence and assistance.

(186) To these the Spaniards replied, that touching their preparation for Sea, they did assure them it nothing concerned *England*, to lend away their Souldiers, their King could not refuse, vntill that the *Netherlanders* had submitted themselves vnto him; concerning their priuiledges, it appertained nothing to the Queene, neither should shee prescribe to the King a law, and so farre was hee from tolerating Religion, that hee would not heare thereof, otherwise then hee had allowed vnto other Towns that had submitted vnto his obedience; and the like answer made they for the pacification of *Gent*.

(187) The propolitions further urged, and answered with dilatorie delays, *Pope Sixtus* the fourth (who being prime in the intended Tragedy) obseruing well the time among other beafts lent forth his Bull to thunder out bolts against *England* Queene, confirming the Excommunications of his two predecessors, and depraying her Maieity from all precedence dignity, for whose small dispossession, hee then ordained his Catholike sonne *Philip of Spaine*, commanding all her Subjects, vpon paine of his curse, (oh fearful bugge-bear) to aid and assist the great, noble, and *Invincible Armes*, prepared to that end vnder the command of the Duke of *Parma*. And *Alles an Englishman*, an eager Trompeter to this exploit, now purposely made Cardinall by the Pope (to shew his Holiness affection to the English Nation) would not lie idle, but set him selfe on work to write a Booke exhortatory to the Nobilitie of *England* and *Ireland*, to rouse them vp to the execution of the Popes sentence against their Soueraign,

The Dutch pre-
pare against the
Spaniards.

A.D. 1688;
Feb. 24.

Commissioners
for the prece-
dent peace.

Vnder his
predecessor.

The Queene
demands.

The reasonable
demands of the
English Queene.

The Spaniards
reply and an-
swers.

The Popes Bull
sent forth against
England.

Cardinall *Alles*
exhortatory to
the Nobilitie.

in affiling K. Philip, who was made the whip in his Holineffe hand, & the Duke of Parma appointed the chiefe Commander in that action, which Booke (fraught with all impudency of diabolish flanders against her sacred person) was printed at Antwerp in 1586.

(183) This Bull and Booke coming to the Queene's knowledge, the first vnto Parma (who had gained the reputation of some Princely vertues) to deale plainly with her; if so, then meant she no longer to continue the treaty of peace: but he with many Court-like complements denied his authority, neither had leue (as he said) any such precripts. Moreover the English Commissioners pressed the conditions, purposely to finde some footheps of this close-carried designe, when at last it burst forth in these termes, that the King of Spain had kept fifty thousand men in pay almost a whole yeere to be fill and

doe nothing; so his great charge by the means of that treaty. At which very instant, these their hidden traps and toyles apparantly shewed themselves, when the Seas were turrted with such a Nauy of ships; as her swelling waues could hardly be seene, and the Flagges, Streamers, and Ensignes, so spread in the winde, that they seemed to darken euen the Sunne, which put the English Commissioners in some suspition and feare, having no hostages for their safe returne.

(189) This *Inuisible Nauy* long in preparing, and now in a readinesse, was furnished with all ppositions of warres, and with many brauadoes spread their talles for England's inuasion, guided by the *Princiall Generall*, whose names, the numbers of Vessels, Ordinances, Sailers, Souldiers, and Slaves, as I finde them recorded, in this ensuing Table are inserted.

A Table containing the provisions of the Spanish Armado.

| Leaders. | Provinces. | Galleasses
&
Galleons. | Ships,
&
Hulks. | Pinnaces
&
Carnels. | Great
Ordinances. | Sailers. | Souldiers. | Gally
Slaves. |
|---------------------------|------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|----------|------------|------------------|
| Duke Medina Sidonia. | Portugal. | 10. | 2. | | 100. | 1300. | 3300. | |
| Diego de Mendana. | Portugal. | 4. | | | 20. | 360. | | 888. |
| John Martinez de Ribahad. | Bispe. | 10. | | 4. | 250. | 700. | 2000. | |
| Michaell de Oquendo. | Gaspcon. | 10. | | 4. | 310. | 700. | 2000. | |
| Pedro de Valdez. | Andalucia. | 10. | | 1. | 280. | 800. | 2400. | |
| Martin de Pertendana. | Italy. | 10. | | | 310. | 800. | 2000. | |
| Diego Floris de Valdez. | Castil. | 14. | | 2. | 380. | 1700. | 2400. | |
| John Lopez de Medina. | Medina. | | 23. | | 400. | 700. | 3200. | |
| Hugo de Alameda. | Naples. | 4. | | | 200. | 460. | 870. | 1200. |
| Antonio Baccado. | Mendruca. | | 23. | | 293. | 374. | 488. | |

(190) Admirable (as yet see) was the provision of this mighty Armado, and so confident was the Spaniard that England should pay the whole thor, that no cost of any thing was at all spared; of bullets for great shot were two hundred and twenty thousand; of powder foure thousand and two hundred kintals, every kintall containing a hundred weight; of lead for bullets one thousand kintals; and one thousand and two hundred kintals of match; seven thousand muskets and callicers; tenne thousand partizans and halberts; with murdering peeces, double Canons, and field peeces for campe; with store of furniture for carriages, Males and Horses, so that they were sufficiently prouided both for sea and land. Bread and histket was baked and wine laide aboard for sixe monthes provision; sixe thousand and five hundred kintals of bacon; three thousand of cheefe, besides flesh, rice, beanes, pease, oyle and vinegar, with twelue thousand pipes of fresh water, store they had of torches, lanthornes, and lampes, canoes, hides and lead to stop leakes, whips, and butcherly knives; for what vfe we may imagine. In a word by the report of Don Diego Pimentell, the army was two and thirty thousand strong and coild the King of Spain thirty thousand daies every day.

(191) In this army were five regiments of old Spanish souldiers, of the *Parties*, of Naples, Sicily, and the *Terceras*, commanded by five Masters De Campo; the first was Don Diego de Pimentel a Knight of

the order of St. Iohn, brother to the Marquisse of Tanceras, and cousin to the Earle of Brancourt and Calot; the second Colonel was Don Frances de Toledo brother to the Earle of Orgas; the third, Don Alonso de Lucan; the fourth Don Nicholas de Isla or Parriso Anselmo; and the fifth was Augustin Mexia brother to the Marquisse de la Guarda who was afterwards made Gouvernour of Antwerp; each company having in his regiment two and thirty companies, besides the *Castilians* and *Portugall* bands, each of them having their peculiar gouerners, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

(192) The General of this mighty army was Don Lohaniem Perez, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Barne of Saint Lucas, of the Order of the Goldt Fleece. The Admirall was Don John Martineze de Ribahad, the Marshall Don Francesc Bonabille; and the chiefe Counsellors for the warre were Diego Pimentell, Floris de Valdez, Pedro de Valdez, Michela de Oquendo, Don Alonso de Lucan, Don Diego Maldonado, and Don Gerogio Martineze. Don Martin Alencan was ordained Vicar General for the holy Inquisition, in whose traine were a hundred Monks and Iesuits; and Cardinal Allen was appointed the Superintendent of all Ecclesiasticall matters throughout England; who fearing to bee overtaken with time, translated Pope Sixtus his Bull into English, that it might bee the sooner published upon the arrival of the Spanish Fleet into that Kingdome. Of voluntary aduenturers were an hundred twenty foure Noble men,

The Queene sent to Prince Parma.

Parma denied his authority.

The Spanish purpose made knowne by chemist.

Rich Hall's.

Their great strength in men.

Their General.

The Admirall Marshall and Counsellors.

Vicar General of the Inquisition.

Cardinal Allen.

The wonderful and great provisions in the Spanish Armado.

Their Regiments.

The volunteers
in this voyage.

and Gentlemen of great account; all of them furnished for their owne charges: among whom was the Prince of *Astoria*, *Alonso de Leiva*, the Marquisse of *Pennafiel*, the Marquisse of *Ganer*, the Marquisse of *Baranaga*, the Count of *Peredes*, the Count of *Yelana*, and diuers other Marquisse and Earles of Honourable Families of *Atendana*, *Teledo*, *Pacheco*, *Cordova*, *Guzma*, and *Mariquez*; besides there was there any Noble house of *Spain*, but had a sonne, brother or Nephew in the voyage, in hope of frendes and riches in *England*.

The Duke of
Parma his pre-
paration.

(193) Neither was the Duke of *Parma* slacke in the business, yet lying in readiness to ioyne his forces with this Naue, let many thousands on work to build ships, to digge and deepen rivers for faile from *Antwerp* to *Gant*, and to *Bruges*, lading three hundred small boates with munition and victuals; as also prepared fiftie other flat bottoome, every one able to beare thirty hories for transportation, with Bridges ready made to shippe and vnschippe them. Two hundred more were made of the like fashion, though not so bigge, and lay ready in the Haue of *Newport*; at *Dunkirk* lay thirtie fower shippes of warre, wherein store of pyles were belloved, thrustened at the end with yron pykes, to pile vp the mouths of rivers; and at *Graveling* hee had provided twenty thousand empty Casks, with Cords and other furniture fitt to make floating Bridges to shippe vp the Haue. He likewise had shipped great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with all other furniture for hories; and hories also for carriage, with Ordnance, and other provisions of warre.

Ad. Graveling in
the history of the
Duke of Parma.

(194) Neere vnto *Newport* hee had lying vnder the command of *Camille*, thirty Companies of *Italians*, two of *Wallons*, and eight of *Burguinois*, every Company being an hundred men. At *Dynem* he mulctured four score Companies of *Netherlanders*, thre score of *Spaniards*, thre score of high *Dutch*, and fower of rebellious fugitiue *English*, whereof Sir *William Stanley* was General; at *Carvick* also were fower thousand lodged, and at *Waters* nine hundred hories, ouer whom the Marquisse of *Gault* was Commander. And to this Land-seruice came the Duke of *Palmaria*, supposed to be the Spanish King's brother; the Marquisse of *Bourgon*, one of the Archduke *Ferdinands* sonnes, Don *Feliciano* Consequia of the house of *Montana*, a great Soldier, who had bene Viceroy of *Spain*, Don *Iohn de Medusa* Bailard of *Florence*, Don *Amador* bailard of *Savoy*, with many others of the like estate.

The Noblemen
employed in the
Armado.

(195) Neither must you think that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope of *Rome*, did in any wise neglect his diligence and deuotion to this intended invasion; whose helping hand was shewed in sending forth his *Crasada* (as hath bene vied against the *Turkes*) and publishing a safe passport for his *Philippins* to enter into *England*. Who also for the furtherance of the enterprise, undertooke to contribute a million of gold, the halfe presently, and the other when any notable Haue in that land should bee wonne; with this promise notwithstanding (most wisely inferred) that he should hold the *English* Crowne as feudatorie vnto the See of *Rome*; in earnest whereof, hee bestowed vpon him his Apostolicall benediction, and the Title of the *Defender of the Faith*, so liberall was hee, both in his temporall and spiritual largesse; and so forward was *Philip* to catch at *Elizabeth* still flourishing Crowne: but her vndamend heart in this present danger, as another *Ezechiah*, fought vnto the Lord, whose annointed seruant there was, and who euer had bene her owne defendand. And for presecuting those long threatend stormes, the late *Charles Howard* Lord Baron of *Effingham*, high Admirall of *England*, vnto the seas, where the Lord *Henry Seymour* kept betwix *Calis* and *Dover*, seconded by the Ships of the vniuers Provinces, in league with the Queene.

The Popes Crasada.

His equanimity.

(196) The French King who euer honoured & admired Queen *Elizabeth* great and gracious vertues, having more particular intelligences that this great preparation was made against *England*, gave speedy & secret notice thereto to her Maesty, whereupon hee commanded the general forces of the Realme in their severall shires to bee mustred, trained, and put in readiness for the defence of the whole; which accordingly was done, and whereof the Lord *Robert Dudley* Earle of *Leicester*, and Steward of her Household was appointed Lieutenant. *Tilbury* in *Essex* was the place for the Campe, whereunto were appointed 1500. horiesmen; and twenty two thousand of foot, and to guard her Maities person, out of the severall Counties of the West, East, and South parts of *England*, were selected two thousand three hundred, fifty two horiesmen, and thirty foure thousand and fifty of foot, her selfe in courage faire surmounting her sex, as another *Zenobia*, or rather *Deborah*, lead forth the Lordes host against this great *Sisera*, and her foildiers valiant for warre, and apt for battell, men skilfull to handle speare and shield, both for courage and quicke dispatch, might well be compared vnto those *Gadites* that came to aide *David*, whose faces were like to the faces of *Lions*, and were compared to *Roes* in the mountains for swiftness.

The French King
gave notice to
the Queene of
the preparation.

The Queene
encountered Talbot
?

1 Chr. 22.

A. D. 1588.

A remount of
the English
warlike Maids.

(197) The *Inimicible Manie*, and terror of *Europe*, as the Papals both termed, and took it to bee, having all things prepared, loosed Anchor from *Lisbon* vpon the nineteenth of May, and made vnto the *Groine* in *Gallicia*, it being the nextest Haue to *England*, whence hoysing bayles with great hope and pride, bent their courie thitherward; his suddenly the heavens hating such hostile actions, powdered downe reuenge, by a sore and unexpected tempest, which droue the Duke of *Medina*, the chiefe General backe againe into the *Graine*, eight other of their shippes being disperied on seas, their masts broken and blowne over-board; besides three *Portingall* Gallies which fell vpon the Coast of *Spain* in *France*, and were serpyon by their owne fluzes, whereof *David Grayn* an *Englishman* was the full, who with his fellows both French and *Turks* freed themselves by the slaughter of many *Spaniards*, among whom Don *Diego de Aluarez* was one.

His Prince's brother
Vice-Admirall
of the English.

(198) *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall heiring for certain that their Fleet was ready to hoist vp their sailes, had sent the worthy Sir *Francis Drake*, who was constituted his Vice-Admirall, vnto the West parts, with fifty six shippes well appointed, whither himselfe also following with speed, and ioyning his Fleet, their number amounted to one hundred shippes, whereof fiftene were *Fluallants*, and nine *Voluntaries* of *Denishire* Gentlemen; many a seruicable man returning backe for lacke of employment or place. These from *Phynoth* refolowing and affaying to put forth to seas, were so met with the wind, that past the *Syller* they could not attain, and thence also were forced by reuempt into the Haue, from whence they lanchd to refresh their ships and companies; where lying at Anker, the Scouts at Sea had decried some sayles of the *Spaniards*, which had bene likewise distressed by the storme, but before they could bee hailed, the wind came about, and brought them to the *Graine*, where the rest lay in harbour.

* May 30.

June 6.

(199) Intelligence spreading that the *Spaniards* were in want; their great shippes disperied, the rest shume-shaken, and their men by multitudes slaine with the plague; the Lord Admirall meant to vie the advantage vpon the first North wind, which came about the eight day of Iuly, and bare his layle almost within sight of *Spain*, when suddenly it changing into the South; and he wilely foreseeing, that the enemy might passe without his discouerie, that the Seas might bee stormy, and his Fleet wind-bound, and that whilst they thus lay abroad, their

Iuly 3.

cruike much better might be employed at home, hee therefore presently returned, and anchored his Fleet in the Haven of *Plymouth*, suffering his men to relieue themselves on land.

(200) But the *Spaniards* ships new rigged, and their wares supplied, their King still hore on his former resolutions, instantly vrged and haleden his Chalcetaines to port againe to Sea, which accordingly was done vpon the eleuenth of Iuly, waving their *Anker* at the Groat, where with brunt shows and fullsails they came into the Chancels of the narrow Seas, where they cast anker, and dispatched certaine small pinnasses vnto the Duke of *Parma*, to signifie their arrivall and readines, and to command him in the name of the King to forward his charge forthw'th cruike.

(201) The English Fleet being in harbour, and many men on shore, Captain *Thomas Fleming* (some say a Pirate) did strike the *Spaniard* vpon the point of the *Leopard*, the wind being then *South* and by *West*. He halting to *Plymouth*, made relation thereof vnto the Lord Admirall, the newes was more fearefull, for that it was sodaine, the Queene having received intelligence for certaine, that this great *Armada* would nor come forth that yeere, their bulkes being lo dispersed and bruised, and their wares and sicknesse lo great, vpon which rash reports (a dangerous matter in State-affaires, no confident he was, that hee lent for foure of her tallest royall shippes, to bee brought againe vnto *Chatham*) but *Fleming* vnexpected discovery hindred that purpose, and all bands were set on work to warpe out the Shippes, the winde blowing harde, and hindering the same.

(202) The next day about noone, this terrible Fleet was decryed by the English, who with a South west wind came forward amaine, and (as seemed) they made for *Plymouth*. But whether their Commission were otherwise, or for that they saw the English shippes out of the harbour, they passed by, towards *Calis*, well hoping about those coasts to meet with Prince *Parma*, by whose waiting that way the English got the wind, and efusons gaue them chase, and encounter, where fire, smoake and echoing Canons beganne the parley, and bullets most freely exchanged betwix them, were messengers of each others mind.

(203) The next day the two Fleets fought within Musket shot, where the English Admirall fell most hotely on the Vice-Admirall of *Spain*, at which present they well perceived their owne over-sights; their great shippes (like Castles) powerful to defend, but not off-end, to stand but not to moue, and therefore faire visit for fight in those narrow seas: their enemies nimble and ready at all sides to annoy them, and as apt to escape harme themselves, by being low built, and easily lhor ouer. Therefore they gathered themselves close in forme of a halfe Moone, and slackned their sailes, that their whole Fleet might keepe together. Notwithstanding, one of their great Gallions, wherein was *Don Pedro de Valdes*, *Vicoytor de Silua*, *Alonso de Sayas*, and other Noblemen, was fore battered by the English shot, in avoiding whereof hee fell fowle vpon another shippe, and ere hee could bee cleared, had her fore-mast broken off, which lo hindred her saile, that shee was vnable to keepe way with the Fleet, nor they of courage to succour the Lords, but left both shippe and them, in this sudden and vnlooked for distress. But aight coming on, and saile lagging behind, the Lord Admirall supposing neither men nor Mariners to be left within board, and fearing to loose sight of the *Spaniards*, past by, and followed the Lamorne, which hee tooke to be borne by *Sir Francis Drake*, but that renowned Knight, busied vpon five great hulks purified them amain, which being haled, were found to be Easterlings, & therupon freed from his further harmes.

(204) The next day following, *Sir Francis Drake*

copying this lagging Gallion, sent forth a Pinnasse to command them to yeelde, otherwile his Bullettes should force them without further fauour; but *Valdes*, to seeme valorous answered, that they were foure hundred and fifty strong, that himselfe was *Don Pedro*, and stood on his honour, therupon propounding certaine conditions. But the Knight lent his reply, that hee had not leisure to patley, if hee would yeeld, presently doe it, if not hee should well proue that *Drake* was no daffard; whereupon *Pedro* hearing that it was the *Sir Francis Drake* (euer terrible to the *Spaniards*) who had him in chase with forty of his followers came on board *Sir Francis* his shippe; where first giuing him the Conge, he protested, that hee and all his were resolved to die in defence, had they not fallen vnder his power, whose valout and felicity was so great, that *Mars* and *Nephtun* seemed to outstee him in his attempts, & whole generous mind towards the vanquished, had often bene experienced, euen of his greater focs. *Sir Francis* requiring his *Spaniard* complements with honourable English certelies, placed him at his owne Table, and lodged him in his owne Cabbin. The residue of that company were lent vnto *Plymouth*, where they remained eightene monethes, till their ransom were paid: but *Sir Francis* his soldiers had well paid themselves with the spoile of the shippe, wherein were fifty five thousand Ducats in gold, which they shared merite among them. The same day *Michael de Oquendo* Admirall to the *Quedron Gaspares*, and Vice-Admirall to the whole Fleet, suffered no lesse disaster, whose ship being one of the greatest Gallions, fell suddenly on fire, all the vpper part of the shippe, and most of the perions therein consumed, howbeit the Gunpowder in the hold was all saved, and the rest of the scorched *Spaniards* with the hulke brought into *Plymouth*, to the great ioy of the beholders.

(205) Vpon Tuesday the twenty third of Iuly, the *Spaniards* approaching right against *Portland*, the wind came about into the North, as fit as could bee wished to further their desires; but the English agill, and foreseeing all harmes, recovered the aduantage thereof from the *Spaniards*, and continued that day from morning till night, in battering those vast wooden Castles with shot both great and small; which forced them for their further safety, to gather themselves close into a roundell, their beell and greatest ships standing without, & securing the battered and lesse. On this day the lastest fight was performed: wherein, besides other remarkable harmes, a great Venetian shippe with some other smaller, were surprisid, and taken by the English.

(206) The foure and twenty day of this present Month, the fight was onely betwene the foure great Gallies, and the English shippes, the *Spaniards* hauing the aduantage, theirs being rowed, and our sailes vnailed, by reason of the calme, which notwithstanding they fore galled the enemy with *chaines shot*, therewith cutting a funder their caddings, cables, and cordage to their no little annoyance. But wanting powder, which lo freely they had spent, they sent men on land for a further supply, which ministered dislikes (if not suspitions) to many, that wee should thus want vpon our owne coasts. In which interim a Council was called, wherein it was decreed that the English Fleet should be diuided into foure squadrons, and those committed to foure worthy Captaines, and most skillfull Navigators, whereof the Admirall in the *Arke Royal* was chiefe, *Sir Francis Drake* in the *Swallow*, the second, Captain *Hemkins* the third, and Capaine *Frederick* the fourth. Other most valiant Captaines there were in her *Malice* Shippes, as the Honourable Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Lion*, the Lord *Sheffield* in the *Beare*, *Sir Robert Southwell* in the *Elizabeth* *Town*, Captain *Baker* in the *Pilgrimage*, and Capaine *George Fomer* in the *Galion* *Leicester*.

(207) The five and twenty of Iuly, the *Spaniards*

The Spaniards again let fire.

The English haue notice of their approach.

They set forth from Plymouth.

July 20.

The English attack the Spaniards.

July 21.

A Gallion disabled.

July 22.

Don Pedro yields himselfe.

July 23.

July 24.

The Spaniards retreat into Plymouth.

July 25.

ards were arrived against the *Isle of Wight*, where was a terrible encounter, each shooting off their whole sides, and not above six score yards the one from the other, till at length the English so battered the Spanish high Turrets, that they were forced once more to secure themselves in a roundell, and the foresaid Generalls so worthily bore themselves in this conflict, that the Lord Admirall bestowed the Order of Knight-hood vpon the Lords *Howard* and *Sheffield*, Master *Iohn Hawkins*, *Martin Probysher*, and others. And yet (by the Spanish brags) a false rumour was spread in *France*, that England was wholly conquered by the Spaniards.

July 27.

(108) Their Fleet making forward about Sunset, the 27. of the same moneth, came against *Dunkirk*, and anchored within sight of *Callis*, intending for *Dunkirk*, there to ioyne with the Duke of *Parma* his forces, without which they well saw, they could doe nothing. The English Fleet following vpon hard vpon them call anchor so neere, that they lay within Caluering shot. Where the Lord *Henry Seymer* vntied his to the Lord Admiralls shippes. Meane while the Duke of *Medina* sent vnto *Parma*, to bid him make ready his long expected forces, with which messengers many Noblemen of the Spaniards went on Land, among whom was the Prince of *Asselt* the Kings half sonne, who so well liked his shipping, that hee made no great halt againe from shpping: wherein he was onely fortunate, for that his Gallion was call away vpon the Irish coast, and neuer returned to salute *Spain*.

(109) Duke *Parma* hearing the best of this voyage, makes all things ready that lay in his charge; whose hopes were so fixed for *Englands* Conquest, that the glittering *Diamond* vpon *Queene Elizabeths* head, dazled his ambitious eye, being assured by Cardinall *Allen*, that he was the man designed to be crowned therewith, and who, from the Pope and *Spaine* should hold that Kingdome himselfe. Wherefore thinking his Coronet of the Low Countries Government, would haue trouble the English Crowne, and both too weighty to be worn vpon one head, he committed that charge vnto Count *Mausfeld* the Elder, and making his vowes vnto *Saint Mary of Hall* in *Holland*, was already in conceit no lesse then a King. But soone the date of his raigne was expired, and his swelling tide fallen into a Low shallow ebbe; for the day following in his march towards *Dunkirk* hee heard the thundering Ordinance ring the passing peale of his stile and title, and the same evening had newes of the hard success of the Spaniards, the hoped aduancers of his dreamed fortunes.

The fleets dis-
anchored from
Callis by Span-
iards.

July 28.

(110) They lying the at anchor nere *Callis*, to ioyne their powers with *Parma*, were forced thence by a politike stratageme thus: Their Shippes, as Castles pitched in the sea, had their bulkes so planked with great beames, that bullets might strike and strike, but neuer passe through, so that little assailed the English *Cannons*, except onely in playing on their masts and tackling; whereupon, by her Maiesties aduise and appointment, eight of the English Shippes were discharged of men, and filled with gunpowder, pitch, brimstone, and other combustible matter; their Ordinance charged with bullets, stones, chaines, and the like, which vpon Sunday, the eight and twenty of July, at two of the clocke after mid-night, were let drine with winde and tide among the Spanish Fleet, whose Pilots returning, and their traines taking fire, such a saddaine thunder-clap was giuen, that the Spaniards, affrighted in the dead of the night, were stricken into a horrible feare, least all their shippes should bee fired by these, which present mischiefe to auoide, in great perplexity, they halst to cut their owne Cables, the time being too short to weigh vp their anchors, and hoisting their Gales did drue at randome into the Seas, in which haile and confusion the greatest of their Galliaffes fell soule vpon another ship, and lost her

Rudder, so that guidelesse she droue with the tide vpon a shelue in the shoare of *Callis*, where shee was assaulted by the English.

A Galliaffes killed.

(111) This Galliaffe was of *Naples*; her General, *Hugh de Alencade*, who fought the more valiantly in hope of present release of the Prince of *Parma*; but Sir *Amias Prefton* gaue so fierce an assault, that *Alencade* was shot dead with a bullet, and the Galliaffe boarded; wherein was many a Spanish helme, and a number of the tell leaping into the Sea, were drowned; yet Don *Antonio de Matigori*, a principall Officer, had the hap to escape; and was the first man that brought into *Spain* the welcomes of this now vincible Navy. This huge Bottom, manned with four hundred Souldiers, and three hundred slanes, had in her hold fifty thousand Ducats of the Spanish Kings treasure, a booty well fitting the English souldiers affections; who, having ransacked all, and freed the slanes from their miserable fetters, went about to set that vessel of Empines on fire; but *Monsieur Gaudon*, the gouernour of *Callis*, fearing some danger to the Towne or Haven, would not permit them, but discharged his ordinance against such as assailed it.

July 28.

(112) The morning after this their miserable hap, ranging themselves againe into order, they approached ouer against *Graveling*, where once againe the English getting the winde, the Spanish were thereby deprived of the Conueniency of *Callis* roade, and kept from supply oar of *Dunkirk*; in which port had rested their full hope of support. Notwithstanding they were forced to passe by, and so followed by the English, that their ships discharged vpon them from morning till night, the conflict proving diuinall to the invincible *Armada*; for therein a great Gallion of *Biscay* perished, the Captaine thereof to auoid ignominy, not to be accounted valorous, desperately slew each others, in which distresse also two other great ships preferelye sunke. The *Saint Philip*, and *Saint Mathew*, two *Portugall* Gallions, were so corn with shot, their tacklings for aye, and their haikes rent, that the water entred in on all sides; in the former of which, was *Francis de Toledo*, being Colonel ouer two and thirty bands, who taking his course for the Coast of *Flanders*, the leake was so great, that hee with others, committing themselves to the Skiffe, arrived at *Offend*, and the Ship, with the Residue, were taken by the *Vlster* giers.

A Gallion taken.

(113) In the *Saint Mathew* was embarked Don *Diego Pimentelle*, Campe-maister, and Colonel also of thirty two bands; whose Shippe, though very strong, was so pierced with shot, that her Leakes could not be stopp, which knowne, the Duke of *Medina* sent him skiffe for him; and some others, to save themselves from their imminent danger. But hee, vpon a Spanish braue, refused so to doe, saying each way to free himselfe like a souldier; but not able to keepe taile with the Fleet, hee forth with made toward the coast of *Flanders*, where being espied by five men of warre, was met with, and required to yeeld, which lastly hee did vnto Captaine *Peter Banderaduffe*; who carried him into *Zeland*, where, for a trophie of Victory, his Banner was hung vp in the Church of *Leiden* in *Holland*, whose length reached from the very toofe vnto the ground; and another Ship of lesse burden coasting also for *Flanders*, was call away on the sands.

(114) The Spaniards now finding their *BYEN-VIDA* vnto *England* far other then they expected, were content to couch their fleet close together, not seeking to assaile but to defend; and the league comming to the *South-west*, in the same order passed by *Dunkirk*, whom the English still followed. But least *Parma* should play vpon aduantage, the Lord Admirall dispatched the Lord *Henry Seymer*, with his Squadron of small ships, vnto the coast of *Flanders*, to second those *Hollanders* which there kepe watch vnder the conduct of

Infim

The Hollanders
Adels.

Justin Nassau their Admiral: whose Navy consisted of thirty five shippes, furnished with most skillfull Mariners and old experienced souldiers, whereof twelue hundred were *Mathiers*, whom the States had called out of the Garrisons. Their charge was, to hoptall entrance into their Hagues, or encounter with *Danbrake*, whether *Duke Parma* intended; though his men were unwilling, hearing how their friends were welcome at the sea, onely the English fugitives, about seven hundred, under the command of that treacherous Knight *Sir William Stanley*, were very forward to bee the first that should alight England.

English feet-
men promote the
new Hollanders
command.

July 29.

(215) But the *Armado*, being now pasted the place of their expected supply, and having gotten more Sea-room for their huge bodied bulkes, *spread their maine files, and made away as fast as wind and water would give them leave, more fearing the small Fleete and forces of the English, (though nothing in number like vnto them) then standing vpon termes of honour, either of their chieftaines or *Invincible Navy*. But surely, if they had knowne the want of powder that our sustinained, (a fault vnexcusable vpon our owne coasts,) they no doubt would haue flood longer to their tacklings; but God in this, as the rest, would haue vs to acknowledge, that we were onely deliuered by his owne gracious providence and Arme, and not by any policy or power of our owne.

The Spanish
Armado first.

(216) The *Finchle Armado* holding on their way, the English *Admirall* followed, least they should stay to put into *Seuill*; but the winde coming faire, and feare of more encounters, with all their files spread they bestooke themselves to fight, leaving *Seuill* on the West, and bending toward *Norway*; it aduised (but that necessity wroge, & God had infused their counsils) to put their shalke and battered bottoms into those blacke and dangerous Seas; neither was the Climate healthfull for the crazed bodies of the *Spaniards*, over-beaten and tyred with warts, being now entered the degree of Latitude. 57. from whence the Lord *Admirall* returned, leaving some Scouts to delery their successe.

August 4.

The Spanish
consideration.

(217) The *Spaniards* now cleared from those their hanting spirits, consulted most seriously what was to be done: the Popes credit was to bee respected, who had predicted this voyage to fortune successe; the wrath of King *Philip* was to be feared, his great expences thus lost; the adventures looser if the voyage should bee left: the glory of the *Spaniards* laid in the dust, the *Invincible Navy* in the ebbe of her fame; and England still England, not lorded by the *spaniard*, if they thus without further attempt should returne into *Spain*. But with all, fine thousand of their souldiers were slaine; multitudes of sicke and maimed lay on their hands; twelue of their greatest ships were sunke, lost, and taken; their Cables, Masts and Sailes, cut, rent, and broken, with the English shot, their ankers left, where the fired Hulkes forced them, their victuals failing, and fresh-water all spent, their enemies no lesse fierce and vnduntable, then fortunate; and their long expected friend, the Duke of Parma, though euer preparing, yet still forestalled by the *Dutch*, most firme Allies vnto the Queene: these circumstances wisely balanced, the voice went current for speeding into *Spain*.

The Spaniards
call their bodies
from the sea.

(218) But knowing that *Seuill* (whose *Religious King* was fast knit in affection, and blood vnto Queene *Elizabeth*) would yield them no comfort, and hopelesse altho that *Norway* would give them any supply, they call all their Males and Hories oner-board for sparring of their fresh-water: then framing their course to slide about *Cathenes* and the coasts of *Ireland*, so proceeded between the *Oreades* and *Isles of Fero* vnto the 61. degree Northward, whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his best stored shippes tooke Westward oer the maine Ocean towards *Biscay*, and so arrived safely in *Spain*, where

for his *Widow*, hee was deposed from all his authority, forbidden to come at the Court, and commanded to bee priuate. Neither could hee thus give satisfaction for his bad successe, albeit he imputed it to the treachery of his mariners, their ignorance, and small experience of those Northern Seas, the want of succors from the Prince of *Parma*, the treachery, shipwracks, and ill fortune, but not a word of the *judgements of God* vpon this *Gyranlike attempt* to enslave all England to the mountains of *Orreade*, orto the mines of *Pera*.

(219) The residue of his ships, about forty in number, fell neerer with the coast of *Ireland*, intending for *Cape Clare*, where they well hoped to water; but the winde contrary, and tempests storming vpon those dangerous Seas, many of their ships perished vpon the shoares of *Ireland*, and among other a great Galliesse, wherein *Nicolas de Oquendo* was a commander, and two other of *Venice*, both ships of great barren, besides thirty eight more, together with most of the *Spaniards* contained within them. Those that got cleare of the danger, put forth to Sea, whereof some with a strong West winde were driven into the chanel of *England*, where part of them were taken by the English, others by men of *England* in *France*, and some arrived at *Newham in Normandy*. In so much, that of one hundred thirty four ships, which had set sail out of *Lisbon*, onely fifty three returned to *Spain*: of the foure Gallieses of *Naples*, but one: of the foure Gallieses of *Portugall*, but one; and of the ninety one Gallieses, and great Hulkes from diuers Provinces, only thirty three returned, fifty eight being lost in briefe, there were missing of their whole fleet foure-score and one vessels, and of the thirty thousand souldiers, thirteenth thousand, five hundred and odd. Of prisoners taken in *England*, *Ireland* and the *Low-Countries* were two thousand and more. In *England*, *Don Pedro de Valdeir*, *Don Falsque de Sylva*, and *Don Alonso de Sayes* and others were kept for their rancke: in *Zeland*, *Don Diego de Perenelle*, and in *Ireland*, *Don Alonso de Lucern*, *Roderigo de Lajis* and others of great account: to conclude, there was no famous or worthy family in all *Spain*, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinsman.

(220) Thus were these Sea-fiecces effected as for the Land, preparations were made throughout the Kingdom, but the maine forces lying encamped at *Tilbury* vnder the command of the Earle of *Leicester*, thither her Majesty in person vpon the ninth of August repaired, full of Princely resolution, and more then feminine courage, whole lonely presence and imperiall speeches, as shee passed the *lowe American* Emperre through all her Army, were so acceptable and gracious, that Her souldiers, full-fraught with manly spirit, yet received an access of hardiness from so alacrious a patterne in their *Majesty*: and both they perceived so well the loue of their Prince, and therefore what it was to haue the loue of her subjects, that the harmony of both their affections was admirable, both of them professing resolution, and willing to sacrifice their liues in that most righteous quarrell. But the God of Hosts, hauing now prevented their forwardness, without losse of English blood, soon loosened the Campe was dissolved: and not long after *Leicester* ended his daies, hauing bene a Prince of great estate, but lyable to the common destiny of most *Great ones*, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few speake well of after their death.

(221) The Land thus deliuered by the arme of the Omnipotent, and the Boer put back that sought to lay *Englands* faire vine-yard waste, Queene *Elizabeth* (who euer held ingratitude a Capital sinne, but especially towards her Almighty protectour) commanded solenne Thankes-giving to bee celebrated vnto the Lord God of Hosts, at the Cathedral Church of *Saint Pauls* in Her chiefe City of *London*, which

The Duke of
Medina delos
Rios his brother
the Duke of
Medina delos
Rios.John Smith
with his
fleet.The trouble of
some ships on
the Irish coast.The loss of the
Spaniards ships.The English
souldiers to
their Church.The Spaniards
consideration to
God.The Duke of
Leicester
and his
army.The Duke of
Leicester
and his
army.The Duke of
Leicester
and his
army.The Duke of
Leicester
and his
army.

which accordingly was done vpon Sunday the eight of September, where eleven of the Spanish Ensignes (the once badges of their brauery, but now of their vanity) were hung vpon the lower battlements of that Church, as palmes of praise for England's deliverance; a few no doubt more acceptable to God, then when their spread colours did set out the pride of their shippes, threatening the blood of many innocent and faithfull Christians.

(222) The next day, the faire being kept in Southwarke, these faire flagges were spread vpon London-Bridge to the great ioy of the beholders, and eternall memory of Spanish purposes, as irreligious as vnprosperous. But the solempne day assigned to be kept holy throughout the land, was the nineteenth of November being Tuesday, which accordingly was then done, and would to God had so continued still, being no lesse for our deliverance, then was that Parus for the Iewes, which they inflicted to be kept holy throughout their generations.

(223) Queen Elizabeth therefore, to bee her selfe an example vnto others, vpon the Sunday following, being the foure and twentieth of Nouember, repayed from the Pallace of White-Hall, in Westminster, through the streets of London in great Estate: and came accompanied with her Nobilitie vnto the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, where dismounting from her Chariot at the West-dore, shee humbled her selfe vpon her knees, and with great deuotion audibly praised God, acknowledging him her onely Defender, who had thus deliured the land from the rage of the enemy. And after the Sermon ended, wherein none other Argument was handled, but onely of prayse and glory to bee rendered vnto God; her Majesty herselfe with most princely and Christian speeches exhorted all the people to their due performance of those religious traictees of thankfullnesse vnto God, like vnto another *Iafael*, *Dauid*, and *Iofias*. The *Zelanders* also to leane a Memoriall of their no lesse gratitude to God, then faithfullnesse to the Queene, caused a new *Cape* of silver to be stamped, hauing on the one side the Armes of their Country engrauen, with this Inscription, *Gloria Deo alone*, and on the other side, the portraicts of great ships, vnder-railed, *The Spanish Fleet*, and in the circumference, *It came, went, and was. Anno 1588*. Wherein they alluded to that quicke worke of *Cafar*, *¶ Veni, vidi, vici*, which wee haue seene also excellently described in deuise, where on the one side, the *Spanish Fleet* had inscribed *veni*, the *Swarm* (the eye of the whole world) *vidi*, and the *English Navy*, *vici*. In other coines also were stamped ships beating, & sinking, and in the reverse, supplicants vpon their knees, with this Motto, *Meo propefecto, God disposeth*. 1588. To the like effect also the Hollanders stamped the remembrance of this *Armada* in their monies, after the example of the Ancients, whose vie was to inscribeth their vittories vpon their Coines, of which kind were those with *Spanish Shipper*, having this Word, *Impius fugit nemine sequente*.

(225) Neither did the *Dutch* alone participate the triumph of this glorious success, but all other Nations also congratulated the same, which vniuersall ioy being excellently expressed in this ensuing Ode, by a *Stranger* of eminent *Pittand Learning*, and translated into all the chiefe Languages of *Christendome*, we will here suncke the same, as the Close and Epilogue of this *Tragic-Comedy*, to bee perpetuated vnto all ensuing posterities.

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Stranctus Inueneris Hispanus Clauibus aqvar,
Regnum in farras Scorpia Britannia fuit.
Tanti hominis regibus que Adami casus Superbus
Impulit Ambicio, vixit Auerbia.
Quam leuiter, Ambicio perfracta vultibus ventis:
Et tamula tumidas vnde super afflu aqua!
Quam bene Raptures Orbis totius Iheros
Mersit antichristi iussa vorago Maris!

At Tu, cui venit, ceterum milites Arguer;
Regna, O Mada totius vna decus:
Sic regnare Deo perge, Ambitione remota,
Prodege sic opibus persequare Fies:
Vltis Angli longum jngium Anglis ipse frauit,
Quam delicta Bona, tam metenda Aditi.

Spanier King with Namie huge the Seas besetwile,
T'augment with English Crowne his Spanish swaye.
Aske yet, what could this proud attempt? Eng was lewd
Ambition dreme and Auerice led the way.
It's well; Ambitions windy puffe bet drownd
By winds, and furling heauis, by swelling waues.
It's well; these Spaniards who the Worlds wast Round
Denou'd, drawing sea most iustly vnto.
Ere Thou, O Queen, for whom Winds, Seas, do warre,
O Thou, Sole Glory of this Worlde wide Mass:
Seruaie to God still, from Ambition free,
So still with humerous under the Good embrace;
Thou Thou, England long long may England Thee imay
T'bee, Terror of all Bad, plun Good men 159.

(226) The thunderclappe of this Spanish *Armado* thus past, and the immense vanquished, as the attempt & Issue was open to the eyes of the world, so the due consideration thereof was rooted in all true English hearts; whereupon the Nobles and Community being then assembled for Parliament, this court was at length thought fittest, that the proud Catholic should be requir'd vpon his owne coalls: And first it was determined to aide *Don Antonio* the expelled King of *Portugall*, whose title was apparently farre more iust then either *Philip* for *England*, or *Stakeley* for *Ireland*, both which Kingdoms they had in holie manner invaded: and thus the rather was resolu'd on, for that the Spanish King was endeavouring to repaire his dishonour by repairing his Fleet and Forces for a new expedition against *England*.

(227) This *Don Antonio* among other Competitors claimed the Crowne of *Portugall* after the decease of King *Henry*, as sprung from King *Emmanuel* by his soane *Don Lewis* the Infant; but alledged by the *Philippians* to haue been his *Raffard*. Against which accusation *Don Antonio* had sentence for his legitimation by the Bishoppe of *Augs*; and every way sought to rubbe off that scandalous imputation. His conditions were such as well befit a Crown, he being a Prince of greater spirit then perion, and yet of rare modesty and humility, seasoned with a disposition vey deuout and religious, whereby hee came to bee in furre better fauour and esteem then *Philip* of *Spain*, for which cause hee was first made *Defender* of the Realme by the *Gouernours*, and afterwards accepted *King* by the people, whereto he was in a manner enforced, seeing himselfe enuironed with many drawn swordes in midst of a furious multitude.

(228) But *Philip* as more ambitious, so more strong in men and munition, made warre into *Portugall*, and by his Generall, Duke *Alba*, put this new King vnto flight; after which fortune, himselfe eueres *Portugall*, where hee proclaimed eight hundred thousand *Crownes* to him that could bring him *Don Antonio* either aliue or dead. But such was their looe vnto this vnfortunate Prince, that eight monethes hee kept in *Portugall* disguised, and had conueration and conference with many, yet was neuer betrayed; but not able to hold vp his side, the *Gouernours* (as is the fashion of the world) daily falling to his brouger, after many conflicts, and much lamenting their miserable estate, left the Spaniard (who then gaped for nothing, but Kingdomes) to possesse the Government of *Portugall*.

(229) *Antonio's* kingly stile thus ended, before it was thoroughly begunne; *Philip* had subiectious offered him aide, and in such sort, as some that seem'd *Competitors*, yielded him their rights, among whom *Katherine Dutcheffe* of *Braganza* was one; yea

Contributions for attempts on Spain.

Don Antonio King of Portugall, spech to Queen Elizabeth's protestations.

Philip's protest for a new expedition.

Don Antonio his Title.

His conditions.

K. Philip's acceptance of the Crowne of Portugall.

Portugall possessed by the Spaniard.

Eliz. p. 16.

Q. Elizabeth cometh to Pauls Church.

The Zelanders thankfullnes to God.

*I came, I saw, I conquered.

*Theodorus Bryd. An. 1534 and in his Epist. de bello his Comment on Job. A. D. 1589.

and Pope *Gregorie* himselfe, who had hitherto sided with *Don Antonio*, the Prior of *Crate*, knowing it was fittest to hold with the stronger, sent *Philip* his Apostolicall allowance, the better to put on his New-gotten Crowne, exhorting him to thankfulness, for these his prosperities, and moving him earnestly to make warre against *England*, with prospects of assistance as he hath said.

(310) *Don Antonio* thus driven out of his Kingdome, for succour repaired unto the Court of *France*; where, of the Queene Mother, a pretended Competitor for the Portugall Crowne, he was both favoured and aided as *Senor* for the *Idea* of *Treuer*: but such was his destiny in his Sea-fights also (the *Peruian* said being no lesse powerful then the Spanish Canons) that eight of the tallest French Ships were lost, & two thousand men slain, among whom was the Lord *Philip Trassy* the *Generall*, whose death was so taken, and the expedition so censured, as the Portugall Captaines were repared for *Conwards*, imprisoned in *France*, and many of them charged with corruption and treason, so that all his hopes were now in the wane, and no further assistance could be expected of the *French*.

(311) The pore Prince thus dejected in *France*, knowing the vnnierall report of Queene *Elizabeth* his great fame, obtained leave of her Maiesty for successe vnto her sacred presence, whose *Court* had ever been a famous Sanctuary to all oppressed Princes, or distressed Estates: where shewing his right to the Portugall Crowne, and clearing the objections touching his *Right* (which imposition in sundry languages hee refused in Print to the publicke view of his Kingdome, *England* having too just an occasion to be against *Spain*). Among whom once more he assayed to tie the favour of Fortune; his Petition to the Queene being onely this, that she would but land him life in his Countrey and amongst his own People, of whose affured love and readinesse to receive him as their King, and thence forward to defend him and his iust Title, hee nothing doubted. So honest and reasonable a suit could not but finde fauour with so gracious a Queene: whereupon provision being made for the Portugall voyage, he embarked at *Plimouth* in April, whence fixe of the Queenes shippes, and twenty more of warre (besides many other ordained for transportation) spread their Sailes vnder the conduct of the ever-famous Sir *Francis Drake*, and the most valourous Sir *John Norris* *Generall* for the land service, with eleven thousand soldiers, and twenty five hundred Mariners. Their landing in a Bay of *Galicia*, nere vnto the *Grina*, in their March were met and encountered within halfe a mile of the Towne, but their enemies were soone forced to retire vnto their Gates.

(312) The next day General *Norris* having viewed the advantage, resolved to streame the place by a Scalado, and to land some Artillery, to beat the ships and Gallies which did play vpon their troopes, which was effectually performed, and the Gallies forced to abandon the Roade, the Bate-Town was surprized, and in three severall places entered, where the Inhabitants with a great cry took into the high Towne, but some prevented, escaping the fury of the sword fied to the Rocks, where they were found and slain to the number of five hundred. Among these he had, *Don Juan de Luna*, a man of great command, was one, who the next morning came forth, and yielded himselfe to the Generals devotion; *Juan de Vera*, a Commissary of victuals, was likewise taken, who confessed that there was in the Towne three hundred thousand *Ducats* of silver, and order given for the baking of three hundred thousand of Bisket, that the Towne was stored with two thousand Pipes of wine, a thousand Barres of Oyle, three thousand Kineles of Beefe, a great quantitie of Herbes, Pease, Wheat and Fife, and of March and Harqueboites three Barkes were brought thi-

ther not long before. All which (hee confessed) were for a new voyage against *England*. And indeed such store of wines was there found, as the English Souldiers vsing little moderation in drinking, did not onely lay themselves open to danger from the vpper Towne, but by distemperature inflamed and infected their blood, that it caused a greata mortality and infection in the whole Army.

(313) The Bate-Town thus gotten, a sudden reliefe of two thousand men so retolutely came to the very Gates, as though no contrary power could possibly keepe them from entrance, but in the first brunt of resistance, they were content to make their bodies the life-guardians of their heads, of whom very many were cut short by the English portiers. With the like feare the shippes in the Roade were freight, whole Souldiers ouercharging the great Ordinaes of a great Gallion, abandoned her daies, and set her on fire, which for the space of two daies burned in most terrible wise, so that of fifty great peeces but six were found whole, the rest broken and melted, and so brought away by the English; but the higher towne strong both by situation and its facility for resistance, retolutely held out, onely intressed by Parley to heare faire termes. And being built for the most part on a hard rocke, one place was found miserable, where the Generali the fourth day of this siege let men on worke, who bedded their powder from whar too short of the wal, whereby that designe took not the as spaiied effect. But this error reduced, another as great was committed, for the Miners againe set on worke, came right vnder the Wall, but somewhat wide of a great Tower therupon built, so that when the blast of powder brake forth, it ouerthrew but a part of the same, and left the other standing rotering and shaken, which being not regarded, in the heat of assault, fell suddenly vpon the English, and slew Capaine *Sydnam* with thirty Souldiers besides, to the great astonishment of the rest there employed, not knowing the cause whereof it came, but rather suspecting it a Strageme of the Towne, and the rest of the rubbish lay so loose vnder foot, that the Assaulters could haue no sure standing to make their fight.

(314) Whilst these things were in doing, the General had certaine notice that the *Cande de Angra* had assembled an Army of eight thousand strong, which was but the beginning of another more strong, leued vnder the *Cande de Alenteira*; the former, not passing fix miles off, and both of them intending the rescue of the *Grina*: To prevent which, Sir *John Norris* with nine Regiments met them, and presently fell to abate skirnish, whole brunt the enemy not able to endure, broke on a Bridge, built vpon a Creeke of the Sea, at the further foot whereof their Campe lay very strongly entrenched. Sir *Edward Norris*, Colonel *Sydnam*, the Capaine *Hinder*, *Fulford*, and *Barton* entered the Bridge, whose further end was barricaded with Barrells, where coming to push of pike and sword, Sir *Edward* was grievously hurt in the head, Capaine *Hinder* received five wounds in the head and face by the Sword; Capaine *Fulford* hurt in the left arme with a shoe, and Capaine *Barton* hurt in the eye. Norwithstanding, the Generali seconded the encounter as the Guard was ouerthrowne, and the whole Army put into route, of whom our men had the Chase fully three miles in four sundry wayes. In this seruice the Kingi Standard was taken, some plate and rich apparell found in their Campe, and the Countrey for three Miles compass set on flaming fire; the General making his retreat with the Kingi Colours and Armes displayed before him, to the great honour of the English.

(315) Thus

The Graine
surprized,
infected
through intem-
perance drinking
of wine.

The Bate-Town put
to flight.

The enemy put
to flight.

The enemy put
to flight.

The enemy put
to flight.

The enemy put
to flight.

The English are
retreating.

The English
approach London.

King Antonio
flees and goes
to France.

His Indian aid.

Antonio re-
pairs to the aid
of Elizabeth.

Antonio is
assaulted here.

A.D. 1589
The Portugall
voyage.

See the field
of April 15.

May 8.

The Earle of Essex cometh to the Port.
May 13.

Corn. Justice.

The enemy put to flight.

Famine in Portugal taken.

The attempt for Lisbon.

Spanish history.

The English approach Lisbon.

(235) Thus returning vnto the Groine, and wanting Cannons to batter the walles, the English fired the Baile-Towne, embarked from thence, and put againe to Sea. But the windes being contrary, many affaies were made before the Fleet could recover the Burlings, in which passage *Robert Earle of Essex* with *Marsialler Denmore* his brother, accompanied with others, came to the Fleet, which Earle hauing put himselfe into the iourney against the opinion of the world, or well-liking of the Queene, seemed vnto the Sager fort to hazard his fortunes but other more heauy spirits, held it the great aduancement of his reputation; whereof I thinke I may say, as *Tacitus* said of *Vespasian* employment in *Brittaine*, That there was laide the first foundation of his future *glorie*.

(236) The Fleet thus increased, they landed in *Portugall*, euen vnder foot of the Castle of *Peniche*, where the Sea growing high, many were in perill of drowning; for most of them waded to the walle for the Shore. Of this Towne and Pecece, *Conde de Puentri* had the command, who with five Companies of *Spaniards* sallied out against the English, and made their approach close to the Sea-side whereupon the Earle of *Essex* with *Sir Roger Williams* diuided their men into two Troopes, the one keeping the Sands along the Shore, and the other ouer the sand-hilles made towards the in-land. Which the enemy seeing, halld to the encounter, and came vnto fight, euen within push of Pike; but were so entertained, as they had no great liking, but presently turned their backs, and fled further then the English had reason to follow. The Towne they left vndefended, so that it was entered without any resistance, and the Castle summoned the same night, the Capitaine whereof was *Antonio de Azevedo*, a *Portugall*, who demanding, and being satisfied, that *Dou Antonio* was present, gaue vp the pecece, with the mention therein. Vnto this place some Fryers & other poore of the Country, came to welcome their King, promising him (in the name of the rest) a sufficient supply both of horse and foot, which notwithstanding was neuer performed.

(237) Here it was thought fitt that the wounded and sick should remaine, with sufficient provision, and seven companies of foot to guard the ships and Castle; and the maine Army to march ouer land vnto *Lisbon*, the Metropolitane of *Portugall*, accounted the strongest Fort in the World, and whoeuer held that, might (in their extreme) make head against the mightiest Monarch in the Earth; whither likewise *Sir Francis Drake* (General of the Sea-service) promised to come, if the iniury of weather did not hinder him. The March vnder taken, *Torres Pedras* made some shew of resistance, but presently vpon the approach of the English, that Castell was abandoned, and left to the possession of *Dou Antonio*, whose hopes hereupon beganne to enlarge, thinking the whole would stand for his claime; but therein was not a litle decayed, for victuals growing scarce in the Army, the Country did not supply them according to expectation, neither came in any of strength. Notwithstanding the English Army from *Pedras* marched to *Sao Sebastian*, thence to *Leris*, and lodged the fifth day at *Alentejo*, three miles from *Lisbon*, where many of their Soldiers perished by drinking in two places of poisoned standing waters, as also in eating of honey, purposely left in the houses, and spiced with poison, as it was thought.

(238) The five and twentieth of May, the English Army came vnto *Lisbon*, whose Suburbs were found abandoned, houses of provision for come & victuals fired, and none left to defend but a sort of olde folkes and beggars, crying in the streets, *Plas el Rey Dou Antonio*, and about midnight they within the Towne let fire on their houses that stood within vpon the wall. The English wearied with the six daies march, want of victuals, the last nights watch, and many of them weake, were desirous of rest;

whereof the enemy hauing aduertisement, in the dead of the night sallied out of the Towne, and made their assault in three severall streets, but chiefly vpon Colonel *Brett* Quarters, who being as rest (as most of the Army were) with what halt was possible, put himselfe, and his in Armes, & so thoroughly made head, that hee was slaine in the place, Capitaine *Carr* with the like resistance and valour ended his life; Capitaine *Carley* wounded to death; Capitaine *Carr* hurt, but not mortally. The others found not their attempts so safe, but were put to a suddaine and soule retreat; in which the Earle of *Essex* (full of high pirite, and hotte youthly blood) had them in chase to the very gates of the high towne; and (as it was truly reported) the enemies loode did triple the English, as well in quantity, as in men of quality.

(239) Mean while General *Drake* with his whole Fleet was come to *Cafesio*, and possessed the towne without any resistance, for the inhabitants at the discovery of his Name, fledde with bagge and baggage into the mountaines, which the General perceiving, sent vnto them a *Portugall Pilot*, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so as they would accept of their rightfull King, and manlier necessities to the Army which hee had brought. Which offer they ioyfully embraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of the Towne, to signify their loyalty to *Dou Antonio*, and their honest affection to his Army, whereupon *Sir Francis* immediately landed his Companies, but not without perill of the Castell, which being guarded by the *Spaniards*, held out against him for their King.

(240) At *Lisbon* the *Portugals* had promised to aid *Antonio* with three thousand horse, besides other supplies from the Duke of *Bragansa*, *Dou Francisco de Toledo*, and others, at a day preuided, and now altogether fail, by reason (as it seemeth) that the *Spaniards* having chiefe command in all places, they were vnable by any means to make head. Whereupon the vnfortunate *Antonio* seeing the time expired, & but forty horse come, nor of foot sufficient to furnish two Embassies, grew almost hopelesse, yet aimed hee to perswade a stay before *Lisbon* for 9. dayes more; but the Towne being strong, and the English declining (for there was the first apparent sign of sicknesse among them) the *Portugals* backward, and of base resolutions, ready to obey any so themselves may be rich; and the General hauing already done more then was promised, left they should hazard the honour which hitherto had bene gotten, denied his request, and gaue present order to return to *Cafesio*, himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and *Sir Roger Williams* remaining with the stand, that was made in the high street, till the whole Army was drawne into the field: at which time, the King (then herein of kindly disposition towards his Natures) made request to lene the Suburbs from spoile, which if the English had refused, they had bene the richer; Arme that euer returned to *England*. But now ready to depart *Lisbon*, the noble *Essex* in the courage of his Marciall blood, ranne his speare and brake it against the Gates of that City: demanding alowde, if any *Spaniard* mewed therein, durst adventure forth in fauour of his Mistresse to breake a blasse with him. But those Gallant thought it safer to court their Ladies with amorous discourses, then to haue their loues written on their breasts with the point of his English Speare.

(241) Being now come to *Cafesio*, intelligence was brought by a Fryer, that the enemy was marched vnto *Saint Iohn* with a strong power to encounter the English, vnto whose General, the General *Norris* lent a Trumpet, promising to meete him the next morning if hee durst abide his coming, and withall gaue him the lie: the Earle of *Essex* also sent him a particular Carrell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie, or else fixe, eight or tenne, to trie single combats, where-

A Selly on the English.

Essex perswades the enemy to this very Gate.

Drake surprised Lisbon.

Dou Antonio his princely complaints.

The Collie of
Cajean rendered.

Sirry Spanish
Hobles usen.

The English ar-
rived at Ply-
mouth,
* June 22.

John Smith,
The Summe of
France.

An. d. 1588
Octob. 17.

* Henry 3.

Anno of Valois
in France.

The English
proceeds.

at this *Spaniards* combe was so cut, as in the night, before battell, in great feare and perturbation bee dislodged, and returned to *Lisbon*, not answering the Challenge, but threatening to hang the Messenger, who followed him even to the very Gate. Then was the Collie of *Cajean* tended upon condition, that the men of *Armes* should depart with bag and baggage; which Peace in part, by the Order of the Generall, was blowne up by mine. During which time threefoore Hobles laden with Corn, Malts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe, being the Spanish Kings provision were taken going to *Lisbon*.

(142) The English hauing thus farre proceeded, put againe to Sea, when, vnlooked for, and in a great calme, nine Gallies fell in the winde of their Fleet, and so plaid vpon a fringing Barke of *Plimouth*, that Capitaine *Caladrey*, his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners, abandoning the vessell, betooke them to their Boates, whereof one, (in which the Capraine and Master were) was ouercome by the Gallies, and they both drowned. Two other Hukles alio fringing from the Fleet, were fet vpon by the *Spaniards*, in one of which, Capitaine *Atimble* fought to the last, and very valiantly alter his ship was on fire, but whether fired by himselfe or the enemy, could not be iudged; the calme being to still, as no succour could bee sent from the Fleet, to their great griefe.

(143) Thus continuing fouenteene daies on board, many of the dead Souldiers were call into the Sea; and the whole now consisted of two thousand men, who coming to *Pige*, found every fleet fenced with a strong Barricado, and but only one man in the Towne, the inhabitants making toward *Bayen* as fast as they could drive, then was both the Town and all the Countrey for leuen miles compass set on a flame. Which seruice thus performed, *Sir Francis Drake* with the *Queenes* ships safely arrived at *Plimouth*, and vpon the second of Iuly following arrived *Sir John Norris*, hauing both of them performed the parts of worthy Generals.

(144) Whilst these Realmes were at variance each against others, the *French* were not quiet among themselves, the King some what voluptuous, but excessively prodigal towards his favorites; the Nobility ambitious, mistrustfull, and disloyall; the Clergy turbulent, and vndutifull, bending all their force and thoughts against the plantation of the truth. To waite friendship therefore some league had beene made, for confirmation whereof the three Estates were assembled at *plais*. For the Clergy appeared one hundred thirty foure deputies, among whom were foure Arch-bishops, one and twenty Bishops, and two Generals of Orders; for the Nobility came one hundred and foure score gentlemen; and for the third Estate an hundred foure score and eluen Deputies, all of them Lawyers and Merchants. Vpon the first sitting, and before these best wits of *France*, King *Henry* made a solemne Oration to perswade vnion, full of lively affection, true magnanimity and pregnant reasons, delivered with such an admirable eloquence and grace, as it rauished the eares of all present, besides the opening of the propoositions, the which, *Montaigne*, the keeper of the Seale, for him further prosecuted; after him *Reynaud de Beaulieu*, Arch-bishop of *Bourges*, Patriarke and primate of *Aquaine*, spake in the same argument; and lastly, *Adriell de Marillac*, Prouost and President for the third Estate, confirmed, and consented to all that had beene said. Whereupon an oath of *Vnion* was taken, to kinde the King, them, and all their posterities, the fundamental Lawes and liberties of *France* onely reserved.

(145) This notwithstanding, the *Leaguers*, to hit the marke whereat they aimed, daily diuulged and barozed the *French* Kings disgrace, and al to install the *Guise* in his Throne; the Papists wrongs were greedously expatiated, their Churches burnt, and Altars profaned, the people oppressed

with impositions and subsidies; places of Iudgement set to sale; and spirituall benefices to him that would giue most; the officers at Court, they alleged, were managed by men of meane rank; the Noblemen seruises neglected and vneuarded. All these, and more, were complained of, and all to make the King base in the peoples eyes, the *Guise* himselfe the while renporizing with both, as disuading the King to subiect his authority vnto their complaints, and at the same present perswading the other, to bee vengeant in their peruries.

(146) Among their other practices one was against the King of *Nauarre*, whom the Clergy condemned for an *Heresie*, the chief (as they termed him) of the relapse, excommunicated and deiered him of the Government of *Guerne*, and of all other dignities, as being vaworthy of successions of Crownes or Realmes. But *Henry*, with *Effray* thought it vnreasonable, to condemn this Prince without hearing, and therefore desired to haue him againe summoned, and againe to bee sworn to the *Vnion*.

(147) To this motion was answered, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his vncle had once obtained absolution for him; that the *Queene* mother had many times assured to wince him; many learned doctors had bene sent to reclaim him; but all in vaine. For, from the Cradle (said they) hee hath bene brought vp in this new *Heresie*, hath bene condemned by the Councell of *Trent*, received againe into grace by the Consistory, againe fallen into the error which hee abjured, and is now an *Heresie*, relapsed, vaworthy of obedience, vaworthy of respect, and vaworthy to bee praised for: for the holy See of *Rome* hath declared him a Schismaticke, excommunicated him as incapable of succession, and therefore must the Estates of *France* ratifie the Popes fence; and King *Henry* must thereto subscribe; if not, the Duke of *Guise*, who was Master of the Castle, and carried the keyes at his owne girdle, would dissolve the assembly and lay all the blame vpon his Maiesty.

(148) Thus then (by the paropole of man) the first Prince of the blood, and the onely remainder, after so many sisters and consens of *Amans*, *Alencon*, *Eureux*, *Berry*, *Bourgoigne*, *Anglesme* and *Orleans*, and which only succeeded that of *Valois*, was now deprived of the succession which Nature gaue him, without calling, or hearing of his iustifications.

(149) To further this *Guise* enterprise, his followers buzd into the heads of them multitude, that it was the Kings Climastrically yeere, and so many presumptions were obserued, as it was told the King in plaine termes that the Duke of *Guise* would surprize him. Whereupon, hauing remained long in suspense, betwixt the rigour of reuenge, and the mildesse of his owne disposition, at last, by the lightning, supposing a chander-clap would follow, he thought timely to prevent the danger, by taking away his life, that intended the blow. Which was not so secretly carried, but that the designe was discoerred, and a crowle laid vnder *Guise* his Napkin as he sat at dinner, wherein it was written, that *his life was in danger*; but hee, as one confident in his owne power, wrote in the same crowle, these words, *they dare not*, and threw it from him vnder the Table. Other aduertisements hee had (if we may beleue the additions of *Sorres* from *Rome*, *Spain*, *Lorraine*, and *Sauoy*, that a bloody Carabroth should dissolve this assembly, their Almanacks had obserued it, and it was generally predicted for *Saint Thomas* day.

(150) But the Duke beeing himselfe bolde vpon his owne greatness, neglected all moities, and very presumptuously spake to the King, complaining that the affaires of *France* inclined from bad vnto worse, vncurable, and almost growne desperate, wherefore, the charge hee had recoued, hee would againe giue vp, and retired in the Countrey, kaff

A. D. 1588.
Noeuemb. 4.

Alb. 14.

Depict. 7.

To poster
referred in this
Collo.

Henry King of
Nauarre pre-
sented a com-
plaint of the Crown
of France.

1. Heuene
2. Four hundred
3. In all the
4. Eng.

A. D. 1589.

least other men's fingers should be reprinted his.

(251) The King, who had retired on his death, gave him good words, with promise of commendment was to him layd, and held him with familiar discourtesies, and favourable countenance, vntill a certaine time should bee offered, which was the three and twentieth of December, when the Lords sitting in Conncell, and entring consultation, the *Gisfe* was called for vnto the King, who as hee lifted vp the Tapeirie into his Cabinet, was charged vpon by the Guard, and with their swords and partisans presently flung the King anouching, that therneforth hee would rule alone. And not long after the Cardinal of *Gisfe*, the Duke dranke of the same cup at the commendment of the King.

(254) This death of the *Guzze* & *Cardinal*, caused the King to be exceedingly hated of the *Papals*, whose *Preachers* bandied his reproches in their *Pulpits*, incensing the people to open rebellion, and as *Furies* of *hell* heaped an *hliade* of *curſes* vpon the *hede* of the *Executioner*. In *Paris* the *Kings* furniture, and in the *Louvre* his pictures were broken, his *Armes* beaten down, his *Images* dragged through the *ſtreets*, his great *Scale* defaced, and his *royall* name blotted with many obprobrious terms. Yet the *College* of *Sorbon* was forward as any, concluded by a publick *Act*, That the people of *France* were free from the *Oath* of *Obedience* and *Faith* which they ſwore againſt *ſuite Henry* of *Valois*, that lawleſſy, and with a good confidence they might arme themſelves againſt him, procure his reſcue, and ſupply it in their *warres* for his overthrow.

(253) *Contrastive* the Duke of Guise was exalted to heaven, Orations made of his commendable exploits in Hungary against the Turke, at Ierne against the Protestants, at Poitiers, at Montcontour, at Finney, and at other places; in a word, such were the intestine troubles of France, as the king sent for Henry King of Navarre to help quench the flames of civil edition, which were mounted so high, as that the Leaguers prevailed against the Lords of Parliament, profaned Churches, violated Virgins, and denied their Christian profession with flames of blood. And to fill up the measure of their impious iniquity, a *Cardinal Fier*, by name *James Clement*, when the King had besieged Paris (the head City of this rebellion) made vovves to kill the Tyrant (as hee termed him) to free that holy City from *Scavenger*'s Gages, with which resolution hee went to *Douglas Bourgeois* Priour of his Couent, and imparted this damnable project to him, to *Fisher Commend*, to other Iesuits, and to the heades of the League, all of them incouraging him to this Diabolical designe, with promise of Abbeys and Bishopricks if hee escaped, and if he died in the action to be made a Martyr, and have place in heaven above the Angels.

(354) Thus furnished with blessings for this cursed day, upon the first of August the Monk went to Paris, and had private access to the King to deliver alms, pretending some matter of importance; but as the King read it, the Diabolical Instrument with a knife from his leece, wounded him in the bottom of his belly, and there it the knife, which the King drew forth, and with the same struck this *Turbane* above the eye: their struggling being heard, many hastily came in, who seeing the King wounded, and all in gore blood, in their rage flabbed the Monster to death, and not many dayes after, *K. Henry* died of the wound.

(255) Whereupon Charles Cardinall of Bourbon a younger brother to Anthony King of Navarre, and uncle unto Henry then the present King, was proclaimed Lieutenant Governor, yea and gold and silver coined with his picture and title of Charles the tenth King of France. Howbeit Henry King of Navarre was proclaimed of the Army, whose right was before that Papall Prelates, and whom the late Henry by his last will ordained to bee his Successor. Not

withstanding only in respect of his Religion, being a professed Protestant, the Leaguers made such head against him that he was enforced to the vnto that *General Sanitary* of Princes, *Queene Elizabeth* for his aide, who euer fauouring the progresse of the Gospel, and knowing *Naturis* claime to be aboue all other (of that Nation) for the French Crowne, and that the Spaniards was letting foot into *France*: first, sent him twenty thousand pound sterling, with powder, munition for warre, and certaine ships also to serue at his command; and causing a generall matter to be taken in most of the Shires in *England*, sent four thousand souldiers furnished, from cities of them into *France*, to which furnished the Citizens of *London* sent for a thousand very well appointed and seruicable men: the General of all which forces, was the noble *Peregrine Bertes* Lord *Willoughby*: whole waite the again supplied with three thousand foot, which were sent into *Brittaine*, vnder the conductiō of Sir *Iohn Norris*, that Ioune of *Naturis*: hee ioyning with the Prince *Dombes* Lord General of that Province, performed many worthy exploits for the French King.

(186) But *Pearce* being entered *France*, and the Pope with his Cardinals fulminating his Excommunication against *Henry* and his adherents, *Queen Elizabeth* (who never was disuaded with such flatteries) sent into *France* *Robert Earle of Essex*, for her Lieutenant General over forty thousand footmen, and two hundred horse, (besides many *Picquers*) all of them to bandy for the King against his enemies the *Leaguers*. The Earle, though young, yet full of valour, was followed with many valiant Gentleman, whose countenances well shewed the courage of their hearts: Their landing in *Normandy*, laid siege unto the strong *Race*, in assault whereof his brother *Walter Devereux* was slain with a small hurt, to the excessive griefe of the Earle, and others, being a Gentleman trained up, both by *Academical* and *Marshall* education, unto very great booke and execution.

(357) But King Henry finding many rubs in his way, the Leaguers still increasing their Strengths from *Rome* and *Spain*, and the Crowne of *France* laid at stake for him that threw most, thought it good policy (though proved to him in the end disastrous and fatal) to temporize with the predominant faction; and therefore leaving the Religion which till then he had bred, fell to that of *Rome* which ever till then hee had resisted, and after great Help made to the Pope, was fully absolved by the *Holy Father*, who heaped whole Streams of Blessings upon his sacred head, himselfe swearing to defend the *Romish* faith against all impugners: so that now all sides fortified, without contradiction, *Henry* of *Navarre* was crowned King of *France*. Only the *Spaniards* were unwilling to leave that faire Country fortified in *Brittaine* upon the *Rhine*, out against *Brussels*; whence after much slaughter, General *Norris* forced them, though with the losse of some English, & Life of Captain *Garbrier* commander of the Fleet.

(258) The Leaguers not liking *Namur's* advancement, mistaking that his conversion was fained, and temporary, as being but a steppe, the easier to mount the royal throne: by treason laid wait for his life, and sought what they could his conformance at *Ramé*; whilst the *Spaniards* employed all their wits for the worrying of *France*; and so farre perilled in their designs, as King *Henry* by proclamation denounced warre against *Spain*; and *Philip* in like manner proclaimes warre against *France*; in which flattery hood, during the life of *Erasmus* Archduke of *Austria*, brother in law and Nephew unto King *Philip*, whole Goatsour he then was in the Low-Countries.

(259) After whom succeeded his brother *Albertus* the Military Cardinall, and Arch-duke of *Austria*, who no sooner was made Governour in place of his Brother, but that hee prepared against

1. The English
Governor of the
Islands for France
Septemb. 21.

A.D. 1591

• Gregory 14.
Fate of 1812
General of side
for France.

Waterbury, Conn.
June 10, 1900.

Spanish billiard.
Henry Reed
Francis Southwell
his followers.

A.D. 1593.
July 25.

Waves proclaims
and heralds
Glance and Gaze

Calla intercepts

the French and United Estates; and to make his affairs, he first began with Calla, a thing long before proceeded by others in his place; that Towce being a Sea-port of great importance, as the English found it was theirs, and the loſſe thereof great, as Queen Mary and her wife Scots both took it, and left it.

(260) At this time the Garrison was small, and the Gouernour negligent, vndiscreet, and vnforuſe, though having notice from *Netherland* that the Spaniards meant her ſiege, ſo that *Richambe* left vnmanned, and in great ruine, was entered vpon by the Cardinals, and ſuch as reſiſted driue into the Towne; where, with the Inhabitantes hee grew to a compoſition for the ſurrender, *Myſſen* the Gouernour neuer interpoling therein.

Queen Elizabeth's officers and her reason call.

(261) Calla thus turning Spaniſh, and the Spaniards ſtill intending for England, Elizabeth ſolicited the French King, & proffered her aid for recovery of that Place; but hee empow'ered by warre, fought to regaine his loſſes rather by ſome faire conditions of peace, then to depend vpon the dependencies & hazard of Armies; at which reſolution our Noble *Scotus* was nothing well pleaſed, and therefore to preuent the practices of Spain, began to make good againſt them, and prepared another expedition to Sea. But dealing more prince-like than *Philip* had done by her (who made faire pretence of peace, when hee was beſieged in preparing warre) hee cauſed to bee publiſhed and printed a Declaration of the cauſes mouing her to let forth her Nauy for the defence of her Realme, the Tenor whereof we thinke not vniſe to be here inſerted.

The Declaration touching the ſeizing forth of a Nauy.

(262) To all Chriſtian people to whom this Declaration ſhall come to be read or heard, greeting; Wee Robert Earle of Leiceſter, and Ewe, Viſcount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bouchier, and Louſaine, &c. and Charles Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, Lord High Admirall of England, &c. hauing the charge of a Royall Nauy of Shippes, prepared and ſent to the Sea, by the moſt Excellent Princeſſe the Lady Elizabeth, Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. doe give all men knowledge that the ſaid Nauy under our charge is by her Maieſty prepared, and ſent to ſerue on the Sea, for defence of her Maieſties Realmes, Dominions, and Subiects, againſt ſuch miſchievous Forces as wee are aduerſity from all parties of Chriſtendome, to be already prepared by the King of Spaine, and by further promiſes of men and ſhippes daily ſent for, are to bee mightily increaſed, to invade her Maieſties Realmes, as heretofore in the yearre of our Lord, 1588. was attempted (from whom there was a Treaty continued by both their Commiſſioners for a Peace) with a greater Army then ever before in his time was ſet to Sea: though by Gods goodnes and the valiance and wiſdome of her Noble and faithfull Subiects, the ſame was notably made fruſtrate, And becauſe her Maieſty hath good intelligence of perſect amity with all Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome, ſeuing with the King of Spaine, to be both this many yeeres moſt vniouſly proſeſſed openly great amity by diuers allians, both againſt her Royall perſon and her people, and countries, without any ſuch cauſe firſt giuen on her Maieſties part: Therefore wee the ſaid Earle, and Lord Admirall doe ſerueſſe all perſons, that wee are moſt ſtrictly com-manded by her excellent Maieſty, to forbear from offeſding in that our voyage of any manner of perſons of what Nation ſoever, except the ſaid Kings Naturall Subiects, or ſuch other borne Strangers, as ſhall come to the ſaid King moſt wiſely and with men, ſhippes, artillery, vellell, and other to other promiſes for ſuſtenance of her Maieſty, which her Maieſties commendaement wee are bounden to obſerue, and doe therefore give ſtrict charge to all perſons, that ſhall ſerue in this Maieſties vnderneath vs, vpon paine of extreme puniſhment to obſerue the ſame; yet to auoid all exceſſes that may breed queſtion, who they are, being now the King of Spaines Subiects that ſhall be charged by vs, to be moſt wiſely ſidered for the ſuſtaining and ſeruing vpon of the ſaid King's Forces, provided either by land or ſea, to attempt any inuaſion of her Maieſties

countries: Wee doe for the liquidation of this doubt, partly in Gods name, require and charge all perſons, that are not the ſaid Kings naturall Subiects, and yet that haue giuen bond with their ſhippes, vellell and munition as aforeſaid, to withſtand all their ſaid ſhippes prepared for the warre, and all their promiſes of helpfull out of any Kingdom of Spaine or Portugal, or from the company and ſervice of the Kings ſhippes againſt our Nauy; and therewith to returne either to their owne Countries, or if they ſhall like to come to our Nauy, to whom, in the reuerend name of our Sovereign Lady the Queene Maieſty, wee doe promiſe all ſecurity, both for their perſons and goods, to be eſcorted and defended as friends, and to ſuffer all their ſhippes and promiſes, that were taken by the King of Spaine, or intended for his ſervice, or that ſhall be by the Queene withdrawn from her aide, to remaine in their free diſpoſitions, ſo as the ſame be eſcorted in all ſorts as friends; and not as enemies to the Queene Maieſty, and to us her Generalls: and if any ſhall upon knowledge of this her Maieſties moſt honourable Order, and of our promiſe (to be the ſame as ſanctiſed by wee may) willingly and manfully reſuſe to accept this our offer, and ſhall not endure themſelves to performe this reaſonable requiſt, tending to their good and liberty, wee ſhall then bee ſuſtained, as by the law of armes wee may, to take and ſeize all ſuch for reſuſing this our offer, as manfully aiders of the King of Spaine with forces to invade her Maieſties Dominions, and ſo manfully enemies: and in ſuch caſe of that reſuſal, if any harme ſhall happen by any attempt on ſide their Perſons, ſhippes and goods, by any our blame, for the aiding of the ſaid King: there ſhall be no inſt cauſe for them hereafter to complaine, or to procure their Naturall Princes and Lords to ſollicit reſtitutions or amends for the ſame, and for the more ſatisfaction herof, wee haue thought good to haue the Originall herof to be ſigned with our hands and with our Seales, to be ſent by any that will require to read or for the ſame: And likewiſe wee have put the ſame in French, Italian, Dutch and Spaniſh, and haue alſo cauſed the ſame to be diſtributed into as many Ports of Spaine and Portugal as conveniently might be for the better knowledge to be had in the ſaid Ports, alſo in all other Portes vnder his ſubjection.

R. ESSEX.
C. HOWARD.

(263) Theſe things premied, Euenneſe of her Maieſties Ships Royall, three of the Lord Admirall's, foure and twenty of the States Shipper, Marchants Men of Warre, and Viſcanders above one hundred, in alto the number of one hundred and fifty ſaile, in the beginning of May met at *Plumouth*, where ſuch lawes were ordained for the true ſervice of God, and iuſtice in the Army, as it ſeemed rather a Regiment of Civil Academiſts, then a Rendezvous of Souldiers: and her Maieſty likewiſe in the Court, at *Henrich* in the Temple, opened her heart vnto the Lord in this wiſe.

My ſonnet ſent Maieſty, and Guider of the Worlds Maieſty, that moſt ſearcheth and ſademeth the bottome of our hearts conſcient, and in them ſeeth the true Originals of all our allians intruded: thou that by thy ſearchſt doſt truly diſcerne how no man's reſentment can quietneſſe of inuirtue, nor deſire of blood-ſhed, nor greedynſſe of inuirtue hath bred the reſolution of our new ſet in Army, but a boundſſe care and wary watch, that no neglect of ſeſſe, nor over-ſurety of haue might breed either danger to vs, as glory to them: theſe being the grounds wherevnto thou doſt inſpire the mind; wee humbly beſeech thee with boundſſe care, proſper the works, and with thy ſword guide the way ſped the victory, and make the returne the advancement of thy glory the triumph of their ſeue, and ſurety to the Realme, with the leaſt drop of the Engliſh blood. Thy deſert petitions Lord giue thou thy bleſſed Grant.

(264) The whole Fleet was commanded by Charles Lord Howard, High Admirall, ſhipped in the *Arbe-Royall*, and Lord Robert Drouers Earle of Eſſex

A.D. 1596.

Lance ordained for the Army.

1. King, 15. 15.

A Prayer made by Elizabeth for the preparation of her Navy

The English Commaunders in the Fleet.

and were in the *Du-Rapelle*; both of them ioinie her Maieities Lieutenants General for this service, by Sea and by land. The Vice-Admirall was the Lord Thomas Howard, shipped in the *Méandre*, and the Rear-Admirall, Sir Walter Raleigh, in the *Warre-Spites*; and for the States was Admirall, Jan Van Duinenoord, who served in the *Neptune*, a Shippe of foure hundred Tunnes, and accordingly the whole Fleet was divided into five squadrons, with a commandement that every squadron should attend his Admirall, & every one of these had his Vice-Admirall assigned. Of the first was Sir Robert Southwell in the *Leone*, of the second, Sir Francis Vere in the *Ramcham*; the third Sir Robert Dudley attending the Lord Thomas Howard, in the *Nem-Pareille*; the fourth, Robert Crosse following Sir Walter Raleigh in the *Swiss-fure*; and the last was, Jan Gerbrantzen, Vice-Admirall of the Hollanders.

(265) For the Land-service besides the Generalls, were Sir Francis Vere, Lord Marhall: Sir John Wingfield Campe-maister General: Sir Courtes Clifford, Sergeant Major, Sir George Carow, Master, of the Ordnance: John Backe Prouoft Marhall: Oliver Lambert, Quarter-Maister, and Roger Afley, Secretary. The Colonels of the Army were the Earle of Suffex, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Richard Wintfield, and Sir Edward Wintfield of the *Volantiers*, and for the Dutch, was the Count Lodowick, in all about ten thousand men. The priuate Counsell for this expedition being selected, certain instructions were sent sealed to every shippe, with a commandement to the Captain, not to break them open, till such time as they came to the South-Cape, vntill they happened to bee liuered from the Fleece by storme or mischance, but if taken by an enemy, then to caſt them oer-board.

(266) Thus ready for Seas, vpon the first of Iune a warning Peeces being shot off, all weyed Anchors, and with a gallant flew, and full gales followed the Lord Admirall, but the shippe feasting before they past *Carrall*, they were enforced backe into the Sound, where staying two dayes, vpon the thirde the winde came about, and with a prosperous Gale brought them to Cape Saint Vincent, where an Irish Barke was met with from Cadix, which signified the strength of the Towne, and the shipping that lay in the Bay, to witte, twenty Gallies, ninety Sailes of Shippes, whereof five were of those great Gallions, which are called the *Kings twelve Apostles*, (all doubtlesse the *sonnes of Thunder*) two great Gallies, three Frigates, three Argolies, twenty Balaikes; the rest were Merchants Shippes, rich, and of great burden, whose ladings were musicon, come, oyle, wine, waxe, silke, cloth of gold, and quicke-silver, some bound for the Indians, some for *Bretaine*, some for *Lisbone*, and some for other places: Newes most acceptable vnto the Generalls, who halting thitherwards, vpon Sunday the twentieth of Iune, assailed the Frigate of Saint Sebastian, on the west side of Cadix, to land their men, but the place strong, and the Seas going high, their purpose was hindered.

(267) May I relate with hope of credite what others haue reported vpon their owne eye-sight? At the first approach of this *Reynall Navy* before Cadix, a faire Douce (a fortunate *Presage*) becomes in the morning, is said to haue lighted vpon the Mayne-yard of the Lord Admirall ship, and there to haue layd quietly the space of three howres, every man gazing, but no man suffered to harme her: as also the last day of their departure thence, another Douce presented her self in the same Order, and in the same shippe, growing wonderfully tame and familiar with the men, and so continued with them till they came into England.

(268) The day following their approach, being the first of the weeke, the Spanish ships in the road, in number fifty nine, attended with twenty Gallies, by the aduise of their Admirall, shot with the tide

within the point of Maine-land, vnto Castile *Puntall*, and in the strates of the Baye, forced themselves in good order, and of a reasonable distance, as well to offend the enemy, as to relieue each others inter-changeably.

(269) The Bay was narrow whereunto they had entered, full of Rocks, shelves, & lands, which notwithstanding it was in Counsell determined, that the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carow, and Sir Robert Southwell, with some *Londoners*, and a Squadron of the Low-Country shippe, should beguine the fight; which was most valiantly attempted, maintained, & continued, the thundring shot battering their bulks, and renting their shrowes.

(270) In the heere whereof, the Earle of Essex, (in Counsell appointed to keepe the *Maine battell*) vpon the sodaine from Port Saint Maries side, thrust himselfe forme into this Sea-fight, which the other Generall perceiuing, and the *Arke-Royal* too wuvely for that narrow water,ooke into his Pinnefle, and forwarded the fight to the end: Meane while the Gallies were assailed by Sir John Wintfield, who with his small Shippes so handled their sides, as they were forced to creepe by the Shore, and so got passage at the Bridge, contrary to the expectation of the English, whose eyes were euer ayming at the fairest Marke, which indeed was the *Philip*, so battered with Boilers that hee beggan to flanger, and gine ouer fight; whose souldiers seeking to save themselves by water, and swimming, let this *Apostle* (their Admirall) on fire, by whose example, the *Saint Thomas*, another of Spains *Apostles* did the like, haile the English should tread them in triumph of their victory. The rest of the Spanish Fleet ranne themselves on ground in the Bay of Port Beale, to gaine some breathing time from their still following peruerses.

(271) These seruices thus forwarded, the Earle of Essex forthwith landed his men vnder the Blockhouse *Puntall*, about a mile westward from Cadix, whence it was thought expedient to send home Regiments to the Bridge on the West of the land, to impeach all incoorts that should come from the Maine: To which seruice were sent Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Thomas Gerrard (now Lord Gerrard) and Sir Courtes Clifford with a power of twelue hundred strong. Meane while the Generall Essex with the Earle of Suffex, Count Lodowick, Lord Herbert, Lord Bark, Sir George Carow (now Lord Carow) and others took towards Cadix.

(272) The side of their enurance was fortified with a Wall through the necke of the Promontory from sea to sea, and a Counterskarpe raised some distance, where were built two Bulwarks, and a Curaine for the stronger defence of the Town, the enemy having also an advantage from the higher ascent, played sore vpon the English to their great annoyance, inso much that the forme began to gine backe from the Gate, which the Earle of Essex perceiuing, to engage his souldiers resolutions, caught his owne Colours and cast them ouer the Wall into the Towne, giuing withall a most hotte assault vnto the Gate, where to save the honour of their *Esfigne*, happy was hee that could first scape downe from the Wall, and with shote and sword make way through the thickest presse of the enemy. The Towne thus surprised, the Lord Admirall halted to second the charge, when a hotte encounter ensued; for the streets were very narrow, so as but two could march on breast, and from their flat roofed houses, heapes of stones were rumbled downe, to the great hurt of many of the English, who needlesse drewe the enemy before them into the *Market place*, where the worthy Sir John Wintfield, sore wounded at the Gate in his thigh, was shotte with Musket from a loope-hole of the Caille into the head, and presently died.

(273) But the Towne and Caille sarien fired, a

The Dutch
Commander.

The Vice-Admiral
sals

Officers for
Land services.

The voyage to
Cadix.

Iune 14.

The King of
Spain sent
Apostles, but the
valiant Christi.

The rich ladings
of the Spanish
Shippes.

A fortunate
presage.

"Dings" are.

The Spanish
Admirall
at Cadix.

Charles Howard
Lord Admiral.

The Spanish
Admirall
on fire.

The English
goe on land.

The assault on
Cadix.

Cadix surprised.

Sir John Wintfield
dies.

The Christian-
ty of the Eng-
lish towards the
conquered.

Proclamation was made to stay the fury of the Sol-
dier, and the laughter of the *Spaniard*, with com-
mandement upon paine of death, that no man
hold offer violence or harm to any religious person,
woman or child. And such honourable care had
the LL. Generals for the Inhabitants, that they sent
them in their owne Pinnaes vnto *Porto San'ta Ma-
ria*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen first, who were
suffered to depart in their colliest apparel, and
richest Jewels: and to save them from the spoiles
or any the least wrong of the ruder Soldiers or Sea-
men, the Generals themselves in persons stood at
the Water sides, to see them shipped without hurt
or violence.

(274) Therich Bishoppe of *Cadix* being taken
Prisoner, without any ransom was released, and all
other of sacred Orders or Habits suffered without
touch to depart: such was the herowall Clemency
of these most noble and truly-English Generals, to
the great glory of our Nation, as the *Spaniards* them-
selves were forced to confesse. The Town thus won,
the spoile thereof was given to the English Captains
and Soldiers, the wearing clothes of the inhabitants
onely excepted, and the Citizens compounding with
the Lords General, to pay an hundred and twenty
thousand Ducats for their ransom, were suffered to
depart: for payment whereof, forty of the chiefest
Citizens, *Cavaliers*, *Clergy-men*, and *Merchants*,
were brought pledged into England till the money was
paid.

(275) The like accord was attempted by the
Shippes which had ruine themselves on ground,
whose number was about fifty two, many of them
Merchants and all most richly laden, as might seeme
by the offers they made; for no lesse then two mil-
lions and a halfe of Ducats were offered by them for
the redemption: but the LL. Generals more mind-
ing honour and the fraize they came for, would
heare of no composition but for the Merchants ships
onely, which while it was in trausit too and fro, the
Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Admirall of *Spain*, com-
manded them all together to bee set on fire, which
was suddainly done: and the flames terribly mount-
ing, forced the pitchy smoke, as thickes cloudes to
darken the Aire. Amongst else were two of the *Span-
ish* *Shippes*, the *Matibon* and the *Andres*; the first
of which was saved by the Lord Admirall's direction,
and the second was quenched by Sir *Thomas Gre-
nerall*, in whose bottom himselfe returned for Eng-
land.

(276) Thus in an instant, a Fleet, full of men, mar-
chandize, victuall, armour, & twice a hundred peces
of Ordinance, all valued by themselves, at twelve
Millions of Ducats, was suddenly lunked, consumed
or taken; the Towne also ransacked, every Soldier
bringing some portion of her rich spoiles into Eng-
land, to shew the service he performed at *Cadix*. The
Towne they burnt, felling the Churches onely: the
Walles they battered, and Towers demolished, the
Island it selfe they burned, razed and spoiled, laying
all waste before them, and leaving the rubbish to
declare the ruines which the English had made.

(277) Vpon the fift of Iuly the Earle of *Essex* with
his, abandoned *Cadix*, the Lord Admirall being
gone on board some sixe dayes before, and the next
day the whole Fleet set saile Westward towards *Faro*
a Towne in *Algarve*, where the Earle desirous to
doe some further exploit upon the *terrafirma* of
Spain, landed his men (the Lord Admirall on board
securing the sea) and marching to *Faro* hee found it
empty of men, the Inhabitantes being fledde with
much of their substance, and the Towne left deli-
cuate of victuall: yet in the Nunnery and in the Bi-
shoppes Palace, some goods were found, and in the
Library Bookes valued at a thousand Markes, and
among other prizes of note, the finest Calverin the
King of *Spain* had, was there found, and seized vpon;
the English foraged the Countrey for 3 leagues
about, and burnt the towne *Leña* without any

resistance.

(278) Thence the first of August the LL. Gener-
als fell before the *Graue*, where lying no shippes
flurring, and the Seas altogether cleared; vpon the
seventh of the same month they safely and very
richly arrived at *Plimouth*, to the great honour of
England, glory of their Queene, and renouew of their
owne valours and famous aduencures.

(279) But as the wrongs offered by the *Span-
iards*, seemed to the English farre greater then was yet
the reuenge: to allo the most prudent Queene held it
still fitt to finde King *Philip* more work at home,
and therefore a third voyage was undertaken the
yeere following, whereof Robert Earle of *Essex* was
made as well Lord General for the Land, as Admi-
rall for the sea; hazing for the one service, his *Fra-
ter* Admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, a Knight of
the Order, and his *Fret*-Admirall, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*,
Captaine of the Guard; for the other, his Lieutenant
General was Charles Lord *Monten* Knight of
the Order; his Marshall, Sir *Francis Fort* Coronell
General of the Low-Countries Forces; Sir *George*
Carew Lord President of *Alston*, Master of his Or-
dinance; and Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Serpent Master
of the field. The whole number consisted of fiftie
thousand men, besides Mariners, for which an hun-
dred and twenty shippes were furnished, whereof
seuenteene were her Maiesties, sixty men of Warre,
the rest for victuall and transportation. These vpon
the ninth of Iuly were embarked at *Plimouth* for the
Ilands of *Azores*, and hazing cleared fifty Leagues
fell fowle by a Tempest, and were driven backe a-
gaine to *Plimouth*, and against these set saile vpon
the 17. of August next following.

(280) Vpon the sixteenth of September they fell
with the Isles *Flores*, *Fuernes*, *Fogall*, and *Frisal* which
submitted themselves to the Lord Generals deuotion;
whence weying their Anchors, they made saile
for *Saint Michaels* and there before the Towne caile
them againe, where it was determined that Sir *Wal-
ter Rawleigh* should keep the sea, while the Lord Ge-
nerall with two thousand should land elsewhere in
the Island; which they did, and lacked the rich town
Palla Frances: but the seas going high, and the Win-
ters stormes approaching, after the spoile of those
places, the destruction of a Carracke richly laden
with Sugars, fired by her owne men, the taking of a
Brazil man, and the surprize of three prizes which
they brought into England, valued at foure hun-
dred thousand Ducats, they returned, the *Spaniards*
every where hazing the world.

(281) These successes on the seas brought yet fur-
ther mischeifs on the *Spaniards*, by hindring the tra-
fficke of Marchandize, as well for their owne trade &
commerce with others, as for others trading into *Spain*
among whom *England*, the young and new elected
King of *Polonia*, found himselfe most agreed: whose
Ambassador forthat businesse into the *Queene*, was
one *Paulus de Laine*, a *Polonia* Gentleman, learned, elo-
quent, and very audacious, (if not over-much) who
bringing letters of credence from his King, had au-
dience at *Greenwich*, her Maiefty sitting vnder her
cloath of Estate, and with her Nobles, attending the
summe of his message, which the *Polonian* beganne
with more then an ordinary Grace.

(282) Whose reuour was filled with blais of dis-
content, conceiued by his potent Master the King
of *Polonia*, and cauled by the greunances of his *Mar-
chants*, who not onely were deprived of some pri-
ledges in England, but the sea which is made free by
the Omnipotent Ropped, and the trades of his *Mar-
chants* into *Spain* by her Highnes Edicts debarred,
contra y to the law both of *Nature* & of *Nation*; that
his Maiefty as he could not be moued to diminish a
ny part of his love towards her Maiefty, so yet could
hee not but relieue his owne subiects; and the rather
for that it touched all his Nobility, whose reuences
consisted chiefly vpon the Trade of Marchandizing.
That hee had hitherto forborne all meanes of re-
guler,

The English
revenue.

An other reu-
ing at Sea.

The Battle of
Essex and the
General of the
Fleets.

A.D. 1597.

The French
Islands.

Signified Col-
Porto has de-
bailage to the
Queene.

Dead 29. of
May.
July 25.

The Gouern-
ment of the
Ambassadors
of Spain.

The Citizens
gratulations.
Lecture in the
hall.

The ships make
offer for their
redemption.

The value of the
Isle in the *Span-
ish* ships.

See 30.

The English
departs from
Cadix.

The entrance on
the shore land.

quite, though her Maieſty well knew, of meanes he had no want; and now had ſent to aduerſe her Highneſſe in ſilencing manner by him his Ambaſſador, ſeeing that his letters to that purpoſe heretofore ſent, had not bene regarded, in whole name he now required, that the ſras might be open, a reſtitution made, and the Trade Weſtward to Spaine bee free, according to equity; otherwiſe his Maſter would no longer neglect his Subiects Offes, but would take in hand a meanes of redreſſe. As for her Maieſties warre with Spaine, that ought not to hinder Nauigation by the common Law of Nature (as hee auaunced) nor, for her perfect ſhould the ancient frienſhip betwixt the potent Poloniau and the mighty King of Spaine bee broken, nor with the houſe of Auſtria, whole daughter his Prince had now married, which bound him in a double band of looe. But her truſted (his Maſters requiſt beaſing ſuch equity) her Maieſty would regard it, and command ſatisfaction of theſe things forthwith to bee made, to the content of his Prince, and ſafety of her ſelfe, which thing hee wiſhed, & therof warned her Maieſty. And with other like wordes ended as preſumptory as he beganne.

(283.) Vnto which confident Oration, the Queen her ſelfe not brooking to be beated by any Prince in the World, preſently made aſwerre, preſenting the Lord Chanceller therein who was about to doe it, and both roundly and learnedly in the Latine (the ſame language wherein the meſſage was deliuered) replied: the very wordes as ſerue as could bee taken from her mouth were theſe.

(284.) *Hen quā in decepta fui. Expeſſani Nūquā i ter veris querelam mihi adduxiſti; per literas te accepiſſe legimus, te veris Heraldum inueni. Nunquā in uita ſicem Orationem audiui. Miror ſine moro, ſancum & tam conſultum in publico audacum; neque paſſi ſi Rex tunc adeſſet, talia uerba protuliſſet: Sed aliquid tale tibi in machinatu commiſiſſe (quod quidem ualde dubium) te tribuendum, quā cum Rex ſit iuuenis, & non tam tute Sanguinis quam Eleſtorum; atque etiam nouitior deſine, non tam bene percipiat quā ueteri Reges conueni, quā Adaiues ſui ſubſidium obſeruant, & alij forte decepti obſeruant. Rēd as te attinet, uideris multo liberior perſeſſe, libet tamen Principum non attingere, neque intelligere quid inter Reges conueni. Cum uero tua Natura & Gentium conuenientia, Hoc ſcio eſſe mi natura & Gentium, ut cum bellum inter Reges intercedat, licet alteri alterum uindicta allet Praſidia intercipere, & ne in damnum ſuum conuertantur, prauidere: Hoc ſcio eſſe tua Natura, & Gentium; Vbi ſtudem Dominum Auſtriam narras (quam tam leni facis) non te lateat ex eadem Deo non deſuiſſe qui Regnum Polonia regi tuo intercipere uoluſſet. De reliquis quæ cum malis ſunt, & ſingulariter deliberanda, non ſunt boni loci as temporis, acceperis quā quibdam Conſiliariis hinc reſi deſignatis deliberandum fuerit. Interum uale & quicquid.*

(285.) Oh how was I deceived! I looked for an Embaſſage, but thou haſt brought me complaints; I vnderſtood by thy letters that thou wert a Legate, but I finde thee an Herald; neuer ſine I drew breath heard I ſuch an Oration. I maruail truly, I maruail as ſo great and thick vnacquainted boldneſſe in ſo publicke an aſſembly; neither doe I think it the King thy Maſter were preſent, that hee would ſay ſo much: but if peraduenture he hath committed any ſuch thing to thy charge (which ſurely I do much doubt) it is to be imputed vnto him, that where the King is of yeers vnrife, and not by blood, but by election (yea and not newly aduanced) hee doth not ſo perfectly vnderſtand the courſe of negotiating theſe kind of affairs with other Princes, which either his Anceſtores haue obſerued with vs, or perhaps others will obſerue, who afterwards ſhall ſucceede him. As touching thy ſelfe, indeede thou ſeemeſt to mee to haue read many Bookes, but not to haue peruſed the Bookes of Princes affaires, but vnto thee to bee ignorant what is conuenient amongst Kings. And whereas thou makeſt menti-

on of the Law of Nature and Nature know that this is the Law both Naturall and Nationall, that when Warre is waged among Princes, it is lawfull for one of them to intercept the military helpes of the other, brought from what place ſocuer, ſo to prevent the harms which might otherwiſe redound on himſelfe: And this againe I ſaue to bee the Law of Nature and Nation. Whereas likewiſe thou mentioneſt a new affinity with the houſe of Auſtria, which now thou makeſt ſo famous, and of ſo deare eſteeme, forget not Sir, that there haue bene of that houſe that would haue beneſit the Kingdom of Polonia from thy King. As for other points which bee not to be ſpoken off at this place, and time, becauſe they are many and ſeverally to be conſidered of one after another: thou ſhalt waite for ſuch further aſwerre as ſhall bee reſolued on by ſome of my Councell, to whom I will affigne the conſideration of this matter: In the meane time farewell and be quiet. And thus Lion-like riſing, daunted the malapert Orator no leſſe than her ſuavely poſt and maieſticall departure, then with the carnelſe of her princely checkes: and turning to the Train of her Attendants, thus ſaid; Gods death my Lords (for that was her oath euer in anger) I haue bene enforced this day to ſcower vp my old Latine, that hath lain long in ruſhing.

(286.) To entreat a Peace betwixt theſe Chriſtian Princes of England and Spaine, the King of Denmarke likewiſe did ſend an Embaſſage vnto Queene Elizabeth, as alſo to deliuer the Garter worae by his Predeceſſor lately departed this world, with an earnest entreaty to continue the amity betwixt theſe two Realmes. The man was Arnold wriſfield Chanceller of Denmarke, iudicious, learned, and wiſe, who with ſarre better temper and tearms well couched, deliuered his oration; which ended, hee moſt humbly propounded certain requiſts (whereunto her Maieſty preſently replied) which in effect were theſe.

(287.) 1. That the League of peace confirmed betwixt the Crownes of England & Denmarke might be continued as formerly it had bene in the late deceased Kings dayes & other his Predeceſſors, which now the preſent King his Maſter did infinitely deſire: To which hee answered: that he was moſt willing thereunto, wiſhing that the now King would proſeſſe the ſame amity to worke then his Predeceſſors had done.

2. That whereas much Chriſtian blood was ſpilt in theſe continuall warres betwixt England & Spaine, it would pleaſe her Maieſty to giue her conſent, that the King his Maſter might make a motion of Peace; and as hee found the occaſion, ſo to proceede. Whereunto hee replied, that ſhee thought his King was too young, and vnexperienced, to conſider thoroughly the cauſe of breach betwixt her and Spaine; and as the League had not bene broken on her part, or with her roiall conſent, ſo an accord ſhould not be ſought after by her, nor by any in her behaile, for (quoth hee) *I would haue the King of Denmarke & all Princes Chriſtian and Heathen to know, that England hath no need to craue Peace; nor my ſelfe endued one haires ſcare ſince I attained the Crowne thereof, being guarded with ſo valiant and ſauiſhall aduice.*

3. His third requiſt was, if it ſtood with her Maieſties good liking, to permit open traffique, that the Marchants of Denmarke might tranſport their goods into Spaine without danger on the narrow ſeas as heretofore ſome of them had ſuſtained to their great loſſe. Her Maieſties aſwerre was, that it was to her vnknowne, that any of his Maſters good Subiects were in any wiſe moleſted, or their goods ſtayed, and that vpon laſt prooſe thereof made, a redreſſe ſhall bee ordained, to the full ſatisfaction of the King, and content of his Subiects.

4. Laſtly, hee was to retorne the Garter, (where-with her Maieſty had honoured the late deceased King) as the manner is of forraigne Princes to doe, which hee with great reſouſence there deliuered;

O o o o o

Which

Queene Elizabeth
brokes and ſerues
to the Poloniau.

An Ambaſſador
from the King
of Denmarke,
Spee.

The Daniſh Ambaſſador
ſpeaks.

An ſtricture
of ſome vn-
daunted Queene.

Which her Maieſty accepting, yet told him, there was right ſorry to receive it, for thereby ſhe was put in mind of the loſſe of a moſt Noble Brother, & a moſt loving friend. But how ſooner the *Danish Merchants* now complained of loſſe, the Engliſh Marchandize were arreſted in the *Sound*, for releaſe whereof, Ambaſſadors were ſent into *Denmark*, where a reſtitution was made by the King, with ligh honour and bounty as well ſatisfied her Maieſty, and contented her Marchants.

(1285) But a more dangerous Agent, working for *Spain*, was the ſmith *Tir-Oss*, who ſerpent-like lay lurking upon his advantage to raiſe the Standard of *Rome*, and to diſſert ſubjection from the Engliſh Crowne. This mans fortunes were hence ſome time declared, how being the ſonne of a Ballard, or a baniſhed ſugitive, he was raiſed by her Maieſties mee bounty to the dignitie of an Earle, and ſtood in authority ranked with the beſt; not ſo only, but being twice in danger of the capital crimes (once for a murder, next for viſſurping the Title of *O-King*) upon better hopes, of her princely clemency, twice got pardon for his life. The times now dangerous, and *Ireland* too ready to receive ſo ſortaine powers, it was thought convenient to employ *Sir John Norris* (that famous Warriour) into thoſe parts, with thirteenth hundred of the *Netherland* old Souldiers, newly retired from the wars in *Britaine*.

(1289) *Hugh Baron of Dungannon*, now Earle of *Tir-Oss*, fearing leaſt the Engliſh would make their neſts, where himſelf meant to build, namely in ſome Caſtle, at the mouth of *Lough Erne*, ſuddenly aſſailed the fort of *Black-Water*, by which the entry lay into his Country, and got it by ſurrender. Which done, he wrote to *Andover*, to ſide with him againſt his wrongs received of the Lord Deputy; yet at the ſame inſtant, to *Sir John Norris* (appointed Lord General) that her might be mildly dealt with, and not be driven headlong upon the dangerous rocks of diſſolality.

(1290) But how his loyalty ſlood affected unto her Maieſty (his raiſer) was well perceived by the powers which he retained about him, being alwaies guarded with a thouſand horſemen, and fixe thouſand two hundred and foureſcore foot of *Irish*, beſides two thouſand three hundred of *Connaught*, which ever lay ready at his command; whereupon all of them being proclaimed Traitors, the flames of rebellion beganne more violently to burſt forth, which for a long time, and not without loſſe of much blood could hardly be quenched: for though the Lord General were not inferior in ſtrength of men, yet the advantages of the enemy were ſuch, that the time was rather ſpent in taking of ſhooties, and triſſuolous Parties, then in any memorable exploit; the one part waiting for ſitter opportunities, and the other looking every day for his promiſed ſuccours from *Spain*.

(1291) But to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian blood Queen Elizabeth who ever minded *Mercy* more then *Justice*, ſent her *Treasurer* & *Chiefe Juſtice* of that Kingdome, as her Commiſſioners to conſult with this diſcontented Earle, and others his adherents, before whom, *Tir-Oss* complained of wrongs offered him by *Sir Henry Bagnall* Mareſhall, as well to the prejudice of his eſtate, as of his eſtimate with the Queene, the Lord Deputy, Lord General, and others, and therupon exhibited a Petition in humble maner containing theſe requiſts. That himſelf and all his followers might be pardoned of their crimes, and be reſtored to their former eſtates; that they might freely exerciſe their Romiſh Religion without moleſtation; that no Garriſon Souldiers, Shiſſe, or other Officer ſhould interdeale within the iuriſdiction of his Earledome; that the Company of fifty horſemen with the Queenes pay might be reſtored to him, in the ſame State as formerly hee had leaſed them; that the ſpoiles of his Country, and people might be puniſhed, and that *Sir Henry Bagnall* ſhould pay him a

thouſand pound promiſed in Dowry with his ſiſter, whom *Tir-Oss* had married, and who was now deceased. Others likewiſe laid out their grievances conceived; ſuch were *O-Danell*, *Brian Mac-Hugh-Oss*, *Mac Mahon*, and *Earl Mac-Carley*, who received moſt reaſonable anſwers to all their demands.

(1292) But unto them the Commiſſioners likewiſe propoſed certain Articles; That they ſhould forthwith lay downe their Armes, diſperſe their Forces, acknowledge ſubmiſſively their diſſolality, admit the Queenes officers in their Governments, reſtore the Forts they had deſaced, ſuffer the Garriſons to liue without diſturbance, make reſtitutions of ſpoiles taken, conſeſſe upon their oath how farre they had dealt with ſortaine Princes, and ſiſnally to renounce all ſortaine aide. But their propoſitions not pleaſing the palate of thoſe Rebels, they departed with a reſolution to maintain their owne demands. Which moved *Norris* the General aided with the Lord Deputy to march with his Army unto *Armagh* where hee approch (with dreadfull to his enemies) when *Tir-Oss* heard of, in great perplexity hee forſooke the Fort of *Black-Water*, ſet on fire the villages about, and plucked downe the Towne of *Dungannon*, with part of his owne houſe, bewailing his eſtate becauſe recovery, & was ſo much deſtined in mind, as hee ſought ſomething elſe but whate to lade his rebellious head.

(1293) The Country now wailed, and no victuals to be had, *Norris* for a Garriſon in the Church of *Armagh*, ſtrengthened *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tir-Oss* Traitor in his owne territories. Which done, hee ſtayed in *Irish* without any great deeds of martiall importance, only *Tir-Oss* to gaine time preſented unto him a ſubmiſſion, ſigned with his owne hand, call himſelfe downe (a rare and vncouth ceremony) at the Queenes pictures feet, vngirt his ſword, and craved pardon upon his knees: and yet in the meane time dealt hee for aides out of *Spain*, and ſo far preſented, as that Meſſengers were ſent from King *Philip*, with expulations that the King of *Spain* at a time preſent ſhould ſend them a competent Army to ioin with the *Irish*, that all conditions of peace with the Engliſh ſhould be teſſed, and that the Rebels ſhould be furniſhed with munition from *Spain*.

(1294) Hereupon (though there was a ceſſation from Armes) hee fell to harry and waite the Country, to burne villages, to drive away booties, and hauing done what hee could or would, as it were pricked in conſcience, hee once againe put on the viſard of ſimulation, and ſued for pardon and peace: which the better to effect, hee ſent the letters of King *Philip* promiſes unto the Lord Deputy with the cauſes of his owne diſcontents, which moved him to doe what hee did. And ſurely ſuch was his dextera, or his Deſtiny, or the Engliſh no leſſe dangerous, then frequent ſcuria, negligence and confidence, or the ſparing of money by the grand diſburſers, or the inbred lenity of the too-clement King that his faire wordes were euer beleued, and his foule offences pardoned: but whole fault ſeuer, moſt of *Connaught* was now reſolved, all *Irish* rebellious, onely ſeuen Caſles kept for the Queene.

(1295) In which deſperate eſtate, *Thomas Lord Barrrough*, a man full of courage, was ſent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*; who ſo ſooner arrived, but *Norris* euer croſſed by ſome higher-flying Powers, or by his fortune in theſe his proceedings (the ſeruiſes there being ſure different from thoſe his others, in other parts implored) through griefe & diſcontent, (the too viſuall gerdon of many a Noble Seruitor) as was thought ended his life.

(1296) The Lord Deputy no ſooner had received the ſword, and taken the charge of the Kingdome of *Ireland*, but hee made forward to meeſt with the Rebels, holding it good policy to cut off delays, which

Propoſitions made to the Rebels.

Propoſitions against Tyrone.

Exploit again Tyrone.

The Lord Deputy's first arrival.

A.D. 1598.

Particulars of the Lord Deputy's arrival in Ireland.

The English soldiers in the mountains.

Tyrone's victory in Ireland.

* See Connaught first in Ireland.

Sir John Norris, Governor in Ireland.

Tyrone's first flying out.

Tyrone gets the fort of Black-water.

He and his adherents pursue Lord Tyrone.

Sir Henry Bagnall, Lord Marshal.

which commonly increase the abilities of the enemy. *Tir-oen* on the other side, as boldly made his resistance, and in a dangerous service encountered him at the *Moory*, where the Lord *Barragh* by his valour made the way, and most valiantly waite the Fort of *Blackwater*, (repaired and reinforced by the Rebels) the only strength (besides Woods) that the *Tir-oen* had. To relieve this Piece, immediately the enemy threw himselfe: against whom *Henry Earl of Kildare* presently marching with a Company of horse, and certain volunteers, (gentlemen of the better sort) where he discovered the enemy, though with losse of some men of note; as of *Francis Vaughan*, brother to the Lord Deputies wife, *Robert Turner* Sergeant Major, and the two *Foster-brothers* of the *Earle Kildare*, whose deaths here toooke, as within few daies after himselfe died for very griefe.

(297) The Fort reinforced with men and munition, and the Lord Deputy upon service in other parts; *Tir-oen* now wavering betwene hope, feare, and shame, thought best to assay it by siege, as the place of greatest importance to further his designs; for that losse, hee saw his fortunes must downe, and thereupon with his strongest power, he beleaguered it. The Lord Deputy hearing thereof, prepared straightway to relieve the place, and marching with full pace and assurance of victorie, whether through too forward a minde, distemperature of body, aine, or of bogges, arrested hee was with sickness, and violently cut off, by untimely death, leaving to her Maistie a misse in her Irish Estate, and a further security to the ranging rebelles.

(298) The government of Ireland was then committed to the *Earle of Ormond* vnder the Title of Lieutenant Generall of the Armie, and vnto the Lord Chancellor *Sir Robert Gardiner*; vnto whom *Tir-oen* (after his accustomed manner) in a long letter recapitulated his great grievances, leaving not out the least offence of the Souldiers, or actions of the Sheriffs; his breach of covenants with *Sir John Morris* hee coldly excuseth, and laid his complaints against his enemies (the *English*) who had intercepted and suppressed his submission to the Queene, that they had raised intolerable impositions vpon the Nobles, and Commons; and that the revenues of Ireland was flured among Counsellors, Lawyers, Souldiers, and Noaries; by which and other like occurrences, it was manifest that hee intended to extirpate the *English* quite out of Ireland.

(299) All this while his Siege lay before the Fort of *Blackwater*; for the raising whereof, *Sir Henry Barragh* (the bitterest enemy that *Tir-oen* euer had) with fourteen Englishes of the choicest troopers were sent, who on the Earle met nere vnto *Armagh*, and being egged on with a free will desire of revenge, bent all his force against the Marshall, where he beganne a bloody conflict, and was continued with the death of that worthy Souldier (fighting amongst the thickest) whereby *Tir-oen* obtained not onely a ioyous triumph over his private enemy, but withall was crowned with a glorious victory over the *English*, who neuer since they first set footing in Ireland received so great an overthrow: for therein thirteen valiant Captaines lost their liues, fifteene hundred common Souldiers were rowted and put to shamefull flight, disparted and cut in peeces. Vpon this disaster the *Garrison Souldiers* (hauing with loyal hearts and weapons in hand, vnto extreme famine and exceeding distress, held out to the last) lastly surrendered the Piece of *Blackwater* vnto the Rebels; by which overthrow and surrender, the Irish became furnished with armour and munition to maintain their warres, and *Tir-oen* renowned all the Realme over, as their onely *Hammer*, and founder of their freedom.

(300) Himselfe over-joyed with these gotten vi-

ctories, swelled about measure with an haughty arrogancy, commanding all things as sole Monarch of Ireland. Into *Munster* hee sent *Owen McCarthy-O-More* with four thousand preying rogues, to forrage the Country, and the rable thus daily resorted vnto them, burned the houses of the *English*, ransacked their substance and killed very many; *James Fitz-Thomas* one of the family of the *Desmonds* they let vp as *Earle of Desmond*, yet so, that hee should hold as *Tenant in Fee* of the *O-Neele*, (the Earle of *Tir-oen*) and thus after a moneth, when they had kindled this fire and set *Munster* in a flame, they returned laden with rich booties and spoile. *Tir-oen* in the meane time had sent his letters to *King Philip of Spaine*, wherein hee founded his victories with a full trumpet, assuring him that hee would heare of no peace with the *English*, were the conditions neuer so indifferent, and would for his part insouly keepe his promises with the Spanish King.

(301) In this desperate estate flood Ireland when *Queene Elizabeth* chose *Robert Earle of Essex*, to bee Lord Lieutenant and Governour General thereof: a Peere in regard of his approued wisdom, fortitude, and fidelity, thought best to repaire the detriments and losses therein sustained, and in such duee clemencie with his Soueraigne, and intire loue of the people, as the heuens seemed to haue framed him for the delight of man. In whom shined all sparkles of true Nobility and Martiall honor, had not fortune marred all that the other graces had made. His commission was large, and authority, and led no lesse then twenty thousand compleat Souldiers, whereof sixteen thousand were foot, and the rest horse-men, so well furnished and provided, as the like had neuer before leaue before in Ireland.

(302) Thus honourably accompanied with the flower of *English* Gallants, and well-wishing acclamations of the people, with a strange thunder-clap in a cleere Sunne-shine day, hee set forward from *London*, and arriving in Ireland received the Sword, where (toward the end of *March*) falling in counsell touching his affaires, it was thought fittest by wife *Stardis*, that *Munster* should be cleared of those petty Rebels lying acceer, and of more validity then the remote *Villages* of small weale and lesse account. Whereupon, contrary to his owne opinion formerly deliuered (whiles hee was in *England*) and his directions from her Maistie, in Ireland hee made first into *Munster*, and became terrible vnto the Rebells of those parts, chasing them before him into the woods, and so cleared that Province, with more expence of time, and losse of men, then was heere well liked by the State.

(303) Hence hee made into *Leinster*, against the *O-Crom*; and *O-Mulder*, who had gathered head and taken Armes against their obedience; whom in light skirmishes hee fortunately vanquished; whence hee sent *Sir Conyers Clifford* Governour of *Connaught* one way towards *Ulster*, whilst hee himselfe took another way, to distract the force of *Tir-oen*. *Sir Conyers* with a power of fifteene hundred troopers, marched vnto the *Mountaines of Carlew*, where *O-Rourke* and his Rebels suddenly assailed them, being out-wearied with trauell, and their powder acceer spent; in which conflict, amongst many other slaine, *Sir Conyers Clifford* himselfe, as also *Sir Alexander Ratcliffe*, sealed the testimony of their valours with the losse of their liues.

(304) The Lord Generall hearing of this overthrow, made towards *Villier*, and came into the frontiers as farre as *Lough*, where *Tir-oen*, on the other side of the River, from the *Hilles* made his Brauado. But falling into his wonted way of dissimulation, desired a parley with the Lord Lieutenant, which hee altogether reiecting, answered, that if the Earle would conferre with him, hee should find him the next morning in the head of his troops:

Blackwater againe besieged.

The Lord Deputy dead in Ireland.

A.D. 1598.

The Earle of Ormond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The English killed at Blackwater.

Robert Earle of Essex Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Earle of Essex cleared Munster.

Sir Conyers Clifford vanquished O-Crom and O-Mulder.

He orders O'Sperry. Septemb. 13.

Tir-oen feith for Parley but is refused.

on which day, when after a tight skirmish, a horseman of *Tir-ann* troops, with a loud voice cried, that the Earle was not willing to fight, but to parley vpon peace with the Lord Generall; it was againe denied him. But the next day, as the Lord Lieutenant was in his March forward, one *Hagan* sent from *Tir-ann*, met him, and declared that the Earle most humbly desired to haue the Queenes mercy and peace, and withall besought, that his Lordship would be pleased to afford him audience, which if hee would grant, then would hee with all reverence attend him at the Foord of the River not farre from *Louth*.

(305) To this lally the Lord Lieutenant attended, and sent to discover the place, and following a troope of horse vpon the next Hill, came down alone vnto the River; *Tir-ann* attending on the other side, no sooner saw his approach, but forthwith rode his horse into the River vpon the saddle, and with all semblances of a dutifull respect, most reuerently saluted his Lordshippe: where, hauing had conference the space of an houre, they both returned vnto their companies. There followed the Earle of *Essex*, *Cam*, a base sonne of *Tir-ann*, instantly intreating in his fathers name, that certaine principall men might be admitted to a conference, whereto his honour condescended.

(306) And taking with him the Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *George Bourchier*, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Sir *Henry Duncans*, Sir *Edward Wyntfield*, and Sir *William Cuslyble*, went to the Foord, where *Tir-ann* with his brother *Cornet*, *Mac Gony*, *Mac Gair*, *Euer mac Carthy*, *Henry Ousington*, and *O-Suinn*, attended their coming. And falling in conference, it was concluded that certaine *Commissioners* should the next day meet for a treaty of peace, and in the meane time there should be a cessation of warres, from sixe weekes to sixe weekes, untill the first of May: yet so, as it might be free on both sides, after fourteen daies warning giuen, to refuse hospitality. And if any of *Tir-ann* confederates would not thereto consent, to be prosecuted at the Lord Lieutenants pleasure.

(307) But howsoever these his proceedings pleased the Marshalls, yet was her Maieitie highly incensed, that looke expeditions had bene made without her directions, being informed that the Spring, Summer, and Autumme, were spent without seruice vpon the Arch-rebell, that her men were diminished, and large summes of money consumed, without doing that for which he was sent; that by this means the Rebels were encouraged, and the Kingdome of *Ireland* laid at hazard to bee lost: Which his defaults (for so they were apprehended) were (as hee conceived) much aggravated, by some that were hard against him, in her attentive eare; vpon which furnish her Maieities sharpe letters received (though hee had excused his seruice by others whom himselfe sent at the same season) so overpressed his troubled thoughtes, as leauing his charge to be managed by others, hee made into *England*, well hoping to pacifie his Soeraignes dissatisfaction from his own mouth, and at *Downe* with assistance of her presence, where after his first welcome, hee was commended to his chamber; and some after was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper.

(308) No sooner almost was the Lord Generall departed *Ireland*, but that *Tir-ann* (notwithstanding the cessation from warre) drawing his forces together, addrested himselfe for the Field, vnto whom Sir *William Warren* was sent, to charge him with breach of promise; but he swelling in pride, peremptorily answered, that his doings were according to councell, having giuen warning before, and his cause iust, for that the Lord Lieutenant was committed in *England*, vpon whose honour hee repozed his whole estate; neither would hee haue any thing to doe with the Counsellors of *Ire-*

land, in whom (as he said) he neuer found either safety or truth. And thereupon preflaming vpon *Spain*, and giuing it forth that there would be shortly an alteration in *England*; he sends *O-Daniel* into *Connaght*, receiue such comelous persons, strengtheneth the wicke, and comforteth the distrustfull, glorying euer where that he would restore againe the ancient Religion, and liberty of *Ireland*, and expell the *English* from thence; to which end, some money and munition were sent him from *Spain*, with *Indalgenet* from *Rome*; and (for an especiall fauour) the Pope sent him a plume of *Phoenix* feathers, for a trophy of his victories, as *Phraus* long before him sent a Coronet of Peacocks tailes vnto King *Tah*, when hee was first mortified Lord of *Ireland*.

(309) *Tir-ann* thus feathered for a higher flight, Peacocke like to shew his owne pride and greatness by his personall presence, vnder a religious pretext to worship a peece of the wooden Crosse of Christ, repared to bee kept in the Monastery of the holy Crosse in *Tipperary*, in the mid-winter would thither on Pilgrimage; whence hee sent out *Mac-Gair* with a number of rising robbers, to despoile and prey on the peaceable subjects; with whom Sir *Warham St. Leger* met, and at the first race with his Lanceranne *Mac-Gair* through the body, and was by him ruane through himselfe. Whereupon *Tir-ann* leauing more blowes, made ready to returne from *Monaght* sooner then was expedied, or himselfe meant.

(310) At this time Charles Blunt Lord *Montjoy* (afterwards created Earle of *Down-flores*) was lent Lord Lieutenant Generall into *Ireland*, who with small port and little solemnity, enured vpon the Government, the state of that Countrey lying desperately diseased, and almost past recovery. At his first coming, hearing that *Tir-ann* was to depart *Monaght*, hee haltned to stoppe his passage in *Ferrel*, and there to giue him Battell, which the Earle perceived by taking another way, hauing intelligence of the Lord Generals designs, but the Spring drawing on, the Deputy put himselfe on his March towards *Fisher*, with purpose to driue the Earle to sea, whiles Sir *Henry Duncans* at *Lough-fale*, and Sir *Matthew Morgan* at *Rahesham* plained the Garrison, which they with small adoe effected, and suppressed the Rebels in diuers overthrowes.

(311) The Lord Generall likewise held *Tir-ann* very hard, and with light skirmishes euer put him to the worke, so that hee now perceiving his fortune to goe backe, withdrew himselfe backe into his old corners. The Lord Lieutenant then enured into *Lesfe*, the place of refuge and receit of all the Rebels in *Leinster*, where hee flew *Ouy-Mac-Kay-Og*, chiefe of the family of the *O-Mores*, a bloody, bold, and desperate young man; and to chased out the rett of thole his raskells, as that neuer since they were seene in thole parts. And although in the commencing of these affairs the Equinox was past, and the winter weather beganne in that climate, yet marched he forward to the entrance of *Mejory* three miles beyond *Dundalk*.

(312) The passage into *Fisher* is euerie way naturally combersome, and this way made more by the Rebels, who had fortified and blocked vp the entrance with fences of stakes flacke in the ground, with hardies ioyned together, and floes in the midle, with ruffles of earth laid betwix hills, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of Souldiers; notwithstanding, the *English* brake through thole *Fell-fades*, and beating the enemies backe, the Lord Deputy placed a Garrison eight miles from *Amaghy*, where in memory of Sir *Tah Norru*, hee named the Fort *Mount-Norris*: but to omit many other skirmishes in his returne, that at *Carlingford* was most famous, where the enemies assembled to stoppe his way, were all of them dif-

The Pope pre-
sents belonned on
Tues.

The Lord Mont-
joy Lord Lieuten-
ant of Ireland.

A. D. 1600.
In February.

to May.

874 and Tir-ann
meets in Parley.

A further confu-
sion.

Septemb. 8.

An. D. 1599.

Excursions a-
gainst the Irish
armies.

A. D. 1599.

Septemb. 28.

October 2.

Tir-ann againe
falls out.

Aug. 24

The Pope pre-
sents belonned on
Tues.

The Pope and
his legates
sent to
see the
Tir-ann.

The Pope and
his legates
sent to
see the
Tir-ann.

The Lord Mont-
joy Lord Lieuten-
ant of Ireland.

to May.

to May.

The supply of
Tir-ann was
cut off.

The supply of
Tir-ann was
cut off.

comforted, and put to fearful flight.
(113) In the midst of Winter hee entered the glimmes, that is, the valleys of *Leinster*, a secure receptacle of the Rebels, where he brought into subjection *Daniel Spanish*, *Phelim Mac-Fegh*, and the *O-Toles*, of whom hee tookke hostages. Then went he to *Ferrell*, and draue *Tirrell*, the most approved warrior of all the Rebels, from his faulcelife (that is his bogges and bulkes,) into *Fisher*; the Territory of *Ferner* hee had waste, spoiled *Fues*, and in *Bresay* placed a Garrison, receiving such into mercie as delivered up hostages. Which done, and the Spring approaching, he marched to *Fisher*, fortified *Armath*, and went to farre forward, that he remoued *Tir-ore* from the Fort of *Blackwater*, who had very artificially encamped himselfe there.

(114) As the Lord Generall was thus builed to reduce *Ireland* to obedience, so the Pope and *Spain* studied to hold up *Tir-ore*, and to maintain the rebellions; their Agents were a *Spaniard*, elected by the Pope, Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, the Bishop of *Cloyster*, the Bishoppe of *Killaloe*, and *Archer* a Jesuite. These by priuer, and promises of heavenly rewards, wonne *Phely* to lend succours into *Ireland*, which forthwith hee did, vnder his Generall *Don Iohn D'Aquila*, a man of a conceited hope that all would bee his, as confident of much aid from the tutelar Earle *Dejmond*, and from *Flanrent Mac-Corty*, a tobell of great might; where in hee was deceived; for Sir *George Curran*, Lord President of *Connaght*, had preuented that designe, and sent them prisoners to *England*, where they were kept sure.

(115) *Don D'Aquila* with two thousand *Spaniards*, all of them old trained Souldiers, with certaine Irish Fugitives, landed at *Kinsale* in *Managhter*, the last of October, and straightwaies published a writing, wherein hee gloriously tiled himselfe with this Title, *Major Generall, and Captain of the Catholicke King in the warres of God, for holding and keeping the faith in Ireland*; in dauncing to make the world believe, that *Queen Elizabeth*, by the definitive sentences of the Popes, was deprived of her Kingdomes, and her subjects absolved and freed from their Oath of allegiance, and that hee was come to deliuer them out of the Diuels iawes, and the *English* tyrannie; upon which suggestions many discontented and wicked persons began to bandy on his side.

(116) The Lord Deputy gathering his Companies, halted to *Kinsale* and encamped nere vnto the Towne on the Land side, whiles Sir *Richard Lemson* with two of the *Queenes* Shippers inclosed the Haven, to forbidde all access to the *Spaniards*; when from both sides, the thundering Canon played vpon the Towne; but newes being brought that two thousand *Spaniards* more were arrived at *Bere-haven*, *Baltimore*, and *Cashe-haven*, Sir *Richard* was employed vpon them, in which seruise hee sunk fise of their Ships.

(117) Vnto these new landed *Spaniards*, whose Leader was *Alphonso O-Campo*, *O-Danell* ouer the ice, by speedy iourneys and unknown by-waies repaired vntoene of the *English*; and a few daies after *Tir-ore* himselfe, with *O-Roch*, *Reinmond Burke*, *Ator-Mahan*, *Randall Mac-Sarley*, *Tirrell* the Barron of *Lixnam*, and the most selected choice of all the Rebels came vnto them, who mulstered together made sixe thousand foot, and five hundred horse; all confident of victory, as being fresh, strong, and exceeding in number, where the *English* were out-wearied through winter siege, with scarcity of victuall, and their horse weake with fere-travail.

(118) In this hope, *Tir-ore*, vpon an Hill noe a mile from the *English* Camp, made a Braisado two daies together, intending to haue put these new supplies of *Spaniards*, with eight hundred Irish, by night into *Kinsale*, as by letters intercepted from

Don D'Aquila did appeare. Which to preuent, the Lord Deputy appointed eight Ensignes to keepe watch, and himselfe with the President of *Managhter*, and the Marshall, at the foot of the Hill, choise out a convenient plot to giue the Earle battell, who the next morning seeing the *English* so forward, by his bag-pipers sounded the retreat, whom the Lord Generall followed, and forced them to stand in the bricke of a bogge, where there horsemen were disorderd and rowted by the Earle of *Clan-Ri-card*.

(119) The maine battell then waivering in feare; was violently charged by the Lord Deputy himselfe, who in his directions discharged the part of a worthy Commander, and in fighting, the office of a valiant Souldier; for the Rebels no able to withstand his fury, brake their armies, and in disorder confusedly fled, in whose pursuite many of them felt the reuenging edge of the *English* sword. *Tir-ore*, *O-Danell*, and the rest flung away their weapons, and saved their liues by flight; but *Alphonso O-Campo*, with three other *Spanish* Captaines, and sixe Ensigne-bearers, were taken prisoners, nine of their Ensignes borne away by the *English*, and rescued hundred of his *Spaniards* flames; such welcome found their new guests in *Ireland*. This victory obtained, both quelled the pride of the interuding *Spaniards*, and exceedingly daunted the hearts of the disloyall Irish; so that *Tir-ore* was forced into his barting holes in *Fisher*, *O-Danell* driven into *Spain*, and the rest of that rebellious rabble scattered into obscure places, where their best succour was to play least in fight.

(120) The Lord Generall, returning to the Siege of *Kinsale*, beganne to raise rampires, and to mount his Canons neerer the Towne, wherein sixe daies were spent without any impeach from the *Spaniards*, whose courage being cut by the losse of their fellowes, sought rather how to gette cleare and bee gone, then to aduerture resistance against such a warlike oppositor. *D'Aquila* hereupon, sent his letters by his Drumme Maior, to the Lord Deputy, wherein he crated, that some Gentleman of credit might bee sent into the Towne, with whom he might Parley for a peace. Whereunto his Lordship inclined, and to that end sent thither Sir *William Galdolphin*.

(121) Vnto whom *D'Aquila* signified, that hee had found the Lord Deputy, though his eager enemy, yet an honourable person; the Irish of no valor, rude and conceited, yea and (that which hee feared) perfidious and false; That hee was sent from the King of *Spain* to aid two Earles, and now hee much doubted whether there were any such in *Retum* nature, considering that one tempestuous puffe of warre had blowne the one of them into *Spain*, and the other into the North, so as they were no more to bee seen; willing therefore hee was to treatte about a Peace, that might bee good for the *English*, and not hurtfull to the *Spaniards*; albeit hee wanted nothing requisite to the holding out of the Siege, and expected every day out of *Spain* fresh supplies to funde the *English* work, and trouble enough.

(122) The matter thus propounded, and the *English* weake and weary through a long Winters siege, the Lord Deputy consented to an agreement, the Articles whereof were these.

1 That *Iohn D'Aquila* should quire the places which he held in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, aswell in the Towne of *Kinsale*, as the Forts and Castle of *Baltimore*, *Berehaven*, and *Cashe-haven*; and should deliuer them vnto the Lord Deputy, or to whom he should appoint.

2 That *Don D'Aquila* and his *Spaniards* should depart with armes, money, munition, and banners displayed, the Souldiers notwithstanding to beare no armes against the *Queene of England*, till such time as they were vntipped in some part of *Spain*.

The olden election of Rebels.

The Pope and Spaine builed to hold up Tir-ore.

Don Iohn D'Aquila sent into Ireland.

October 15.

Don Iohn Telle.

A new supply of Spaniards vnto Don Alphonso O-Campo.

Tir-ore leaves doo.

The rebels rowted.

Don Alphonso taken prisoner.

The rebels dispersed.

The Spaniards taken peace.

January 2.

Iohn Stre. Consideration of peace.

3 That Shippes and victuals should be granted unto them in their departure, for their money, and at such reasonable prices as the Countrey could afford.

4 That if contrary winds enforced them into any other Port of *Ireland*, or else into *England*, they might be inrolled as friends with safety of harbor, and provisions necessary for their money to further their departure.

5 That a cessation should be from warre. A security from injuries, and victuall granted at reasonable rates, whiles they remained in preparing for *Spain*.

6 That the Ships in which they should be embarked might freely passe by other *English* Shippes without molestation; and the Shippes arrived in *Spain*, might safely returne backe without any impeachment of the *Spaniards*: for security whereof, the said *D'Aquila* should deliver for hostages, sixethree of their Captaines as the Lord Deputy would chiefe. Vnto these Articles *Don Iohn* solemnly swore on the behalf of the *Catholike King* his Master, and with his hand subscribed his name, *Don Iohn D'Aquila*.

(123) The troublefome cloude of most likely dangers, thus diffused in *Munster* faire Aire, the coasts of *Ireland* were shortly cleared of those foraine intruders, who notwithstanding their former great bragges, with shame and dishonour embarked themselves for home, their companies being much empaired, and proud spirits brought downe. And now the *Reb-bell'd Tiron*, who had boasted all *Ireland* was his, with fearefull flightes after he had lost most of his men, whom the swelling and violently-running Riuer, by reason of Winter floods, had swallowed vpp; where his traitors head, burdened with the dreads of his owne defects, could take no rest, no not so much as to breath without fear, distrustfull eyer shadow that hee saw, and flitting out of one hy-corner before hee well knew where to find another.

(124) Meane whiles, the Lord Deputy refreshed his weary and winter-beaten Souldiers, repoyred the decayes, and renewed the Garrisons in *Munster*; which done, hee departed for *Dublin*, where wearing out the winter stormes, towards the spring, by a gentle and easie march, well appointed, hee returned vnto *Fisher*, meaning to belay the *Reb-bell* on every side, by planting his Forts, to take him in his toils. Thus being approached vnto *Blackwater*, hee transported his Artie over the Foord vpon floates, vpon whose banke, beneath the old Fort, he erected a new, to such terror of the *Arch-rebell*, as hee fet on fire his owne house; whether the Lord Deputy immediately marched, and made spoile without any spore; the corne fields were destroyed, the Villages fired, and booties brought in on every side. The Forts in *Lough Crew*, *Lough Rane*, and *Moogh Leonard*, were yielded vp, and Garrisons placed in *Lough Lough* or *Sydney*, and in *Managham*, whence with their continual sallies, they to crossed the enemies, that firing themselves inured about, and no way open for escape, like wilde beastes they hid their heads in the thickets, forrests, and woods, muttering complaints against their late magnified *Tiron*; exclaiming hee had engaged the ruine of the whole Nation, for his owne private disconcor, and that these warres, howeuer beneficiall to him, yet were they most pernicious vnto theus, whereupon changing their mindes with their fortunes, beganne a vie, who should be first in shewing their alteration, by comming in to the Deputy.

(125) The Earle not ignorant how their affections declined, his owne forces shaken, and the fidelity of his followers more and more suspected, hee once more determined to prevent the worst, by

his submission, which in humble letters he sent to the Queene, wherein with prayers and teares hee craved pardon of his faults: to such an ebbe was the swelling tides of his rebellious heart brought. Her Maistie (whose Nature was Mercy) euer diffusive of blood, gave the Lord Deputy authority to pardon his life, though hardly drawn to remit his offences, they being so many and great: His friends that assisted him, and *Mac Bawn* his brother, daily solicited the Deputy for his peace, which lastly, vpon an absolute promise, to put his life and renewers, without any condition, to the will of the Queene, was granted; and so *Nel-lusant*, accompanied with two persons and no more, had access into the Chamber of Presence, where the Lord Deputy sat in a Chaire of Estate, most of his Marshallists standing about him.

(126) *Tiron*, in bafe and poore array, with a dejected countenance, at the very entrance fell down vpon his knees, and so retired till hee was commanded to arise, and come neerer; when stepping forward a few paces, hee fell againe prostrate, and like a most humble Supplicane, in words well couched (as cunning hee was both in speech and action) acknowledged his finnes against God, and fault vnto her Maistie; and thus beganne his submission to the Lord General.

In the royall alms-house of my dread Soueraine and most gracious Queene, I doe awfully lay the blame and guilt of my new remaining estate, vnto whose pleasure I absolutely remit my life, and who's remembrance; and doe most submissively deplore mine owne misery, beseeching againe her mercy, whose beautifull favours I haue heretofore, and mighty powers now of late both felt and found, and well hope, that the fountains of her ever-flowing graces are not dryed dry. Let mee (I pray) bee the subject, whereas her mercy may worke, and an example for euer of her mild clemency, both to dimme her princely leuety, and to redreeme in some part the honor I haue lost. For age I am not so conseruable part of body so vnable, neither in courage so debilitated, but that my faithfull seruice in her behalf, may expiate, and make some measure of satisfaction, for these my many and most dysloyall rebellions. And yet I may easily complain, that through the malicious enuy of some, I haue bene hardly and vnfriendly dealt with, which may somewhat extenuate my crime and offence. But as he was enforcing this point further, the Lord Deputy interrupted his speech, and with a few words delivered with great authority, (which his Marshallist stands in stead of Elegance) told him, that there was no excuse to be heard, his crimes were too great; and thereupon commanded him to depart the Presence: which he did with a countenance seeming very heavy and sad. The next day departing for *Dublin*, heeooke *Tiron* his chier, meaning to transport him for *England*, had not the death of the Queene hindered his designe. These things premised, and *Ireland* thus recovered that was in hazard to be lost, let vs retorne to our *English* affayres, from whence these *Tris* bogges haue detained vs too long.

(127) On what termes the Earle of *Essex* left *Ireland* we haue already heard, and to what lamentable successe the height of his life brought him, is now to be related; wherein hee may be the example of fortunes diluance, and of the volatill felicity had in this life: a man indeede filled with the affection of his Prince & the people, & fraught with honourable habilites to purchase both, vntill by his owne vnadvisednesse (for so it must needs be censured) hee clouded his honour, wisdom, and loyalty, with the shadowes of his owne disconcor. Whether his Soueraignes fauours were the wings of warre, the pillars of his high hopes, I doe not confute; but that some secret vnder-workings gave fire to his passionate disconcor, I doubt not, hauing seene his owne letters penned in that behalf. Howeuer, sure

1. King. 20.

The galle and
hundred of *Tiron*.

* Charles. 1. 15.

Great Spoile
made in *Fisher*.

The *Reb-bell*
cloude against
the *Arch-rebell*.

sure it is, the Eie of Ielouſie now laſſly attended him, and his doings were more noted, they was made ſhew of: wherefore being yet in Ireland with an eminent authority, followed with the flower and chieft men of warre, and ſuſpected to be too well reſpected by the Arch-rebell *ſir* *Don*, it was held good policy (vpon another pretended occaſion) to muſter ſorce, and to make a *Lord Lieutenant* Generall of all England, which was, the right honorable *Charles Howard* Earle of Nottingham Lord high Admirall.

(328) The ſhew of this preparation was a pre-empting providence (as was pretended) againſt a *Spaniſh* Navy in new rigging for the Sea; and indeed ſuch preparation in that Summer was made, as the like had not beene in England ſince *Queene Elizabeth* came to the Crowne. For London was allotted to furniſh fixteene Ships to the Seas, and fix thouſand ſouldiers for the Land ſervice, whereof three thouſand were to reſt crier in a readineſſe, and the other three thouſand (all of them houſeholders) to attend and guard her Maſteſſes royall Poyſell. And out of many Countries adioyning, ſuch numbers of brave horſe and horſemen were gathered, as never till then had beene ſene; the fame whereof was ſo ſtrengthened, as neither *Spain*, nor any other, could have any heart to make attempt this way.

(329) But the Earle of *Essex* arriving in England not onely peaceably, but alſo very privately and vnaccompanied (as hath beene ſaide) and now remaining in the Lord Keepers cuſtody, was often and ſeriously dealt with, by that truly honourable and prudent ſenſit (of whom hee was intirely affected) ſomewhat to decline his lofty ſwearing, left in mourning too high, he ſhould melt his waxen wings againſt the hot Sunne, and not to ſuffer the ſore to fester till it were paine cure; to which purpoſe alſo hee afterward wrote him a letter of pithy and ſharp perſuaſions, out of the abundance of his well-wiſhing heart; the copy whereof we hold worthy to bee here preſented.

The Lord Keeper to the Earle of Essex Iulie 18. An. 1598.

(330) My very good Lord. It is often ſene, that a flander by ſome man here hee that plays the game; and for the moſt part every man in his owne cauſe, flanders in his owne light, and ſeeth not ſo cleerly as hee ſhould. Your Lordſhippe hath dealt in other mens cauſes, and in greate and weighty affaires with great wiſdome and iudgement; now your owne is in hand, you are not to censure or reſuſe the aduiſe of any that loueth you, how ſimple ſeuere. In this order I range my ſelfe; of thoſe that loue you none more ſimple, and none that loueth you with more true and honeſt affection: which ſhall please mine excuſe, if you ſhall either miſtake, or miſconſider, my words or meaning. But in your Lordſhips honorable wiſdome I neither doubt nor ſuſpect the one or other. I will not preſume to aduiſe you, but I will ſhew my bold, and tell you what I thinke. The beginning and too-long extenuating of this vnconſolable diſcontent you have ſerued and prouoked, by which you may ſee at the end. If you hold ſtill this courſe (which hitherto you finde to bee worſe and worſe, and the longer you goe, the farther out of the way) there is little hope, or likelihood that the end will bee better. You are not yet ſo farre gone, but you may well returne; the returne is ſafe, the progreſſe dangerous and deſperate.

In this conſeyce you hold, if you have any enemies, you doe that for them which they could neuer doe for themſelues. Your friends you leaue open to ſcorne and contempt; you forſake your ſelfe, and overthrow your fortunes, and reuocate your honour and reputation. You giue that courage and comfort to the ſervile enemies, as greater they cannot haue. For what can bee more welcome, or more pleaſing newes vnto them, then to heare that her Maieſty and the Realme are mayned of ſo

worthy a member, who hath ſo often and ſo valiantly quailed and danted them. You forſake your Country, when it hath moſt neede of your counſell or helpe. And laſtly, you faile in that indiſſoluble duty which you owe to your moſt gracious Soueraigne. A duty impoſed vpon you, not by nature or policy only, but by that religious and ſacred band, wherein the diuine Maieſty of almighty God hath by the rule of Chriſtianitie obliged you.

As for the ſoure fiſt, your conſtant reſolution may perhaps moue you to eſteeme them as light; but being well weighed they are not light, nor lightly to be regarded. And for the two laſt, it may ſeeme that the cleareneſſe of your inward conſcience, may ſeeme to content your ſelfe. But that is not enough; theſe duties ſtand not onely in contemplation, or in inward meditation: their effect is her externall action, and when that faileth, the ſubſtance faileth.

This being your preſent ſtate and condition, what is to be done? what is the remedy? My good Lord I lack wiſdome and iudgement to aduiſe you; but I will neuer lacke on howe true heart to wiſh well, nor (being warranted by a good conſcience) will ſcare to ſpeake what I thinke.

I haue begunne plainly, be not offended if I proceede ſo. Bene credat, qui credit temporis. *Scence* with well, Lex in nocentem punit, credendum eſt iuſtitiæ; ſi innocentem, credendum eſt fortune. The medicine and remedie is, not to censure and ſtrive, but humbly to yield and ſubmit. Haue you giuen a cauſe, and yet take a ſtandall vnto you? then all you can doe, is too little to make ſatisfaction. If cauſe of ſtandall giuen vnto you? yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to ſue, yeelde, and ſubmit, to your Soueraigne, betwixt whom and you there can bee no proportion of duty. When God requires it as a principall duty and ſervice to himſelfe; and when it is euident, that great good may enſue of it to your friends, your ſelfe, your Country, and your Soueraigne, and extreme harme by the contrary: there can bee no diſhonour or hurt to yeelde, but in not doing of it, is diſhonour and impiety.

The difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquer your ſelfe, whoſe is the height of true valour and fortitude; whereunto all your honorable actions have intended. Doe it in this, and God will be pleaſed, her Maieſty (I doubt not) will ſatisfie: your Country will take good, and your friends take comfort by it; and your ſelfe (I mention you laſt, for I know that of all theſe, you ſteward your ſelfe leaſt) ſhall receive honour, and your enemies (if you haue any) ſhall be diſappointed of their bitter-ſweet hopes.

I haue deliuered what I thinke, ſimply and truly; and leaue you to determine according to your wiſdome. If I haue erred, it is Error amoris, not, Amor erroris. Conſider and accept it (I beſeech you) as I mean it; not as an aduiſe, but as an opinion, to be allowed or cancelled at your pleaſure. If I might continually haue conferred with your ſelfe in perſon, I would not haue troubled you with ſo many idle blaſes. Whatſoeuer you iudge of this mine opinion, yet bee aſſured my deſire is to further all good meanes that may tend to your good, and ſo wiſhing you all honourable happineſſe, I reſt your Lordſhippes moſt ready and faithfull, though vnable, poore friends.

The Earles Anſwere.

(331) My very good Lord. Though there is not the man this day liuing, whom I would ſoner make a Iudge of any queſtion that did concerne mee, then your ſelfe: yet you muſt giue me leave to tell you, that in ſome caſes I muſt appeale from all earthly Iudges, and if in any, then ſurely in this, when the beſt Iudge on earth hath impoſed vpon mee the heauieſt puniſhment, without trial or hearing. Since then I muſt either anſwere your Lordſhips arguments, or forſake mine owne miſt defence, I will ſerue mine aking bid to doe more ſervice for an houre.

I muſt firſt deny my diſſeuagement, which was forced,

to be an humours discontentment, and in that it was unreasonable, and a too long continuing, your Lordships should rather condole with me, then expostulate. Now all that is expected here below, but violent and unreasonable stormes come from above: there is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a Prince, nor that at any time so unreasonable, as when it lighteth on those that might expect an honour of their painfull and careful labours; id or that it were wounded, would feel smart till his hurt is cured, or the part sensible; but cure I expect none, her Maiesties heart being absolute; and be without sense I cannot. But then (you say) I may ayme at the end. I doe more then ayme, for I see an end of all my fortunes, and have set an end to all my desires. In this course doe I any thing for more enemies? when I was present, I found them absolute, and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, then have more attendants upon their Obstinacy. Or doe I leave my friends? when I was a Courtier, I could yield them no fruit of my love to them; now I am an Heremite, they shall have no cause for their love to me. Or doe I forsake my selfe, because I doe enuy my selfe? Or doe I desert my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper wallee, which every puffe of wind blows downe? Or doe I reuaine more honour because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false marks of the shadow of honour? Doe I give courage or comfort to the farraine enemies, because I refuse my selfe to encounter them, or because I keepe mine heart from harmes, though I cannot keepe my fortune from declining? No, no, I give cause one of these considerations: but doe right, and the more I weigh them, the more I finde my selfe justified from offending on any of them. As for the two last objections, that I for sake my Country when it hath most need of me, and aide in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my Soueraigne: I answer, that my Country had at this time need of my publicke service, her Maiestie that governes it would not have discom me to a private life.

I am tied to my Country by two bands; one publique, to discharge carefully faithfully, and industriously that trust that is committed unto me, and the other private, so far as I can, for my life and ease, which have bene nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed or disabled by her Maiestie. Of the other, nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occasion of performance shall offer it selfe, but I will meet it halfly way. The indissoluble duty which I owe to her Maiestie, in the duties of allegiance which I will never, nor can I, in the duties of attendance in maidorable duty. I owe her Maiesties service of an Earle, and of a Marshall of England. I have bene committed to doe her the service of a Clerke, but can never serve her as a villaine, as a slave. But yet (you say) I must give my time to: so I doe for now I see the storme come, I have put my selfe into the harbour. Scarcely such, we must give way to fortune. I know that fortune is blind and flying, and therefore I goe as farre out of the way as I can. You say the remedy is not to be, I neither strive nor seek for remedy, but I must yield and submit: I can never yield my selfe to be gilty, or this impossible lately laid upon me, I am gilty: I owe much to the Author of truth, as I can never yield truth to be falsehood, or falsehood to be truth. Have I given cause (you aske) and take a scandal? No, I gave not cause to take up much as Flaminius his complaint, for I did not in telum corpore accipere. I patiently beare all, and sensibly feeble all that I then received. When the scandal was given me, may, when the worst of all indignities are done unto me, day Religion enforce me to refuse? But God require it? is it impiety not to do so? why? cannot Princes erre? cannot subiects receive wrong? is an earthly power or authority sufficient? Pardon me, pardon me my Lords, I can never subscribe to these principles: but Salomons sower laughter when he is stricken: Let these that mean to make their profit by Princes faults, shew to have no feare of Princes injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absolute in earth, that doe not believe in an absolute infinitum in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feele it, my conscience good I know it. And whatsoever come all the powers on earth can never serve more strength and constancy in opposing, then I can serve in suffering,

in whatsoever shall be imposed upon me.

Your Lordships in the beginning of your letter made your selfe a looker on, and were a player of mine true game; so you may see more then I: but you must give me leave to tell you in the end of mine, that since you have set and I suffer, I must of necessity feele more then you. I must crave your Lordships patience, to give him that hath a crabbed fortune leave to use a crabbed stile. But whatsoever my stile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected towards your Lordship, then that of your Lordships poore friend

R. ESSEX.

(332) The dis tempered humor discovering it selfe in this letter, argueth both the depth of his letted discontent, and the danger of giving way to violent passions, which not only deprive the wile of the view of their owne underhanding, but also blinde their eyes that they cannot see, nor apprehend the benefice of other mens faithfull counells. Notwithstanding, it pleased her gracions Highnesse (whom he so enueth as wronging him, for lending a more attentive care to his enemies suggestions, then to his owne satisfactions) first, not remitte his charge to his owne house, and then loth to looke into his faults but with her princely eye of fauour to proceed vnto some moderate censure of his actions, to the end he might see his owne errors, and ther by limit his power as her owne might be secured.

(333) To which end these assigned certain of her Privy Councell to conuene him concerning the breaking of his former instructions for the North Irish prosecution, and the manner of his treating with Tír-Ora, his coming from Ireland, and leaving that Kingdom contrary to her Maiesties expresse commandement, signed under the Royall Hand and Signet. Whereunto his answer was, that the State of Warre held it a Maxime, to make good the Stand before the Remour, and that it was one thing at Table to direct, but another thing in field to effect, especially in Ireland, whose war was with Ragged Woods, as well as with Men. And to the rest of the objections he answered with such obedient discretion, and loyal submission, as hee well satisfied the Honourable presence, only a suspension from the exercise of some of his Offices was decreed, untill her Maiesties pleasure should otherwise order it. Shortly after hee was set at full liberty; the Queene sending him word that shee well hoped his surety guard would now be his owne discretion.

(334) But seeing his wonted gratefull restrained, though the scope of his liberty was thus farre enlarged, hee presently mourned higher with the wings of discontent; for deprived of Offices, neglected in Court, and all his fortune services poured into her Maiesties lappe, was now (as he imagined) there wrapped up, and laid in obliuion. Neither were these his grievances lessened by his military followers, who daily waited their ill set plants with their exasperated complaints, all they were sprung to some height, and still to nourish their lappes, many prociets were cast, and conferences held how to lop off other branches, which as they feared would hinder their growth, till lastly at Drury house they agreed on the manner (O had it withered before it had blowed, or died in the grafting before it rooke lappes) which was by violent hand to bring the Earle into her Maiesties presence, and to remove from her such as they deemed his opposites.

(335) The frequent assembly vnto Essex house by Noblemen, Knights, Captaines, and others, was presently observed by the Statists in Court, so stoppe the current of which conference before it grew to a flood, Secretary Herbert was sent from her Maiestie to require him to repaire before the Lords of her Councell, then assembled at Salisbury Court, which hee excusing with sicknesse, neglected to do, and the time night upon some further reports

After commended unto some house.

The English nation.

Essex imprisoned from the custody of his officers.

The conference at Drury house.

A.D. 1600.
Sunday,
Feb. 16.
Essex committed into London.
Then James.

He returned, but not to court.

Page 8.

The Queen here
Counsellors into
the House of
Essex.

The Earle so
loves.

A.D. 1600.
Sunday,
Feb. 8.
Essex, with
his
army, in
London.

Thom. Smith.

P. 6.

He returns, &
is forced from
London.

for a double watch about him, pretending some danger to bee meant to his person. For whose defence the next morning (being Sunday) many repaired unto his house, among whom, as chiefe were the Earles of *Northland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Sunder* and *Montague*, accompanied with a Troupe of gallant Gentlemen their followers.

(336) Her Majesty hearing of these disorderlie proceedings, in her princely wisdomethought to call water upon this beguine fire, before it brake forth into flame, and thereupon sent foure men of much honour unto his place, to offer him iustice for any grieues, and to command the assembly to depart. The persons sent were the *L. Keeper of the great Seale*, the Earle of *Worcester*, *Sir Francis Knowles* his vicie, and the Lord *Chiefe Iustice of England*, all of them in high honour and fauour with the Earle himselfe.

(337) These coming to his house without *Temple-barre*, were received in themselves, but scarce any of their seruants suffered to follow, excepting the Bearer of the Purse and Seale, where finding the Court full of these his followers, the Lord Keeper putting off his harte, tolde them that they were sent by her Majesty to understand the cause of this their assembly, and to let themselves, that if they had any particular cause of grieue against any person whatsoever, they should haue hearing, and iustice. The Earle of *Essex* answered that his life was sought after, and that hee had beene perfectly dealt withall. To which the Lord Chiefe Iustice replied, that if any such matter was attempted, it was time for him to declare it, assuring him of a faithfull relation, and that her Majesty would doe him iustice. Which promises the Lord Keeper seconded, and desired the Earle to declare his grieues, if not openly, yet in priuate, and he doubted not but to procure him full satisfaction, & then turning towards the multitude, with a louder voice saide; *I do command you all vpon your allegiance not to lay downe your Weapons, and to depart.* Whereupon the Earle himselfe went into his Booke-chamber, the foure Counsellors following him in hope of private conference; but so farr off was hee from hearing them further, or answering to their demands, that leauing them there vnder sure custody, hee returned to his other attendantes.

(338) With whom in tumultuous manner, hee made into *London*, his followers crying, that the Earle of *Essex* should haue beene murdered by *Cobham*, *Cecil*, and *Rensley*, all men amazed what this did meane. Thus past hee from *Ludgate* through *Cheapside*, into *St. Dunstons Church*, where hee entered the house of a supposed friend (then one of the Shirriffes) who seeing the multitude, auoided himselfe out at a backe-dore, when presently in diuers parts of the City *Essex* was proclaimed a Traitor, to the no lesse grieue of the Citizens, then feares of his followers, and thence returning with a Halbert in his hand, and a Table-napkin about his necke, came into *Gracious street*, where a while hee made his stand, (the Lord Mayor and others being assembled at the vpper end towards *Leaden-hall*) no one Citizen or seruant shewing him any signe of assistance. The case so desperate, one of the principall offenders contriued how by redeeming his fault, to save his owne life; who halting into the Strand to *Essexs* house, and coming to *Sir Iohn Dares*, as being sent from the Earle, gat release of the foure Counsellors, vnder whose guard they had beene hitherto kept.

(339) *Essex* now despairing of all succours in *London*, saw it was bootlesse there to make his shode, & therefore retired againe towards *Paules*, meaning to passe *Ludgate* the way that he came, but being resisted by a company of Pikemen, and other forces, made by that stout and noble Prelate, the then Lord Bishoppe of *London*, hee was put backe, *Sir Christopher Blount* forehurt, and young *Tracy* slaine; besides some others on the Queenes part, himselfe narrowly escaping, being thrust through the haute

with a pyke. So hence againe returning, at *Queene* *Hiue* heeooke boote, bidding the City and his fortunes adue.

(340) His enterprise thus frustrate, with a mind distracted hee rowed vnder the river, and landed at the Water-gate of his owne house, which hee presently fortified; and the Lord Admirall assaulted, iustifying notwithstanding the Countesse of *Essex*, the Lady *Roch* and three Gentlewomen to depart, which done, hee forced the Garden cuen to the wallee of the house. Some resistance was made, and some persons slaine vpon either part, which the Earle perceiving, presently yielded, desiring onely that hee might bee ciuilly vided, and that hee might haue an honourable trull, and so being first brought to *Lambeth-house*, where an he wrote or two hee remained with the Lord Archbishoppe (his cuer most louing, but then most mournfull friend) was thence with some other Lords and Gentlemen conuayed by water to the Tower, about tenne of the clocke the same night: hauing then experience, that vaine is the issue of the Countesse to a subiect? (how great former) when it is counterbalanced with the dutifull obedience vnto their Prince.

(341) Vpon the nineteenth of the same moneth, the Earle of *Essex* and *Southampton* were arraigned at *Westminster*, the Lord *Buckhurst* Lord high Treasurer of England being made Lord Steward for the day, where the great resolution of the one, concerning death, and the sweet temper of the other well deserveng life, did breed most compassionate affections in all men, hearing the force of law to passe vpon them. The one of them remained prisoner in the Tower during the reigne of the Queene, and by the gracious clemency of our Soueraigne Lord King *James* at his comming to the Crowne, had pardon of life, and restoration of blood, the other (*Essex*) the five and twentieth of February being *Wednesday*, suffered vpon the Greene within the Tower, rendering his soule to God with a most penitent and Christian constancie, whole last speeches were to this effect.

(342) "My Lords and Christian brethren, who are present witnesses of my iust punishment, I confesse (to Gods glory) my selfe a most wretched sinner, and that my finnes in number exceed the haire of my head; that good which I would haue done, that did I not, and the eail which I would not, that did I. For all which I beseech my Saviour Christ to bee a Mediator to my Father my God, especially for this my last siane, this great, this crying, this bloody, this infectious siane, wherein through loue of mee, so many haue beene drawn to offend God, theie Soueraigne, and the world. I beseech God, her Majesty, and the State, to forgive vs; and I beseech him to blesse her with a prosperous reigne, with a wife and vnderstanding heare, to blesse the Nobles and Ministers of the Church and State. I likewise beseech you, and all the world, to hold a charitable opinion of mee, for my intention towards her Majesty, whole death (I protest) I neuer meant, nor any violence towards her Person. I thank God, I neuer was Atheist, in not beleeking the Scriptures: neither Papist, trusting in my owne merits; but am assured to be assured by the mercies and merits of Christ Iesus my Saviour. This faith I was brought vp in, and herein I am now ready to dye; beseeching you alio ioyne your sooles with mee in praier, that my soule may bee lifted vp by faith, above all earthly things; and first I desire forgiveness of all the world, even as freely, as from my heart I forgive all the world.

(343) And then kneeling downe saide, I haue beene diuers times in places of danger, where death was neither so present nor so certaine, and yet euen then I felt the weaknesse of my flesh, and therefore now in this last and great combat, I desire Gods assistance

N a n n n n 2 assistance

Talbot burst and
four forth his
house in Strand.

Essex straggled
and condemned.

Is executed.

His speech at
death.

* See this his
prayer and what
his brethren at
large at *Stuart*
died at.

stance by his preteruing Spirit. And so with * a
most heavenly prair, and faithfull constancy, (as
if his soule were then already in heavenly fruition)
her humbled himselfe to the blocke, and spreading
about his armes the figure that he had given to his
head-man) his head was with three strokes of the
Axe severed from his body, the great heauinesse of
all men, appearing as well by their countenances, as
spleene against his Executioner, who was in danger
of his life at his returne, had not the Sheriftes assisted
him to his home.

Others executed

(144) For accessories and chiefe Counsellors In
this offence, died at *Tyburne*, Sir *Gilbert Merricke*
Knight, and *Henry Cuffe* (for his excoitable learning
much bewailed of all men) and five daies after them,
vpon the Scaffold on Tower Hill, were beheaded
Sir *Charles Daunt* and Sir *Christopher Blount* Knights.
And before any of these, *Thomas Lee* a Captaine was
executed, for words spoken touching the Earle of
Essex his deliuerance, to moue, or rather to enforce
the Queene thereto, at his words were confirmed,
who neuertheless confidently tooke his death,
that hee neuer had thought of any violent at-
tempt.

The griefe com-
moned for the
death of *Essex*
his death

(145) As the death of this Noble-man was
much lamented by the subjects, (whose loue to-
wards him was so ingrafted, as I thinke, I may well
say, neuer fubied had more,) so her Maieity likewise,
hauing such a Starre fallen from her firmament, was
lowly moued, and outwardly oftentimes would
shew passions of her griefe, euen till the time of
her approaching end, when two yeeres after shee laide
downe her Head in the Graue, as the most splend-
dent Sonne set forth at last in Western cloud.

A briefe Graue
of Queen El-
izabeth the
prince

(146) The fate of which *Great Queene* through-
out the whole course of her most flourishing reigne,
was (as in part you haue scene shadowed already)
so beautified and strengthened with all honourable per-
fections, both of *Peace*, and *Warre*, as neuer any
Monarch reigned with greater obseruance of her
owne, nor ruled with more obsequious magnanimi-
ty toward foraine Nations: inasmuch, as if her
incomparable vertues and praises were truly and ex-
actly described (a worke worthy some noble spirit
and penne) weare verily perswaded, that future
ages will somewhether flatter and doo be, whether such
celebration of her, were not rather affectionately
Poeticall, then faithfully Historiicall.

Her fury and
affection in
foreign Coun-
sels.

(147) For, the great affaires of *Europe* mainly
depended vpon her directions, who sitting at the
Helme of the Shippe (as *Francis* spake of *Antonius*
the Emperour) it directed and guided their Estates
both in peace and warre: *Spain*, seeking to out-
flowe all, was beaten backe, and scarcely able to main-
taine her owne bulwarks: In *France*, the house of *Val-
lois* vnder-propped by her counsell; that of *Bur-
bon*, aduanced by her countenance, forces, and trea-
sure; *Scotland* releued by her loue; *Netherlands*
by her power: *Portugall* King by her bounty; *Pol-
and* by her commiseration; likewise *Germany*, *Den-
mark*, *Sweden*, often tooke vp and laide downe
Armes at her becke and dispose. Neither could the
 utmost bounde of *Europe*, (the *English* and *Tartari*)
contain the limits and extent of her great fame;
but that the same pierced further into the remotest
parts of *Asia*, *Africa*, *America*, among the *Turkes*,
(whose great Emperour, in honour of so great a
Mediterranean, granted peace vnto the *Palatines* out-
warne with warre,) among the *Persians*, *Barkutians*,
Indians, and where not? In most of whose Domi-
nions to the great enriching of her Kingdome, shee
settled commerce for increase of merchandize, and
gok large priuiledges for encouragement of her Mer-
chants, whom shee cherished as a most necessary and
important part of her Weale Publicke.

Her Princely
qualities.

(148) Who, for her royall actions and Prince-
ly qualities of Minde (seated also in such a Body as
for state, stature, beauty, and Maieity, best befit-
ted an Emperesse,) may be singled out for an Idea of an

absolute Prince, her Sex onely excepted, which yet
made her vertues more remarkable, as being (and
so reputed by Strangers) of all the Princesses of her
time, the most exact obseruer (both for *Admiration*
and Ceremony) of true Regall deportment and mag-
nificence. For her enterprises as fortunate as *Caesar*,
for life, loue, wisdom, and magnanimity, another
Augustus; by her pectable reigne flouting the
Temple of Warre in *England* (whiles all Nations
round about her felt the malices of warre) as hee
did the doores of *Ianus* in *Rome*. And yet had shee
Warriors like vnto the Worthies of *Damascus*; her for-
raine employment, Nauegations, and Discoveries,
hauing bred such numbers of most renowned Cap-
taines, both for Sea and Land, as none of our for-
mer Princesses hath scene the like. With which neces-
sary kinde of noble Seruants, that her owne King-
dome might be alwaies manied (as foretelling the
vncertainties and sudden changes in the Peace-pre-
serving amities of foraine Princes,) shee extem-
pered many of her Genry and others, in the
warpes of Princes abroad, so to perfect them for
all occurrences of their Country at home; which
also induced her (some Strangers haue thought) to
suffer that long lingering protraction of her *High*
warres, the rather, to keepe in vire and exercise, the
skill and valour of her *English*. By which means,
the spreading fame and extent of her Empire was
such, that shee might seeme a second *Traian*, who
laide the circuite of the *Romanes* the largest; hauing
not onely so powerfull a Navy still in readinesse, as
wherby shee attained the Souerainety of the Sea,
but so famous Sea-men also, as that, vnder her au-
spicious Raigne, twice was the whole Globe of the
Terrestrial World filled round about.

(149) Neetherlesse was her renowne for those
other vertues which are the attendants of *Peace*; her
Clemency, *Justice*, and *Temperance*: touching the
last of which, as in one kind (of her diet and pri-
uate life,) King *Edward* her brother vically called
her, his *Lady Temper*: so of another kinde of *tem-
perance* in this learnedest of *Queenes*, (the *hardnesse*
of *King*) hath giuen this memorable testimony, that
when as *France* (part of her Royall Title) was in
civil warres, *Spain* (her mortall Enemy) enfeebled
both in power and port; *Netherland* ambitions of
her government, and *Scotland* ruled by an Infant,
yet in such abundance both of meanes, opportuni-
ties, and prouocations, so superabundant was her
moderation and temper, that shee euer religiously
abstained from all ambitious desire of enuicement,
on the rights or territories of any her neighbour
Princes. Being in this, and those other her virtu-
ous actions, such, as of whom that which was spo-
ken of *Antonius* *Pius* may more truly be verified,
that scarcely, in youth shee did any thing rashly, or in
her age indifferently; scarcely, I say: for as a *Crea-
ture*, we cannot exempt her from all frailties, as a
Woman, from passions, or as a *Prince*, from all errors,
whereunto, euen against her owne naturall inclinati-
on, shee might be drawn, either on misinformation,
or on opinion of necessity in the State. For her
Court, it was not onely a frequent Academie, of
Honourable *Counsellors*, illustrious *Peeres*, Gallant
Courtiers, Learned *Professors*, Intelligent *Statists*, as
euer attended any Christian Prince, but also a Nur-
sery, where young Nobles and others might be
trained vp to the managing of greater affaires, and a
Sanctuary where the meanest might finde reliefe
against the mightiest; because in the Wisdome in her
Counsell were content to learne wisdom from her
directions, so the Greatest were drawn to practise
Equity, both by her example and command. Yea,
which is more admirable in her Sex, so reuerend was
shee from giuing any man too-much interrest, or be-
ing led and overruled by any of her Great-ones a-
bout her, that they all stood in a reuerence of her
very preface and aspect; but much more of her
least frowne or checke, wherewith some of them,
who

Her Military
providence.

* *England* made
an English Col-
our 1581.
Gates, &c.

* By *Drake* and
his fleet.

Her Vertues
praisable.
* King *Edward*
the last vied so
well her, his *Lady*
Temperance.

* King *James* in a
speech to the
Parliament.

Her Court.

Her Counsel.

Her arm.

Her Military
providence.

Her Court.

Her Military
providence.

Her Court.

Her Court.

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Her Court.

Her Court.

Her Court.

Her Court.

Her Court.

SINEQVE ANNOS ELV. ADMINISTRATA ELIZABETHA REGINA VICTRIX, TRIUMPHATRIX, VSTATIS STYDIOSISSIMA, PSELICISSIMA, PLACIDA MORTE SEPTUAGENARIA SOLUTA, MORTALES RELIQUIAS DVM CHRISTO IVERNTE RESURGANT IMMORTALES, IN HAC ECCLESIA CULDEBNSIMA AE IPSE CONSERVATA, ET DENO PVNDATA, DESPOVIT.

*Obijt xxij. Martij, Anno salutis MDCII.
Regni XLV. Aetatis LXX.*

Memorie Æternæ.

ELIZABETHA ANGLIÆ, FRANCIAE, ET HIBERNIAE REGINAE, R. HENRICI VIII. FILIAE, R. HEN. VII. NEPTI, R. ED. IIII. PROMPTI, PATRIAE PARENTI, RELIGIONIS ET OMNIUM ARTIV ALTRICI, PLYRIMARVM LTIQVÆVM FENITIA, FRACCLARIS TVM ANIMI TVM CORPORA DOTIBVS REGISQVE VIRTVTIBVS SVPERA REVM

PRINCIPI INCOMPARABILI

JACOBS MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, FRANCIAE, ET HIBERNIAE REX, VIRTVTVM, ET REGNORVM HABES, SENE MERENTI PIRPOVIT.

REGNO CONSORTES ET VENA, NIC OGDORIMVS, ELIZABETHA ET MARIA SORORES, IN IPSE RESURRECTIONIS.

Sacred vnto Memorie.

RELIGION TO ITS PRIMITIVE SINCERITY RESTORED; PEACE THROVOUT SEYLED; COME TO THE TRVE VALVE REFINED; REBELLION AT HOME ENTINOVISHED; FRANCE, NEERE SVING BY INTERTINE MISCHIEFS, EXLREVED; NETHERLAND SVPORTED; SPAINES ARMADO VANQVISHED; IRELAND, WITH

SPANIARDS REPVLLION AND TRAITORS CORRECTION, QVISTED; BOTH VNIVERSITIES RESERVETVS, BY A LAVY OF PROVISION, EXCEEDINGLY AVGVMENTED; FINALLY, ALL ENGLAND ENRICHED, AND ELV. TEEBES MOST PVIDENTLY GOVERNED: ELIZABETHA, A QUEENE, A CONQVERRER, A TRIUMPHER, THE MOST DEVOTED TO PIETY, THE MOST HAPPY, AFTER LEX. TEEBES OF HER LIFE, QVIRTLY BY DEATH DEPARTING, NATH LEFT NEES (IN THIS MOST FAMOUS COLLEGIAT CHVRCH, WHICH BY HER VVAS ESTABLISHED AND RE-PVNDSD) THESE REMAINES OF HER MORTALITY, VNTILL AT CHRIST'S CALL THEY SHALL AGAINE RISE IMMORTALL.

She died xxij. of March, the yeere of Salvation MDCII. of her Reigne XLV. of her Age LXX.

For an Eternall Memoriall.

VNTO ELIZABETH, QUEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND; DAUGHTER OF KING HENRY THE VIII. GRANDCHILD TO KING HEN. THE VII. GREAT-GRANDCHILD TO KING ED. THE III. THE MOTHER OF THIS NEW COMMONWEALTH; THE NURSE OF RELIGION, AND LEARNING; FOR PERFECT SKILL OV VRY MANY LANGVAGES, FOR GLORIOUS ENDOWMENTS AS WELL OF MIND AS BODY, AND FOR REGALL VERTVES BEYOND HER SEX,

A PRINCE INCOMPARABLE.

JAMES OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND KING, INHERITOR BOTH OF HER VERTVES AND KINGDOMES, TO HER SO WELL DESERVING, SIGVILT NATH THIS INSCRIBED.

CONSORTE BOTH IN THRONS, AND IN GRAVE, NEERE REST VYE TVO SISTERS, ELIZABETH AND MARIA, IN HOPE OV OVR RESURRECTION.



JAMES.

King James.

Monarch I.

**IAMES, OF THAT
NAME THE FIRST, AND FIRST
MONARCH OF THE VVHOLE ILAND OF
GREAT BRITAIN, VNITING VNDER ONE, AND THE SAME,
HIS MOST GLORIOVS CROVNE, THE KINGDOMES
OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND,
GODS IMMEDIATE VICEGEREND, SVPREAME HEAD,
OF ALL PERSONS, AND DEFENDER OF THE
ANCIENT AND TRVE CHRISTIAN FAITH
IN THESE HIS EMPIRE AND DOMINI
ONS. HIS PEACEABLE ENTRANCE,
AND MOST HAPPIE BEGVN
RAIGNE.**

The Tenth Booke.



CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1602.



Before the conceived sorrowes, for the death of the late renowned *Queen* could fully be dissolued into teares, or those get passage from the heart to the eyes, the conduit was stopp'd with a sodaine ioy, and all faces cleared, before that sad penitencie had therein got her full

print. The state of England hiding that day, like vnto that of *Israhel*, wherein the foundation of the second Temple was laid, whole ancient men mourned, as doubting the glory thereof could not be answerable to that of *Salomons*; but as they were comforted by a Prophet from God, THAT THE GLORIE OF THE LATER SHOVLDE SVRMOVNT THE FORMER, so all English hearts by a diuine blessing from God were presently cheered, when they saw their mourning *stare* rise in the North, whole

Ecc. 3.12.

Heb. 3.4.
The joy of the
English for the
seventh Kings
couenent.

March 24.

King James proclaimed.

King James his first rule to the Crown of England.

King James appointed by God to rule the two Kingdoms.

The Roman its hopes to a rebellion in Religion.

The other's indignity. Proceedings against the same.

The Pope's Bulls sent to Geneva to prohibit fac- edious, which he sent a Cardinal.

Christ would not be Judge of the substance between brethren but Vice will a good all right.

Pole with his attractive power, long before had drawn in the Needle of the Southern Compass unto that One point.

(2) Immediately upon the death of the *Queen*, the Lords of the Land gave full satisfaction unto the people, in proclaiming JAMES THE SIXTH, KING OF SCOTLAND, by the name of JAMES THE FIRST KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH &c. to the unspeakable comfort of all true English, as well for his unquestionable claims, as for that hee professed the same true Religion (whose preservation was their tender care) as also for his singular learning and experience, whereby hee was accomplished to undergoe the managing of so great an Empire, having now attained to thirty five yeeres, nine months and five dayes, exercised altogether in the practise of Kingly government, from the very first dayes of his infancy.

(3) That his Title was most iust, no man can deny, being sprung from the vniuersed Roses of Lancaster and York, King Henry the seventh, and *Queen Elizabeth his wife*: whose issue by the Male failing in the late deceased *Queen Elizabeth* of glorious memory, the offspring of *Mary* her eldest daughter, was the next heire, which Lady married vnto James the fourth King of Scotland; by him had issue King James the fifth, whose only Daughter *Queen Mary* was Mother of this our mighty Monarch. Let *Doleman* therefore do vpon his own dreames, and other like Traitors fashion their barres vpon the Popes forge, yet hath God &c. his right set him on the throne of his most lawfull inheritance, so to vniue the two Crowns into one: Gods omnipotent arme bringing at last that to passe, which had often bene assayed, but could not bee effected by any power of man. For, did not Edward our first, the terror of Syria, and Edward the first our godly iustars, both of them distresse Scotland with their warres, only to haue made an vnion by the marriages of the next heire, and of their *Queene*? But the time being not come, and all other preceding Princes failing of their purposes, the peacable vnion of those two Kingdomes, England and Scotland, as also of two other, France and Ireland was reserved for Him, who is a pattern of all princely Learning and Piety, vnto all other Monarches vpon the face of the Earth.

(4) But these calme proceedings without any opposition, as they were most ioyfull to the English, so were they admirable vnto other forraigne Nations, yea, and enuied at of some, especially, such as hoped for an alteration, or at leastwise a toleration of Religion. And so much the rather, for that Pope Clement the eight, had sent the yeere before vnto Henry Carver, *Superior* of the Iesuites in England, the Buller to the contrary, one to the Clergy, and the other to the Laity. The title of the former was, *Dilectis filijs Archiepiscopis, & reliquis Clero Anglicano, &c.* the latter, *Dilectis filijs, Principibus, & Nobilibus, Catholicis Anglicanis, Saluati & Apostolicam Benedictionem*: the summe of both thus. *To you beloued sonnes, the Archbishops and the Clergy, the Princes and Nobles, Catholics of England, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction &c.* The tenor was, that after the death of her Maieity, whether by course of Nature, or otherwise: If hereafter should lay claim to this the Crown of England, though neuer so directly, and merely interestedly dissent, should not be admitted vnto the throne, vntill he would first tolerate the Romish Religion, and by all his best conuincement: promise the Catholic cause, vnto which, by a solemn and sacred Oath, hee should religiously subscribe, after the death of that *Miserable woman*, for so it pleased his Holinesse to terme Elizabeth, that most great and happy *Queen*. By vertue of which Bulls, (if vertue may be in any such vicious Libels) the Iesuites dissuaded the Romish minded Subjects from yielding (in any wise) obedience vnto King James, as being not an obe-

dient Catholic King, but this not working to their wished effect, and He now solemnly proclaimed with an vniuersall applause, lone and peace, their hopes beganne to grow cold, and so fauours from *Spain* being now to bee expected, *Garnet the Superior* to anoid further dangers, sacrificed these hunger-starued Bulls to *Fallen* the fiery God.

(5) King James in Scotland receiving intelligence of the most plausible passages to this enlargement of his Seile and Dominions, prepared himselfe hitherward, and vpon the sixt of Aprill came to *Barnwick*, thence to *Wetherington*, *Newcastle*, *Durham*, *York*, *Danvers*, *Newcastle*, *Burleigh*, *Leith*, *Whitehall*, and thence to London vpon the seventh of May. In all which places hee was most royally and ioyfully receiued, with all demonstrations of true loyalty, loue and obedience, which was no lesse benignely accepted of by his Maieity, who the better to manifest his royall disposition, in all such places as hee came, where Gaioles for offenders were kept, on of his clemency most graciously first the Prisoners, (those only excepted, who lay for treason, murder, or Romish disloyalty) discharging also large summes of money for release of many others from their creditors.

(6) In all which progresse, admirable was the confluence of people, which with haste to meete him, seemed rather to flee then to runne, and such were their shoutes of ioy, that the liues resounded the Echo thereof, even vnto the heauens, which had bene so propitious, as to bestow on them *Gods a King*, which most abundantly appeared the day that his Maieity removed from *Whitehall* to London, when at *Stamford-hill*, near vnto *Tottenham-Craspin Middlesex*, the City of London (represented in the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, with five hundred choice Citizens, all in chaines of gold, & very well mounted) met his Maieity, and with all solemn obsequence attended him vnto the *Charter-house* near *Smithfield*, which was most sumptuously furnished for his royall entertainment. On which very day, a Proclamation came forth against all griping Monopolies that hindered commerce, and Restrictions that stopped the due proceedings of law, as also against other abuses in other inferior carriages. All which were so acceptable to the People and Common-wealth (which had bene too much eaten out with such Locusts & Caterpillars) as neuer any King wanne himselfe more loue: these being accepted as the auspicious beginnings, promising most happy sequel. So that his entrance was as another *Constantine*, whose person every man prayed for, and desired to see: and for Peace another *Ottavian*, hauing ruled peaceably a stout stirring Nation, euen from his younger yeeres, and liued in peace with all the Princes and Kings of the earth: in which peace now lastly hee brought the Crown and Kingdomes of Scotland to augment the glory, circuit and strength of this Realme of England, in whose vnited body, as a faire branched tree, euen at the first hee beganne to engraft the Syences of his princely vertues, which by the lippe and Sannet-shine of his iust government still spreade more and more, like vnto the Cedars that grow vpon *Lebanon*.

(7) The English Empire thus peaceably established, both by, and vnto, this pectable Monarch: from sundry forraigne Princes were sent Ambassadors, to congratulate his entrance; as namely, from the *Palm-grace* of the Rhine, one of the Princes Electors for the Emperour of the Romans: from the French King, *Memphis de Rais*, Great Treasurer of France: from the Spanish King, *Don Iohn de Tassis*: from the States of Holland and Zealand: from the Archduke of Austria: from the Signory of Venice: from the Duke of Florence, and from others.

(8) But among all new-comers, none was more admired nor gazed on, then was *Flagh O'Connell*, Earle of *Tir-new*, that perfidious, (but very valiant) fable

A.D. 1601. King James comes to London.

His progress and places of entertainment.

His mercy extended to the prisoners.

The joy that was conceived at the sight of his Maieity.

His Maieity coming on London.

The Maieities in 8 per-according to entrance, law and commerce.

Diverse Ambassadors came vnto England to congratulate his entrance.

These brought into England.

much ground
And loved
Trophies for up
in London blood
long valuated
Conspiracies in-
vented and re-
vived.
John Stra.
The letters of
the Conspirators
A Doctrine well
for such De-
votion.
The Coronation
of the King and
Queen.
July 21.

subtle, and smooth-tongued Traitor, and *Bowles* of *Ireland*, that had been the death of many a worthy man; who having (as we have shewed) yielded himselfe to the Lord General *Munro* in the sicknesse of the late *Queen*, was now by him brought unto *England* Court, to the Generall great honour, and *Tir-na* great good, if hee could have had grace to confine himselfe. For not onely was he taken vpon his lowly submission into favour with his dread Sovereigne, and restored to his former estate and dignity, (a very great favour to so great an offender) but a *Proclamation* was also made in his behaife, and for his security, that hee should of all men bee honourably vied (a grace, seldom shewed a Traitor) because as it seemed, his guilty conscience lancharged with blood, feared the hand of every man that beheld his face; and indeed many a woman, enraged for losse of their husbands or loones, furiously desired and assayed to quench their hatred with his blood: in which perplexity wee will leave him for a restless Rebel, who lastly like a fugitive left againe both his loyalty and his owne Country.

(9) In the meane while the solemnities for the Coronation were prepared, and many stately Trophies (no lesse due to the consecration of Peace, then to the achievings of Warre) in *London* direct for up, which by reason of the great sicknesse in that City then cruelly raging, stood a long time rather like the ruines of some old decay, then the Princely Pageants of a new Triumph. For before the appointed day of Coronation (which was the twenty fifth of July being the feast day of *Saint James* the Apostle) a Proclamation came forth, that no *Londoner* should presume to approach to the Court, the City having buried that weeke about a thousand of the plague. But yet a greater plague to the Land then this, was intended some weeke before, had not the providence of a good God prevented the designs of mercilesse men. For, certaine *Italian* Priests, boyling in revengefull rancor, because their plots and hopes (which they vainly promitted themselves for advancement of their Religion) were now past all appearance of possibility or success, and combining with some other of better Rank and Note, whom private discords had whetted on to a publick mischief; conspired together a desperate designe, for surprize of the Kings Person and Prince *Henry* his sonne. Of forces to effect it, they made no doubt, meaning to detain their prisoners in the Tower, and with the Treasures therein to maintain their incurre, or, if the Tower were impugnable, then to carry them to *Dover* Cattle, and there by violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, atteration in Religion, and a removal of some *Confessors* of the *Seate*, or else to put some further project in execution. To conceal this Treason, *Walsen* the Priest devised Oaths for secrecy, and himselfe with *Clarke* (another Priest also) taught, that the act was lawfull, being done before the Coronation, for that the King was no King, before he was anointed, and the Crowne solemnly set on his head.

(10) The other persons whose loyalty was likewise called into question, as involved in the attempt, were *Henry Brooke*, Lord *Cobham* and Lord *Warden* of the *Cinque Ports*, *Thomas Lord Gray* of *Wilton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* Lord *Warden* of the *Stanneries*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parkin* knights, *George Brooke*, and *Bartholomew Brookes* Esquires, and *Anthony Capley* a Gentleman; all which parties being apprehended, were committed some to the *Gatchhouse* at *Windsor*, others to the Tower of *London*. Meane while (notwithstanding the raging sicknesse) the day for the Coronation (being the feast of *Saint James*) was celebriously kept, with all solemne performance and ancient Rites of the *English* Kings, in the Collegiate Church of *St. Peter* in *Windsor*. Where, the antique *Regall Chaire*

of inchronization, did blessedly receive, with the person of his Majesty, the full accomplishment also of that Propheticall prediction of this *Isa* coming to the Crowne, which Antiquity hath recorded to have beene therein inscribed thus.

*Nil salus Fatum scilicet hunc quoniam Locutus
Invenimus Lapidem, regnum tenemus sedem.*

*If Fates be right, this Stone, where d're 'tis plight,
The Seat shall find, and there his Swaye alight.*

For even there now the sacred Oile was poured vpon the toyall Persons of King *James* and *Queen Anne*, by the most reverend Prelate, *John Wretts* Lord *Arch-Bishoppe* of *Canterbury*, the *Princesse* and *Peeres* wearing their Robes and Coronets, the Officers giving attendance in their places, and the Lord *Mayor* of *London* in a *Gowne* of *Crimson Velvet*, with the *Aldermen* in *Scarlet*: twelve principall Citizens were admitted to attend them, all other forbidden because of the plague.

(11) As the great solitude of the City of *London* by reason of this infection, and the retirednesse both of his Majesty and all his Nobles, gave some hopes to the fore-mentioned Priests and their Associates, for the easier accomplishing their plots: it was also some occasion of the delay of Justice on them after their treasonous designs were now fully brought to light. Wherefore, *London* continuing still vntil for such a trill, and requisite concourse of *Peeres* and people, *Windsor*, the *Temple* being there kept, was the place designed for their arraignment, whether they were all conveyed vnder strong guard. The first who there came to their trial, were *George Brooke*, brother to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parkin*, *Brooksbey*, *Capley*, *Walsen*, and *Clarke*; whose indictment was, that they had conspired; first, to destroy the King, secondly, to raise Rebellion; thirdly, to alter Religion; fourthly, to subvert the *State*; and lastly, to procure forreine Invasion. That theire their intents they had made knowne vnto the Lord *Gray*, whom they meant should have bene Earle *Marshall* of *England*, *Walsen* Lord *Chancellor*, *George Brooke* Lord *Treasurer*, and Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary. That with the King, the Lords also should be surprized in their chambers at *Greenwich*, and the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London* should bee kept for, and so be shut vp in the Tower.

(12) *George Brooke* hereunto answered (with a colour and pretext to leade as the attempt,) that he had Commission from the King to doe what hee did, onely to try faithfull Subjects; which commission hee could not produce. Sir *Griffin Markham* (excepting onely the imputation of blood) confessed his offence very penitently, alledging it was through a discontented mind, and desired the Lords to be a meane to the King for mercy. *Walsen* and *Clarke* (the former of which confessed he had drawn all those Gentlemen into these plots) did vainly and ignorantly asseure, that they held the King no King, until hee was Crowned, and that therefore it could not be Treason: alledging, that *Saul* was not King until he was chosen in *Asisaph*, though he had bene anointed in *Rams* by *Sammel* the Prophet; neither *Ieroboam*, who in the daies of *Solomon*, had bene confirmed by the Prophet to reigne over *Israel*, until the people made him King vpon the foolish answers of *Behisam*. Thus these great Rabbies made no difference betwixt the mediate and ordinary succession of lawfull Princes, ordered by God to be his Vice-gerents in fully established Commonweales, and those Kings which himselfe extraordinary advanced, and erected to be the whips in his hand; as the first manifestly proved, when they had cast off *Sammel*, and the latter allocated to no other end, as by the Prophet is apparent, where God saith, *I gave them a King in mine anger, and I took*

The Regall Chaire brought out of *Bowles*, whereon it stood, called *St. James* the Apostle, said to be of high esteem, written 2100.

The conspire, the execution of the conspirators.

* Novemb. 19

Their indictment contained.

Mr George Brooke condemned.

1. Sam. 9.

Walsen and Clarke apply 5. v. 10. to maintain Treason.

1. Kings 13. 17.

took him away in my wrath; but the more learned informed them, that in England is no Inter-regnum, because the King neuer dieth, and that the Coronation is but a Ceremony to shew the King to the people.

November 27.

Sir Walter Raleigh
is arraigned and
condemned.

(13) Two daies after was Sir Walter Raleigh brought to the Barre, being indicted for combining with the Lord Cobham (his accuser) in the foresaid designs. Whereunto he pleaded not guilty, and so stood for his pargation, as he held argument from morning till night, to the hearers no little admiration, that a man of so exquisite understanding and experience should give consent vnto such a plot, no lesse foule, then foolish. Yet in fine hee was found guilty, and had sentence of death.

The Lords Cobham and Gray
are arraigned and
condemned.

(14) The like iudgement, a few daies after, passed vpon the Lords, Cobham and Gray, arraigned on two several daies. The former being indicted for combining with Sir Walter Raleigh and George Brooke, to procure forces from the King of Spaine; and the Arch-Duke, for an Insurrection, &c. The other for ioyning with the foresaid Priests, Knights, and Gentlemen, in their fore-mentioned conspiracies. The Lord Chancellor of England, being Lord Steward for that service, sat vnder a Cloth of Estate in the upper end of the Hall, the Nobles sitting (as their Peeres and Judges) on benches vpon both sides. Those at the Barre he willed to bee bold, and to answer without feare: the Kings learned Council he intreated not to confound the memory of the prisoners with vaneccellary matters; and the Peeres, though vnrwise, hee aduised to try indifferently betwixt the King and the arraigned; who both pleading not guilty, were yet found otherwise by the Court, and received iudgement of death.

Walter and Clark
upon the 27. of
November.

Mr. George Brooke
upon the 2. of
December being
Tuesday.

John Stone.

(15) Of all these arraigned, Sir Edward Perham only was acquitted by the Iury, and of all the rest only three died, which were Raleigh, Clarke, and Master George Brooke: the former of which, having at large laied open in Print, the Treasons and vnuisable machinations of the Iesuiticall Order, left this suspicion on them at his death, that they, in reuenge, had cunningly and courtly drawn him into this Action, which brought him to this shameful end. After whose death, his Maiesty then at Wiltm, (having commanded his Lords, to deliuer the true narration vnto him of the whole proceeding in the arraignments and answers of all the rest) signed also a warrant for the execution of the Lords Cobham and Gray, as also Markham, to be performed the Friday following betwixt ten of the clock in the morning. Notwithstanding his Maiesty more moued to milde mercy, then the high straine of Iustice, of his Princely and free clemencie, gave life vnto those persons, expecting present death, and thus with his owne hand wrote to counterchecke his former Warrant.

The Kings Letters
with the stay of
the Execution.

(16) Although it be true, that all well governed and flourishing Kingdomes and Common wealthes are established by Iustice, and that these two Noblemen by birth, that are now upon the point of execution, are far their reasonable profits condemned by the Law, and aduantage worthy of the execution thereof, to the example and terror of others: The one of them having seditiously practised the enuie of the whole Kingdom, and the other for the surprize of our owne Personne: yet to require that this is the first yere of our Reigne in this Kingdom, and that neuer King was so farre obliged to his People as we haue bene to this, by our entry hertvith so hearty and generall an applause of all sortes. Among whom all the kinne, friends, and allies of the saids condemned persons, write as far as it and dutyfull as any other our good Subiects, as also that as the very tone of their Arraignement none did more freely and readily give their assent to their conviction, and to deliuer them into the hands of Iustice, then so many of their moste Kindred and Allies (as being Peeres) were upon their Iury, as vnuisable in regard that Iustice hath bin some sort gotten course already, by the execution of the two Priests, and

George Brooke, that vnto the principal plotters and intaisers of all the rest, to the enuie of the saids treasonable Machinations, one therefore being refused to mixe Clemency with Iustice) are condemned, and by these Presents command you, our present Sheriffe of Hamptonshire to superseed the Execution of the saids two Noblemen, and to take them backe to their prison againe, vntill we further pleasure bee knowne. And since we will not haue our Lawes to haue respect to persons in sparing the great, and striking the meane part, but our pleasure, that the like course be also taken with Markham, being sorry from our heart, that such is, not onely the beginning nature of the saids condemned persons crime, but also the corruption in so great of their natural disposition, as the care we haue for the safety and quiet of our State, and good Subiects, will not permit vs to use that Clemency towards them, which in our owne natural inclination, we might very easily be persuaded vnto.

(17) This Letter then framed, the deliury thereof his Maiesty committed vnto one John Gibb a Secretary Gentleman, a discreet person, and free from dependancy of any Noble man or Counsellor, neither was he of any extraordinary ranke, as well that the by-standers should not obtrude any alteration for the execution, as the delinquents themselves take any apprehension by his presence, to the end that each of them severally should prepare to breath out their last breath, with a true confession of their secret consciences. The time approaching, Sir Griffin Markham brought to the Scaffold, (to that end erected on the Castle Greene) made himselfe ready for the stroke of the Axe, when secretly Master Gibb deliuered vnto the high Sheriffe of the Shire the Kings Warrant to the contrary, who soone perceiving his Maiesties intent tooke backe the prisoner, (as if he were first to confront the two Lords in the Hall vpon some seruice to the King,) from the Scaffold, and brought him into the Castle Hall. Then was the Lord Gray brought forth, who having poured out his praies vnto God, at length kneeling downe for the stroke of death, the Sheriffe said stay, telling the Lord that some further service was expected of him, and thereupon likewise lead him againe into the Caille. The Lord Cobham then was brought to the Scaffold, who being in praies and preparation for death, the Lord Gray and Sir Griffin were brought backe againe, where the prisoners all three appearing together on the Scaffold, the Sheriffe notified his Maiesties Warrant for the stay of their Executions, and that as then they should not dye. Vpon which rare Clemency, vnepected both of prisoners and spectators, arose such thousens of the people, as was wonderfull, crying God save the King, and the condemned ouercome with his Clemency, wished they might sacrifice their liues to redeme their owne faults and to repurchase so mercifull a Princes loue.

The Kings
several speeches
of the Prisoners
to dy.

Sir Sir Tuckers.

Sir Griffin Markham
returned
from the Scaffold.

The Lord Cobham
and Sir Griffin
Markham repel-
led.

(18) This businesse thus transacted, for the safety of the Kings Person and whole Kingdom, the which a Maiesty, (who well considered, that the quier of a Heale-Pulke cannot possible subsist long, without the peaceable well managed government of the Church,) having among many other Petitions which were presented to him at his first entrance, received one from certain persons of vnquiet spirits, against the established Government and Liuray in the English Church, resolved now by his Princely iudgement, as another Hezekiah to breake the Brazen Serpent, if Idolatry were thereunto committed, and like a second Iosiah, to reuere the law of the Lord him selfe: whereupon by Proclamation hee commanded an assembly of selected Diuines, such as could best reuolue the minds of both parts, to appear in his Royall presence, at his Mannor of Hampton-Court: whither the summoned accordingly repaired. For the maintained Church-state, were the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Worcester, Saint Davids, Chechester, Carlisle and Peterborow: the Deanes of the Chappell, Christ.

The Ministers
present to the
King, approach
the house of
Commons
Prayer.

2. King. 1. S.
2. King. 2. 4.

A Proclamation
for a conference
to be held at
Hampton Court
on Thursday
January 11.

The persons
then
present.

Christ Church, Wexford, Westminster, Pauls, Chester, and Windsor, with Doctor Field, & Doctor Knefel, the now Lord Bishoppe of London. To deliver the Plaintiffs desires, were summoned, and appeared Doctor Reynolds and Doctor Sparkes of Oxford, Mr. Kennel, and Mr. Chadsden of Cambridge.

(19) The first sitting was upon Saturday, the fourteenth of January, in his Majesties Privy-chamber at Hampton-Court, whereto the Church-Governours only being admitted (by his Majesties command) in the presence of his Privy Council, he made a most godly and princely declaration of his intent, in summoning this Assembly, in effect, thus, That this his proceeding was no noveltie, but according to the example of all Christian Princes, who in the commencement of their reigns, usually take the first course for the establishing of the Church both for doctrine and policy, to which the very Heathen themselves had relation in this their Procuress *2^d Iane Principum*. And particularly in this land, King Henry the eight, towards the end of his reign; after him King Edward the sixt, who altered more; after him Queen Mary, who renewed all; and the last Queen of famous memory, who revived the Church here as now it standeth. Wherin yet his Majesty deemed himselfe happier then they, in that they were faine to alter those things which they found established, whereas himselfe saw yet no cause, so much to change any thing, as to confirme that which he found so well settled already. Which State so affected his Royall heart, that it pleased him, both to enter into a gratulation to almighty God, at which words he put off his hat; for bringing him into the land of Promise, where Religion was purely professed, where he sat amongst grave, learned, and reverend Divines, who better knew what belonged to the State of a King, to the honor and order of a kingdom, then some other Nations did, and withall to assure the Prelaty there present, that he intended not any Innovation, acknowledging the Government Ecclesiasticall to have bene approved by manifold blessings from God himselfe, both for the encrease of the Gospell, and with a most happy and glorious peace. Yet, because nothing could be so absolutely ordered, both that somewhat might be added, and in any State as in the body of man, Corruptions like ill humors might insensibly grow either through time or persons; his purpose was, after the example of a good Physitian, to make search into the supposed diseases, and to examine the complaints, so to remove the occasions thereof, if they prove scandalous, or to cure them, if they were dangerous, or if but frivolous, yet to take knowledge of them, thereby at once both to cast a stoppe into the mouth of Curious, and of all factious spirits, and withall to give satisfaction to all quiet and sober minded men.

(20) His Majesty concluding this his general advertisement, entered more particular discourse with the Bishops (for his owne private information) concerning the *Booke of Common Prayer, Excommunication* in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, and the promotion of fit and able Ministers for Ireland. Touching matters in the said Booke, he desired satisfaction; First, for *Confirmation*, which if it were held and so called, as in the Sacrament of Baptisme were thereby confirmed, & were Invalid without it, then was it in his judgement blasphemous: but if it were only that Children, who at their Baptisme made profession of their faith by the mouthes of others, might before the Bishops profess it in their owne persons, and so receive Episcopall Benediction by prayer, and imposition of hands, then was it of very sacred use in Gods Church. Secondly, for *Abolution*, which his Majesty had heard compared to the Popes pardons. Thirdly, for *Private Baptisme*, which he utterly disliked to be administered, but by a lawfull Minister. His second point was *Excommunication*, wherein he

moved two especiall considerations, the one of the Matter, that the sentence being so weighty, was not to be pronounced upon every slight cause; the other of the Person, why Lay-men as Chancellors & Commisaries, and not rather the Deane and Chapter, or other grave Ministers and Chaplaines should be allowed by the Bishops for their assistants therein. The last which was touching a sufficient Minister in Ireland, his Majesty referred to another day.

(21) But his Majesty received full satisfaction & contentment by the severall answers to all his demands. Touching *Confirmation*, that the Church of England held it no essentiall part of the Sacrament of Baptisme, but a practise of the Primitive Church, yea of the Apostles; as Calais himselfe expounds their meaning, who also willed the retention thereof in such Churches where it had bene abolished, and for imposition of hands on children, warranted by Christ himselfe, a Custom still retained in our Church, as very godly and necessary for those very reasons and vice, which his Majesty had mentioned, and truly observed. Touching *Abolution*, it was answered, that as Christ desired not the death of sinners, so he hath given power and commandment to his Ministers, to pronounce his mercy with remission of finnes unto all Penitents, that the practise thereof in the English Church, is so farre from Popery, as that the Reformed Churches of *Angola, Helme, and Saxony*, do both allow it, and retain it, yea, and Calais himselfe approves it. Of *Private Baptisme* it was answered, that though the words seemed somewhat doubtfull, yet the practise of the English Church did contradict all administration of it by *Laikes and Women*, in conferring them in that case: whereupon it was concluded, that a lawfull Minister only should be employed in times of necessity, when the Infant was in danger of death yet so understood, that the person was in no wise to be reputed of the Essence of the Sacrament. And finally, for *Excommunication*, it was there resolved, that the abuses (if any such there were) being removed and amended, that sacred censure should retain its necessary vigour in the Church; and so for that day his Majesty dismissed the Assembly of his Prelates.

(22) Upon Monday following, being the sixteenth of January, those other Doctors, who were to relate the dislikes of the Opposites, were called likewise into the Privy Chamber, where in presence of his Prelates and Peeres his Majesty delivered unto them, a pithy & princely declaration of his mind, That he intended not to innovate the government now established, which by long experience hee had found accomplished with so singular blessings of God forty five yeeres, as that no Church upon the face of the earth had more flourished then this of England. But rather his meaning, and earnest desire was, first to settle uniformity through the whole, for the more quiet and flourishing estate thereof; secondly, to plant unity for the suppression of Papists, and enemies of Religion; thirdly to amend abuses as incident to *Bishops politike*; as in the shadow to the body Natural; which once getting entrance, hold on as a Wheele doth his motion, when it is once set on going. Among the complaints therefore of many grievances made since his entrance into England, none was more weighty, not himselfe more willing to heare and amend, then such as might concerne the State of the Church, if the same did in any wise decline from the ancient and Apollitical rule. For which cause he had sent for them, whom hee understood to be grave, learned, & modest Divines, to heare by them those grievances, and severall objections at large, and desired them boldly to declare the same.

(23) Whereupon Doctor Reynolds, a very learned man, after a preamble gratulatory (upon his knees) with acknowledgement of Gods mercy in giving vs

The Prelates to his Majesty the Assembly of the Church of England

1st Epist. 2nd Epist. 3rd Epist. 4th Epist. 5th Epist. 6th Epist. 7th Epist. 8th Epist. 9th Epist. 10th Epist. 11th Epist. 12th Epist. 13th Epist. 14th Epist. 15th Epist. 16th Epist. 17th Epist. 18th Epist. 19th Epist. 20th Epist. 21st Epist. 22nd Epist. 23rd Epist. 24th Epist. 25th Epist. 26th Epist. 27th Epist. 28th Epist. 29th Epist. 30th Epist. 31st Epist. 32nd Epist. 33rd Epist. 34th Epist. 35th Epist. 36th Epist. 37th Epist. 38th Epist. 39th Epist. 40th Epist. 41st Epist. 42nd Epist. 43rd Epist. 44th Epist. 45th Epist. 46th Epist. 47th Epist. 48th Epist. 49th Epist. 50th Epist. 51st Epist. 52nd Epist. 53rd Epist. 54th Epist. 55th Epist. 56th Epist. 57th Epist. 58th Epist. 59th Epist. 60th Epist. 61st Epist. 62nd Epist. 63rd Epist. 64th Epist. 65th Epist. 66th Epist. 67th Epist. 68th Epist. 69th Epist. 70th Epist. 71st Epist. 72nd Epist. 73rd Epist. 74th Epist. 75th Epist. 76th Epist. 77th Epist. 78th Epist. 79th Epist. 80th Epist. 81st Epist. 82nd Epist. 83rd Epist. 84th Epist. 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to godly, so learned, so careful a King, reduced all matters, either desired or disliked amongst the *weaker Brethren* (whose *Spiousness* hee professed hee would not have beene, but only upon his Majesties mandatory *Summons*) vnto those foure heades. 1. for preservation of true doctrine. 2. for placing of good Pastors, 3. for sincere administration of the church government; 4. for explanation of some clauks in the Common-prayer Booke. It would be here too impertinent, to force an historical Narration vpon those Theological particulars, which vpon those foureall points were then produced, and are *elicewhere* to be found exactly related. Yet as wee cannot but commend the iudgement of these foure Diuines (as touching the third point) in that, finding no iust exception to the *Episcopall Hierarchy* of our Church, in no one word they impugned or disapproved the same; so much more must we celebrate the admirable dexterity, iudgement and learning of his sacred Majesty, ioynd with so rare Industry and patience, whose owne accurate search and exquisite explications of Scriptures, Fathers, and primitive practises, did there both breed wonder & astonishment in that noble and learned audience, and also gine singular satisfaction (even to the *Agones* for the *Opposites*) touching all the exceptions taken to the Church-state; which his Majesty now found to bee no other then the phantasies of a scrupulous indiscretion.

(24) The Wednesday following, being the 18. of Ianuary (appointed for the next meeting) his Majesty againe, with most of the Lords of his Privy Councill, entered the Chamber, where the Reverend *Prelates* with such others only as the L. Archbishops appointed, (for so his Majesty commanded) being admitted to his Royal presence, after some conference about the *High Commission court*, *Subscriptions*, *Oath ex officio* and the like, his Majesty (causing the other foure Diuines to bee then called in) was pleased to declare what formerly had past; and for a conclusion, that vp all with a godly exhortation, like another *Constantine*, perswading every man to vniue, and to a diligent discharge of their duties, that in several places the Papists to gouerne without violence, the inferiours to obey without murmuring, and all of them to builde Gods Temple without found of discord; defining and commanding all present, not only themselves to labour that way, but to be a meanes to draw on all others vnto a peaceable conformity; the matters being no other (as now hee saw plainely) but of meer weakness: wherein persons *discreet* would doubtlesse bee easily henceforward reclaimed, and for the *unaffected* & rebellious, their *roomes* were more behouefull then their seruices; by their fruites therefore He should discern and iudge them; Obedience and Humility being the *markes* of honest and good men, which thenceforth hee would expect from as many as would be held well affected to his Majesty and his State. Which princely exhortation (delivered with much more feeling words, and moving earnestnes) was so piercing as it fetched teares from some of both sides, and all unanimously protested their most dutifull obedience to those his Royall commands.

(25) Besides this maine fruit of this famous conference, the settling of the Church-peace, sundry other important matters (not here to be pretermitted, because necessarily tending to that noble end) were therein also provided, and by his Majesties euer provident care had then their conception, though after-times brought the birth to perfection. The first (both in due ranke and vie) was his sacred Decree for a new Translation of the holy Scriptures, vpon a princely and pious care of Gods eternal Truth according to the Originals; as also for an vni-form reading thereof in the Churches. To which end three selected Companies from *Oxford*, *Cambridge* and in *London*, most industrious in the language

and learning being employed, after long conference, much trading, and diligent comparing of all translations with the ancient originals, it is now most exactly and happily published, as a witness to the world both of Gods constant promise, that *Heaven and Earth should perish, but his word should neuer*; and also of the Religious care of this his Vicegerent, in seeking even at the first, the best thing that man is commanded to seek after, whose praise shall stand for ever in the Record of thar godly worke, and the worke shall iustifie it selfe against all gainsayers to Gods eternal glory, and many foules great comfort.

(26) His second sacred proiect was, that as now in England, so also in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the *Northern parts*, true Religion (which Hee there sowed to bee the only band of true diuines) might be thoroughly planted. Which religious purpose Hee so zealously prosecuted, especially for the *North* and all *Scotland*, as that He held it not sufficient to haue ioynd these two Kingdomes into one Temporal Monarchy, vntlesse He might see them both vniue also in the Doctrine, Regiment and Rites of one spiritual Hierarchy. Neither was his princely wisdom for the meanes lesse conspicuous then his zeale in the intendment, in making so heedfull chioice of such English Diuines, as were (not long after) in this employment sent into *Scotland*; the very first, in which Apostolike Ambassage for establishing those Neighbour-Churches was he, whose eminency both for Place and Piety, is now worthily famous in guiding our owne; and whose blessed travels in that seruice, as they were acceptable to God, his Majesty, and that Nation; so are they a document to others, how powerful & admirably successful true Learning is, where it is guided with true Prudence, and where Piety and love of Gods glory is linked with Charity, and zeale of mans good.

(27) This great business and conference so royally accomplished, his Majesties next care was (herein also as another *Constantine*) to perpetuate the maintenance of this flourishing Church (whose peaceable estate hee had thus provided for) with the reuenerence of her ancient foundations; as also to establish statutory lawes for the peaceable government of his people; to which purpose a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, the 19. of March, wherein, for the Church it was enacted, that neither Archbishops nor Bishops should alienate, assure, giue, grant, demise, or in any sort convey, no, not to the King himselfe, his Heires or Successors, any of the Honours, Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, being parcell of the possessions of his Archbishops or Bishops; and If any so were, to bee utterly void and of none effect, notwithstanding any former law, statute, act, or ordinance to the contrary.

(28) Foure dayes before this Parliament commenced, it pleased his Majesty, with the most noble Queene Anne and the most illustrious Prince Henry, attended with glorious troopes of great Peeres, Prelates, and Counties, to ride in triumph through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, the houses beautified with rich hangings, the streets adorned with goodly Trophies and Pageantes, of severall nations inhabiting, the rayles on both sides covered with blew cloth, the severall Companies honourably addressed, and ranked vnder the displayed Ensignes and Armes of their severall Trades and Sciences; the one shewing the wealth and state of the City; the other, the body of the Citizens and government, and all making manifest the vnspokeable joy they conceived to receive their great Sovereigne into this His City and Imperiall Chamber. In pledge of which their exulting joy, vnfaired love, and vowed fidelity, the *Standard* at the Crosse in Chespe, both gratulated his Majesty with a pithy speech in the name of the City, and wishing him a golden reigne, presented his Graciously with a

The Kings second religious project as the Constantine.

The new Lord Archbishopps of Canterbury, Dr. George Abbe, the L. & B. presented him into Scotland.

A Parliament held March 19. The Church lands not to be alienated.

At Westminster. Jacobus prius.

March 19. The Kings joyfull triumph riding through London.

The Henry 8th. type. See also Henry 8th. Amos.

*The Conference at Hampton Court, printed 1604.

*They all provided of salaries, and Doctors Speeches must be looked to: perforce upon consideration.

The conclusion of the Conference.

The translation of the Bible intended and commanded.

cuppe of gold, deliv'ring another likewise to the Queene, and a third to the Prince, which were all no lesse graciously accepted, then most lovingly presented.

(19) Neither lesse was his Maiesties desire to retaliate the Citizens and other his Subjects true affections, when recounting the great hinderances of Marchandizing and Navigations of traffick, by reason of the long continued breach betwixt England and Spain, his royall heart tending his Subjects tranquillize, endamoured to close againe those wounds of discord with the sweet balme of Peace; which was solemnly proclaimed in London, August 19. the sea being made open to Merchants for their free commerce.

(20) Both Domestick and forraine affaires thus pleasantly composed, as his Maiesty was the first, who in this last age of the world held the Scepter of the whole Island in his royall hand, so to vntie the two sides vnder the name of one entire Empire, and the two Nations into a ioint blessed unity; Hee caused himselfe by Proclamation to be entituled King of Great Britaine, according to the ancient name of this Isle before the Saxons Conquest; the restoring of which name againe, many foredooming spirits had anciently preiaged, as now wee see effected. Vnto which Imperiall title, are rightly annexed the kingdoms of France and Ireland, rightfully belonging by birth and Conquest vnto the Crowne of England.

(21) Two other Proclamations afterwards came forth; the one for the Banishment of all Iesuites & Seminary Priests, one of the land, and the other to confirme the Ecclesiasticall government, and Booke of Common Prayer, in the same forme and estate, as Queene Elizabeth left them; to the no little griefe of the workers for Rome, whose designs began now to facke in such position, as in the venting whereof, not onely the earth might haue trembled vnder the wright of such moethers, but euen the heavens be affronted and confounded, to giue those Serpents the breath or benefite of aire. Vnto which bloody, horrible and odious act to God and man any stile must now turne: a matter indeed so distastefull for mee to remember, or to write of, that it abhorres any very soule to fill the penne with ink, or to blotte the paper with these blacker spots of darkness, and de-formers of Englands faire face.

(22) The plott was to vndermine the Parliament house, and with Gunpowder to blow vp the King, the Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights and Barges, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory, Piety, Learning, Prudence, Authority in the land, fathers, sonnes, brothers, allies, friends, foes, Papists, and Protestants, all at one blast. A tresageime inuented by him, that blows the bellows of destruction, fashioned in the forge of the bottomlesse pitt, put in practise in a vault of darknesse, and forwarded by him, that is the father of darkenesse, and in darkenesse I could wish it might euer dwell, whose life was neuer reuelled to the light of the Sunne. Their intent, when that religious achievement had bene performed, was to surprize the remainder of the Kings Issue, to alter religion and the State, and to bring in forraine power. Sir Edmund Baynes an attainted person (who stiled himselfe Prince of the damned Crew) was sent vnto the Pope, as he was a temporall Prince, to acquaint him with the Gunpowder-treason; a fitt soile indeed to bee employed betwixt the Pope and the Diuell.

(23) This treason was first set on foot in the last yeere of the late Queenes raigne, when Henry Garnet the Superior of the Iesuites, Catesby and others leat Thom as Winter into Spain to negotiate with King Philip in the name of the English Catholikes; first, to send an army vnto them, who now were in a readinesse to ioyne their Forces with his; secondly, to grant some pensions vnto sundry per-

sons deuoted to his seruice in England: and thirdly, to giue advertisement of the discontentes that the young Gentlemen and Souldiers had conceiued vpon the death of Essex, whereby a most fit occasion was then offered to forward the common cause. To prosecute which business, he made for his means father Cresswell the Leiger Iesuite in Spain, Don Pedro Francisco second Secretary to the State, and the Duke of Lanna, a great Counsellor to the king; all of them being said to haue affixed this commissioned Ambassador, that the office of his imployment would bee very grateful to their master.

(24) The place for landing concluded vpon by these wise Scallits, was Kent or Essex, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwise, then Northford Haven in Wales was held fitt: with these and other like complots, Winter all that summer followed the King in his Progress, and laitie had answer by the Count Miranda, that his King would bestow a hundred thousand Crownes towards the expedition, halfe thereof to bee paid that present yeere, and the rest in the next Spring, when (as the farthest) hee meant to set foot in England, on whose behalfe hee willed the English Catholikes to maintain their promise, whom hee respected (as was auided) as his owne proper Callians: And further desired their continuall advertisement, if in the mean time it chanced the old Queene to die.

(25) Winter thus laden with hopes, returned from Spain, and emphatically made into the bosoms of Garnet, Catesby, and Treloar, and they vnto others, all of them tickled to heare the news, rested fully satisfied, expecting the day. But before the Spring-time was fully approached, that Morning Seate, and Mirror of her Sexe, did set in our Well, the thrice glorious Elizabeth, who had now iudged Israel full forty foure yeeres in admirable tranquillity, as in her raigne wee haue sufficiently seene. To signifye whose death Christopher Wright was from Catesby and others sent into Spain, and Guy Fawkes likewise was posted thither from Arundell by Sir William Stanley, both of them to prosecute the former negotiation, assuring the Spanish King, that King James meant to runne the same course, and to proceede as rigorously against the Catholikes, as the late Queene had done: for whose defence they instantly desired that some Spaniards might bee transported vnto Northford-Hauen, where the Romilish-minded would bee forward to assist them, having in a readinesse two thousand horse furnished for the enterprise. But King Philip aduelling poizing his honour, as his zeale for Religion, and observing a great difference betwixt States in hostility, and of Kings raigning in friendship, hee in no wise would list to invade England, or further to proceede in any forcible enterprise.

(26) In the meane while the Iesuites had been tampering to dissuade the acceptance of King James into England, vrging it for a Maxime, that death was to bee endured, rather then to admit an heretike (so it pleased them to rearme the Lords annoyed) and those that giue him consent they held lyable to Excommunication by the censure of Pope Clement the eight, who had liberally bestowed vpon his fauored person the names of a Puritan, an Heretike, a Calvinist, a Persecutor of Protestants, and another Iulius Apostate.

(27) The Romanists thus loosened from their Anchor-hold of Spain, and left by that Pilore to shaft for themselves, now perceived their owne error in their long expectation, That change of State would change Religion: but hee now gone, whose life they had often said for, and her godly Successor now hit inferior to her for aduancing the Gospel: their hopes grew desperate (as these desperates alledged) and no other means now left them but onely to kill the King, whom they fallily calumniated to haue broken his promise for a toleration in Religi-

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the Spaniards
had of Peace.

Religion, as *Watson* and *Percy* had disguised among them; yea, and a fraudulent message was sent to the Pope by the Scottish Secretary, that *K. James* would become his obedient sonne. But how false his religious heart was to their aspirations, appeared both by *Watson* himselfe, who, condemned to die, took it upon the salvation of his soule that he could not draw the smallest comfort from the King for a toleration of the Catholics, but that himselfe had imparted his words in a milder tone than his Majesty meant them, only to keepe (as he excused the matter) the Catholics in love and duty unto the King: and since by the Lord of *Balmorisc* (Secretary to the King in Scotland) who acknowledged his offence, hath been arraigned and found guilty of death, for dealing letters, and sending them to Rome, which himselfe cunningly got signed in passing them amongst others, his Majesty being verily ignorant of the Contents.

(38) Upon which false suggestions, the Atheistical position of *Catesby* was grounded, who held it for an *Axiome* as father *Parsons* had taught: That the whole Schoole both of Divines and Lawyers make it a position certain, and to be undoubtedly believed, That if any Christian prince whatsoever, shall manifestly turne from the Catholicke Religion, and desire to forsake to reclaime other men from the same, hee presently forfeiteth all princely power and dignity and that also by vertue and power of the Law it selfe both divine and humane, even before any sentence pronounced against him by the supreme Power and Judge. And that his Subjects of what estate or condition soever are freed from all bond of oath of Allegiance which at any time they had made unto him as to their lawfull Prince. Nay, that they both may and ought (prouided they haue competent strength and force) cast out such a man from bearing rule among Christians, as an *Apostate*, an *Heretike*, a *Backslider*, and *Reuelator* from our Lord Iesus Christ, and an enemy to his owne State and Common-wealth, Iell perhaps hee might infect others, or by his example or command turne them from the faith. Yea one steppe further else where is flood upon, that if any Prince shall but fauour or shew countenance to an Heretike, hee presently loseth his Kingdome. And thus they conclude, that for *Heretike* a Prince is to be deposed, and his kingdome to be bestowed at the pleasure of the Pope, for whom the People upon paine of damnation are to take part and fight: out of which detestable conclusions arose the first lincke of the Gunpowder Treason.

(39) For the Parliament dissolved the seventh of July, and proroged untill the seventh of February following, *Catesby* being at *Lambeth*, sent for *Thomas Winter*, who before had been employed into *Spain*, and brake with him then for blowing up of the Parliament house: who readily apprehending it, said, that (indeeds) *franke at the rote*: once they helpe were wanting, a house for residence, and a man of skill to carry the Mine; but the first *Catesby* assured him was easily to be got, and for the man hee commended *Guy Fawkes*, a sufficient soldier, and a most forward Catholicke. But *frank* (quoth hee) because no peaceable way of shall be ventred, you shall owe to the Constable, and create him to sollicite for *Justice* at his coming into England, that the penall lawes may here be repealed, and the Catholics tolerated and ranked with his other Subjects.

(40) *Winter* thus poised to negotiate with the Constable, found him at *Bergen* neere *Dunblow*, and by the means of *Owen* the fugitive Traitor, delivered his message; a whole answer was, that hee had a strict command from his Majesty to doe all good offices for the Catholics, and for his owne part hee found himselfe bound in conscience not to omit any good occasion that might forward their cause: although indeed hee did but temporise as *Sir William Stanley* told *Winter*, for the great desire which the Spaniards had that the Peace might proceed with England. Where

upon *Winter* (hopelesse that way) returned for England, bringing with him the foresaid *Fawkes*, a fine instrument for so diabolical a designe, and comming to *Lambeth*, told *Catesby* that the Constable was not the man whatsoever were his words, and that all now in these parts were bent for a conclusion of Peace; which sounded so harshly in his ill-nerved eares, that his braines became more buified about his impious Project, and his mind in continual trauell to bring forth that sinne, which hee had most vanatiously conceived.

(41) *Robert Carr*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Guy Fawkes* holding a community in their mischiefs till about London; about the middell of Easter-Terne, *Thomas Percy* as hote as the *Harbour* himselfe to forward Rebellion, came putting to *Catesby* lodging in *Lambeth*, and the first word hee spake was this: What Gentlemen shall we aduise be talking, and neuer doe any thing? you perceive (I know) how things doe proceed. To whom *Catesby* answered, that something was resolved upon, but first an Oath for secrecy was to be manifested. For which purpose they appointed to meet some three daies after behind *S. Clements* Church without Temple-barre, where being met, and falling in Conference, *Catesby* alleged that this last Parliament had left the Catholicke-likes in as much danger as they stood before, & that now the peace with *Spain* was rather a meane for harder lawes to proceed, then those in force against them to be abrogated; so that the ancient Romish Religion, & the Catholicke professors thereof must now be enforced to bid England adue, if Gentlemen of power and repute should thus give way to the contrary proceedings, or thus make nice how to helpe, or where to beginne: at which speech *Percy* made present answer, himselfe was the man that would vndergoe the Catholicke cause, were it with the slaughter of the King, which hee was there ready to undertake, and doe.

(42) No Tom (said *Catesby*) thou shalt not adventure thy life to so small purpose, if thou wilt be a Traitor, there is a plot to greater aduantage, and such a one as can neuer be discovered: and thereupon all of them taking the Oath of secrecy, hearing the *Message* and receiving the Sacrament, *Catesby* told them his diabolical device, which was by *Gunne* and Gunpowder to blow up the Parliament house, and at one stroke with the destruction of many, effect that at once, which had become many yeeres in attempting. A matter easily performed (as hee vrged) if men of resolution would thereunto bestow their paines and their paines; and moe it sure from suspicion of discovery, the designe being so estranged from the conceits of men: wherein hee also obtained that religious *father* was thirty of reuenge, euen vpon the same persons, and in the same place, whence hee first recited the vniuersal lawes enacted against her. For sake of conscience to kill the Innocent with the no-ment, hee told them it was warrantable by the authority of *Garnet* himselfe, the Superior of the English Iesuites, and of *Gerrard*, and *Tessmond* (Jesuitical Priests likewise) who by their Apollitical power did abolish and commend the fact, which for the aduantage of the Catholics was to be executed; they said though with the death of some Innocents, rather then the seruile blood quicke, the necessity of time and occasion for requiring it. The Oath was given them by the said *Gerrard* the Duels Attorney in this business: the forme whereof was as followeth.

You shall sweare by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, power to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be propoised to you to keepe secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, untill the rest shall give you leave.

(43) The proiect thus farre passed, the practise was to proceed, and the first thing sought after was for

Printed speech to
the Constable

The conference of
the Cardinals
behind *S. Clements*

Percy's scheme
and diabolical
intent

The Gunpowder
plot intended
against the Con-
stitution.

The Treason
was
proved
after
discovery.

Considerable
obstacles
and
difficulties.

Proceedings
against
Treason.

The Oath of
secrecy
to the
Traitor.

Percy's
speech
to
Catesby

Percy's
speech
to
Catesby

The
Oath
of
secrecy
to
the
Traitor.

The
Oath
of
secrecy
to
the
Traitor.

The prison from
how and where
the house was
the house was
the house was

for a house wherein they might beginne their work,
to which purpose, no place was held fitter then a
certaine edifice adioyning to the wall of the Parli-
ament house, which served for withdrawing roomes
for the assembled Lord and out of Parliament was
at the disposal of the Keeper of the place and Ward-
robe thereto belonging. Thedid *Perce* hire
for his lodgings, entertaining *Fawkes* (as most un-
knowne by face) for his man, who changing his name
into *Johnston*, had the Keyes and keeping of the
rooms. Neither was this enough, but a house must
be also had to supply *Fawkes* lodgings for provision
of Powder, & to frame and fit wood for the carriage
of the Mine, which *Catesby* provided at *Lambeth*, &
swore his man *Keyes* into their Conspiracies, making
him the Keeper of those his provisions, who in the
night as occasion served, conveyed the same vnto the
calidoy of *Fawkes*.

Fawkes changed his
name into
Johnston.

Perce house
employed by the
Scottish Lords.

(44) The appointed day for the Parliament being
the 7 of February, in October before it was thought
fite to beginne the worke, whereupon *Fawkes* re-
turning forth of the County, found *Perce* rooms
appointed for the *Scottish* Lords to meet in, there to
conferre touching the *Union* of the two Kingdoms:
so that they feared (for that presen) to intine their
attempt. But that honourable assembly dissolved,
vpon the eleventh of December late in the night,
they entered into their Works of *Darkness*, and began
their Mine, having tooles prepared, and baked
meates provided, the better to asside suspicion by
sending abroad.

Robert Catesby
Thomas Percy,
John Wright,
Guy Fawkes.

(45) The Moles that first underwent these
vnder-minings, were *Robert Catesby* Esquier, the mo-
ning Arch-traitor, and ruine of his name, *Thomas*
Percy Esquier, kinsman and actedant vpon the Earle
of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright* and
Guy Fawkes Gentlemen, all of them grounded schol-
lers of the Romish Schoole, and such earnest labou-
ers in this their Vault of Villany, that by Christmas
Eue (which very day might haue remembered them
of more Christianu works) they had brought the
worke vnder an entry, vnder the wall of the Parliam-
ent-house, vnderpropping still as they went the
earth with their framed Timber, nor till that day
were they seene abroad of any man.

The Traitors con-
sented how to
perce the
their intentions.

(46) During this vndermining, much consulta-
tion was had how to falsen the rest of the busines,
after the deed should be accomplished, and many
questions propounded and argued at full, before
they could puch on a fered resolution. The first was
how to surprize the next heire to the Crowne; for
though they doubted not, but Prince *Henry* would
accompany his Father, & take his lot with him, yet
they feared lest *D. Charles* (being absent, as too young
to attend at Parliament) would escape their train, and
perchance be so carefully guarded, and attended vpon
at Court, that hee would hardly bee gotten into
their hands. Of which first tub in their way, *Perce*
offered himselfe to bee the first remouer, and shew-
ed his meanes, which was, that with some other
Gentlemen, hee would enter the Dukes Chamber,
which by reason of his acquaintance hee very well
might doe without any suspicion: and others of his
like acquaintance should bee placed at several doores
in the Court: so that when the blow was giuen, and
all men in a maze, then would hee carry away the
Duke, which hee presumed would be easily done,
the most of the Court being then absent, and the
present altogether vnprauided for to make resis-
tance.

Duke Charles
was intended to be
surprized.

(47) For the surprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it
was held a matter of farre lesse difficulty, the re-
maining at the Lord *Harington*, and *Abbey* (*Catesby*
house) neer vnto her, whether vnder a shew of Hun-
ting, diuers Catholicks should bee gathered, who
having the advantage in knowing for what purpose
they were assembled, had the full liberty of that
distracted time, to provide money, clothes, armour
and other abilliments of warre, vnder pretence of strength

The Lady *Eliz*,
was intended to be
taken from the
the *Latter* house

to guard and secure the heire apparant.

(48) Then it was discusse, what Lords they
should come from the Parliament, where it was a-
greed, that they should keepe thence as many as they
could that were Catholicks, or that way flourishing:
all others to feeble the limar, and the imputation
of the Treason to be callt vpon the Parliament, to make
them more odious to the world.

The fawkes con-
sented to make
the treason to
fawkes Prince.

(49) Next it was controuersed what foraine
princes should be made priuy to these their purposes;
for to enioyne them to keepe, or to oblig them by
oath, was not in their power: & to ally their likes
or dislikes, would proue dangerous. For if any
of them approved the design, their preparation might
beget suspicion: if not then the feares of discouery
would extinguish the enterprize, no man daring to
proceed further therein. *Spain* was held the fittest
to second their attempts, but hee was too slow in his
preparations, & *France* too neere and too dangerous
to be dealt with, and how *Holland* stood affected to
England they all very well knew. But in the midst
of these troubles and minings vnder-ground, the
Parliament was againe adioyned till the first of Oc-
tober ensuing, vpon which Proclamation they brake
off both discourt and worke till the feast of Saint
Maris Purification. At which time they layde in
powder and other provisions, and then beganne a-
gaine to worke, having taken into their company
Christopher Wright and *Robert Winter*, both of them
sworne, and receiving the Sacrament for secretie. The
wall (which was very hard, & nine foot thicke) with
great labour they wrought halfe through, *Fawkes*
being their Centinell to giue warning when any
came neere, that the noise in digging might not be
heard.

The Parliament
againe pro-
posed.

Robert Winter,
Christopher Wright,
both of them
sworne.

(50) The labourers thus working into the wall,
were suddenly surprized with a great feate, and ca-
sting from them their digging tooles,ooke to their
weapons, having sufficient of shot and powder in
the house, being fully resolved, rather to die in the
place, then to yeeld or be taken. The clank of their
feare was a noyse they heard in a roome vnder the
Parliament house, vnder which they meant to haue
mined, directly vnder the Chaire of Estate. But al
now at a stand, & their countenance call each vpon
other, as doe befall what would bee the issue of this
their enterprize: *Fawkes* scowled forth to discri
(if hee could) what was done abroad, and finding
all life and free from suspetch, returned and told them,
the noyse was onely a remouall of coales there: now
vpon tale, and that the Cellar was so belee, which
would bee more commodious to their purpose; and
would also spare the labour in the Mine. Where-
upon *Thomas Percy* vnder pretence for storage
of his winter provision of wood and coales, went
and hired the Cellar, which done, a new countenance
was had.

The feare of the
Traitors.

(51) Wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the
whole too heauy for himselfe alone to support, for
besides the maintenance of so many persons, and
the seruall houses for seruall viues, lited and payde
for by him, the Gunpowder and other provisions
would tise to a very great summe, and inderede too
much for one mans purse. Therefore he desired that
himselfe, *Percy*, and some one more might call
in such others as they thought fit to helpe to maintain
the charge, alledging that they knew men of
worth and wealth, that would willingly assit,
but were not willing their names should bee known
to the rest. This his request they approued as ne-
cessary, and withall succoring farther to digge in the
Vault, knowing the Cellar would be of better vic
for their designs, they remoued twentie Barrels of
Gunpowder into that room, which they covered
with a thousand of Billets, and fise hundred of fag-
gots, for that now the lodging roomes were cleared
of all suspicious provisions, and freely might bee
entered without danger of discry.

(52) But the Parliament being againe pro-
posed

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rogued until the fift of November following, these forsaide underminers of our State and happinesse thought fure they should againe (for a while) disperse themselves (matters being already in so good forwardnes) and that *Guy Fawkes* should go over to acquaint *Sir Willd Stanley*, & *McKinch Owen* with these their proceedings, yet so as the oath of secrecie should be taken of them. For their policy was to have *Sir William Stanley* preference so soone as the dismal blow should bee given, to bee a leader to their intended stratagems, whereof (as they thought) they should have great need; & that *Owen* should remain where hee was, to hold correspondency with forraign Princes, to allye (in much as hee might) the odiousnes of the fact, or to impore the Treason to the Puritanes discontents.

(53) *Fawkes* coming into *Flanders* found *Owen*, unto whom, after the oath, hee declared the plotte, which hee very well approved. But *Sir William Stanley* (at that time in *Spain*) *Owen* said would be hardly drawne into the businesse, for that hee had sutes in the English Court himselfe, yet hee promised to forward him in all that hee could, and to send him into *England* with the first, when their proiect had taken effect. Whereupon *Fawkes* to avoid further suspition, kept still in *Flanders* until the beginning of September, and then returning, received the keyes of the Cellar, and laid in more powder, billets and fagots, which done, hee retired into the Countrey, and there kept till the end of October.

(54) In the meane while *Catesby* and *Perry* meeting at the *Bathe*, it was there concluded, because their number were but few, that *Catesby* himselfe should have power to call in whome hee would to aide their designe: by which authority hee tooke in *Sir Edward Digby* of *Rutlandshire* knight, and *Francis Tresham* of *Northamptonshire* Esquier, both of them of sufficient estate and wealth, had they not abused both to their owne destruction: for *Sir Edward* offered fiftene hundred pounds to forward the action, and *Tresham* two thousand. But *Perry* disdainng that any should out-run him in eale, promised foure thousand pounds out of the Earle of *Northumberland* rents, and tenne hories of speed to speed them when the blow was past. Against which time to provide munition, *Catesby* likewise tooke in *Ambrase Rookwood* and *John Grant* two Reculant Gentlemen, and vndoubtedly others were written in the same Roll, had these two grand Electors beene apprehended alioe, whose owne tongues only could vntold their Catalogue Record.

(55) The businesse thus forwarded by their complices abroad, their *Invitations* did not neglect the supplies at home. For *Perry*, *Winter* and *Fawkes* had stored the Cellar with thirty fixe Barrells of Gunpowder, and vpon them bestowed (in stead of shot) Barres of Iron, logges of timber, massie stones, Iron Crowes, Pickes-axes, and all their working tooles, and (to coner all) great store of Billers and fagots, so that nothing was wanting but fall in a readinesse, attending that great and terrible day. Neither were the Iesuiticall Priests slacke on their parts, who usually concluded their Masses and oblatory Sacrifices, with their prayers for the good successe of the expected hopes, as by these verses, made and vied by *Garnet* is to be seene.

*Centum anseris persilam credentium de fasibus,
Vt Christo laudes debitas persilamus alacris.*

And others thus, *Propter* Lord their paines that labour in thy cause day and night, let Herrie vanish away like smoke, let their memory perish with a cracke, like the ruine and fall of a broken house: Allusion upon belittle to the labours in the Vault, the mounting smoake of powder, and the fall of the Parliamene house, which if it had hapned, they might have said to have bin Prophetically foretold by their high Priests for that yeere.

(56) But the Lord that neuer slipp the delueance of his elect, kept his his *Israel* as the Apple of his own eye, & this put digged for the destruction of others, they fell into themselves: so that we may wel say, if the Lord had not bin on our sides when we rose up against you they had finalised us up quicke, when their wrath was kindled against you, but praised bee the Lord which hath not given on a prey unto their needles: *Isaiah* is escaped out as a bird out of the snare of the fowler the snare is broken, and we are delivered. For this Conspiratrice egge hatched by themselves proued a Serpent onely to themselves, and themselves (by Gods hand) made the only Instrumens to breake the shell of their owne treason.

(57) For vpon Thursday in the evening, tenne dayes before the intended Parliamene, a letter directed to the Lord *Admonteagle* was deliuered by an vknowne person vnto his footman in the streete, with a freight charge given, to give it into his Lords owne hand, which accordingly hee did. The letter was without date and subscription, and somewhat vnlegible, so as the Nobleman called for one of his seruants to assist him therein, the strange contents whereof much perplexed the true construction, as whether writ by some *Papist* to scare him from attendance, or as matter of consequence from aduise of some friend. Howsoeuer, though it were fupper time, and the night as darke as the purpose of the letters yet to discharge his loyal duty, hee forthwith repaired to the Kings Palace at Whitehall, where he imparted the letter to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Principall Secretary, and they both prekenly acquainted the L. Chamberlaine therewith, who deemed the matter not a little to concern himselfe, the charge of his office being to ouerser all places whether his Maiesty was to reside, these two Councillors shewed the same letter to the Earles of *Warwiche* and *Northampton*, who together concluded (how sleight soeuer the contents seemed to appeare, as proceeding from some fumes of an idle and light braine) to acquaint the King himselfe with the same, which accordingly was done, and was as followeth.

My Lord, out of the love I beare to some of your friends, I have a carref for your profectioun. Therefore I would aduise you, as you tender your life, so desire some excuse to fuff off your attendance at this Parliamene. For God and man haue concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time. And thinke not flugely of this aduertisement, but retire your selfe into your Countrey, where you may expect the oute of safety. For though there bee no appearance of any stirre, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliamene, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme, for the danger is past so fume as you haue burnt the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you.

(58) His Maiesty a while pausing, & then re-reading the letter, deliuered his iudgement, that the stile thereof was too quicke and prythe to bee a libell bred from the superficialities of an idle braine, and on the instant did apprehend by these words: that they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliamene, Or yet should not see who hurt them, that a sodaine danger by blast of Gunpowder should be intended by some base villaine in a corner, no insurrection, rebellion, or desperate attempt appearing. And therefore wished that the vnder rooms of the Parliamene house might bee thoroughly searched, before himselfe, or Peeres should sit therein. To which purpose it was then concluded, that the L. Chamberlaine should (according to his office and place) view all the rooms above and below: but aswell to stay idle rumors, as to let things ripen to reucale their own mysteries, this his search should bee deferred until Monday, the day immediately before the Parliamene, & then to bee with a seeming slight eye, to avoid suspition.

(59) The Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, according to the conclusion, vpon Monday in the after-

Psalm 14

The lower foot
couch Lord
Montague.

November 4
after

afternoone (being accompanied with the *L. Montegle*, who still thirited to fee the illue) repaired vnto thole vnder-rooms, and finding the *Sellar* fo fufficiently floored with wood and coales, demanded of *Faulkes* (the counterfeite *Jahonson*, who stood there attending as a feruant of small repute) who owed the place; his answer was, that the lodgings belonged to *M. Thomas Percy*, and the *Sellar* likewise, to lay in his winter prouision, himfelfe being the *Keeper* and *M. Peries* feruant. Whereunto the Earle as void of any other fufpition, prefently replied, that his Maifters was well prouided againft *Winners* blafts: but being come forth, the Lord *Montegle* told him, that hee did much fufpect *Percy* to bee the inditer of the letter, knowing his affection in religion, and the friendship betwixt them profefed, fo as his heart gaue him (hee faid) when hee heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the act.

(60) The Lord Chamberlaine returning related to the King in prefence of fome Counsellors, what hee had feene: and the fufpition that the Lord *Montegle* had of *Percy*, and himfelfe of *Jahonson* his man, which prefently encreased his Maiefties apprehenfion and leafoine, whereupon hee infifted, that a narrow fearch fhould be made, and thole billets and coales fhould be turned to the bottome, which as hee confidently fuppoſed was the couering of fome notable intended treaſon. But ſome moued the doubt how this fearch fhould be made: for albeit no caution could be too much in fo great a danger, yet the indurment therunto, being no more then a nameleſſe inſcript, theſt no man knew whence, and might well be the euaporation of an idle brain, would ſeeme (if nothing were found) ſome ſcandal vnto the State, to bee oſer ſuſpitions of fo frivolous a toy, and withall might leaue ſome ſad imputation on a great counſellor of the land. Norwithſtanding, his Maieſty ſtill perſiſting in his former opinion, willed that the fearch ſhould be thoroughly made, and no poſſibility of danger left vnexamined, vntillſe they meant to goe to the Parliament, and leaue the hazard to the euent, which hee thought they in conſcience were loth to doe. Whereupon it was concluded, that the fearch ſhould be made but vnder color of ſearching. For certaine hangings belonging to the houſe which were miſſing, and conſeied away.

(61) *Sir Thomas Knoeet*, (now Lord *Knoeet*, then a Gentleman of his Maieſties Priny-Chamber) was employed herein, and about midnight (before the very morning when the Parliament was to beginne) went vnto the place with a ſmall but well affected company. At the doore of entrance into the Cellar, finding one (which was *Guy Fawkes*) at ſo vnreaſonable a time, cloaked and booted, hee thought fure to apprehend him, and entering the place, ouerturned the billets and coales, when preſently hee found the Serpents neſt, ſtoored with thirty fixe barrels (ſmall and great) of gunpowder, then ſearching the villaine that ſhould haue hatched the egges, found about him a darke lanterne, three matches and other inſtruments for blowing vp the powder: who no whit daunted, inſtantly confeſſed his guiltines, and was ſo ſure from contrition or repentance, as hee vowed, that had hee been found within the bouſe (as indeed hee was then but immediately come forth from his worke) hee certainly would haue blowne vp the bouſe with himſelfe, and them all: & was ſo obduerate in his Romiſh reſolution, that being brought before the Lords of the Council, hee lamented nothing ſo much, as that the deed had not been done, ſaying, that the *Diuell* and not *God* was the diſcouerer of the plot.

(62) As deſperate were *Cateſby*, *Percy*, and the reſt, who hating nothing that the *L. Montegle* letter did giue ſome ouerture of ſuſpition, yet would they ſtay to ſee the ſucceſſe, and forſooke not *London* vntill the ſame day wherein the deed ſhould haue bene done: *Cateſby*, *Percy*, *Rookwood*, both the *Wrightes*, and *Thomas Winter*, poſſed all into *Warwickſhire*,

where *Grant* and his affociates had taken certaine great horſes out of a ſtable, to forward their hoped great day. Theſe meeting at *Dunſborough*, where *Sir Eſmerald Digby* had made a march for a ſeruanting, not with hounds for the hare (which was only the colour) but with *Norwood* for blood, and ſurprize of the moſt vertuous young Princeſſe *Lady Elizabeth*, were told (by the eſcaped) of their certaine diſcouery, and preſently ſcared with report of puniſhment, when ſtricken with terror, not knowing where to make ſtay, or whether to flie, they deſperately beganne an open rebellion, preceeding the cauſe was Religion, and admitting for truth, that all the Catholikes throates were appointed to be cut. And ſo trooping together, wandered through *Warwickſhire*, the edges of *Worceſter*, and borders of *Staffordſhire*, their ſeruantes and aiders being about fourſcore men, & thole oer ready to ſeale away from them, more care was in keeping, then truſt repoſed either in their faith or defence. Yet thus ranging, and finding no reſiſtance, they rilled the Lord *Arundels* houſe of ſail the Armour, ſhot, powder, and other warlike prouifions, but the weather rainy, and the waters ſome what high, the powder in carriage took wet, and thereby became more vnſerviceable, *God* in his iuſtice fo ordering the ſucceſſe, that the element of water, and accident of fire fought againſt them, as the ſtars in their courſes did againſt *Sifera*.

(63) For their laſt fort of refuge, being *Elſbach* in *Staffordſhire* (the houſe of *Stephen Littleton*) whether *Sir Richard Wals* (high Shiriffe of *Worceſterſhire*) purſued them, who thinking the ſtore no greater (though ſo great enough) then ſome fray or riot, ſent his Trumpet vnto them, commanding to render themſelues vnto him his Maieſties (Minifter, with promiſe of his beſt merces (if they did) to alay the offence. But their owne conſciences witneſſing what the Shiriffe knew not, told them the fault was too waighty to leaue them any hope of ſanctity: and therepon returned anſwere, that hee had neede of greater diſtance then of theſe few numbers that were with him, before hee could be able to command or controul them. So preparing for reſiſtance, they made ready their weapons and having laid two pound of the ſaid powder in a plaſter to drie in the chimney, one (a *Millar*) comming to amend the fire, threw in a billet, wherewith a ſparke flying out, chanced to fall on the powder, whoſe ſodaine blaſt was ſo violent, that (though being of ſo ſmall a quantity) he blew vp the rooſe of the houſe, and ſcorched the bodies and faces of *Cateſby*, *Rookwood* and *Grant*, with ſome others, whoſe conſciences then ſtricken with the guilt of their ſinne, made them ſee *Gods* ſearching iuſtice in puniſhing like with like. Thus being deſtroyed with the accident, and now knowing that all was loſt, like deſperate men, they there reſolued to die together, ſet open the gate, inſtitered the Shiriffes followers to ruſh in among them, and by valour (as they ſeamed it) fought for their owne deliueration; for both the *Wrightes* were therein ſhot downe dead, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, & *Thomas Winter* were very fore wounded, and laſtly, *Cateſby* and *Percy* reſolutely fighting, backe to backe, were both of them ſlaine with one bullet of market-ſhot.

(64) Thus theſe high aſpiring ſpirites, deſeiced with the ſpirit of illuſion, vnder opinion of religion, and dreaming of no leſſe then deſtruction of King, Princes and people, with alterations of kingdomes, Church and State, were miſerably deſeared, not by humane providence, but diuine mercy. Some preſently ſlaine in heate of Rebellion, others deadly wounded were taken alive, the reſt either whole or but lightly hurt, wered priſoners to *London*, and to other places, all the way gated ar, reſeiled and deſtroyed by the common people, as ſome ſtrange Monſters of the world, forth in their helliſh and horrible Treafon, and lully condemned & executed as they moſt worthily deſeared, whoſe induements, arrangements and confeſſions, I referred to read in the true

London 1605.

Fire-working
Trimmers point
died by fire.

Relations already painted thereof, with sundry other weighty matters thereto incident, in that learned discourse, written by the most honourable Lord Henry Howard, Earle of Northampton, now Lord Priuy Seale.

An.D.1605.

(65) In memory of which great deliniance, the fifth of November (the day appointed for mercies destruction) was by authority of the same Parliament enacted to be for ever celebrated with thanksgiving, prayse and prayers vnto our heavenly Protector, and to bee kept holy vnto the Lord through our generations, which we wish may bee obserued, with no lesse acknowledgement of Gods infinite mercies to vs-ward, then was among the Iewes, the institution of their Purim, for their deliniance from the practise of wicked Haman, that so our Temples being thus freed from their prophane idolatry, wee may euer make this day as the scall of our dedication, like to the Altareber, who in the same moneth did institute theirs, by cleansing Gods Temple of heathenish pollutions. So shall Christ with his spirituall approach beautifie this Church of ours, as with his humane presence in the Temple at Jerusalem he celebrated that Winters feast of theirs: wherein hee taught that himselfe was the true son of God, and the only dore by which all must enter. Through which therefore let vs with *Jeremy* approach his Altar to make supplications for the Kings peace: and with *Zerach* to pray for the Kings life, and life of his sonne, that their dayes may be vpon the earth as the

dayes of heauen, their branches as the beauteous Olive, & their roots fastned as the Cedars of Lebanon. (67) In offering of which Sacrifice my selfe (his Maiesties loyall seruant) hold vp my hands towards Heauen, for His continuall preleration, His noble Queens felicity, their Royall Issues prosperitie, our Churches Peace, and Great Brittaines euer flourishing State: and doe at this place (as of most note & eminency) end my many yeeres trauels, hitherto purpockly continued, that this last foule blot of infamy, though it cannot vnto be wiped away, yet may it bee somewhat vailed, and lie obscured in this hundredmost frame of out now finished Theatre: that so, when any mote noble, and more enabled spore and penne, shall attempt to continue and enlarge the life and raigne of this mighty Monarch, our learned and wise *Salomon*, hee may adorne the frontispiece of so glorious a worke, with some porch and entrance of more pleasing aspect. For my part, I haue here onely pointed at His Maiesties full entrance and acts, rather to shew a liberty of writing the kingdomes affaires, which neuer is permitted, saying vnder good Princes, then by my vnable performance to enter into that which requires the pen of some iudicious *Tacitus*, or eloquent *Zenophon*, and conclude with the actiue of *Amianus Marcellinus* the famous Historian: Let other men for experience more sufficient, and for learning better known write the rest, whom, if it shall please them to enter thereupon, I aduise to frame their penne into an higher stile.

Hale. 14 d

Amian. lib. 21. cap. 17



The Circumferences of these ancient Monies being diuers and different, wee haue in this Sculpture obserued, by shewing three Diameters, whose Circles import the bignesse of their Mintage and their figures compared with thes, direct their proportions to be of the same as thou seest.



A summary Conclusion of thevvhole.



By the assistance of the *All-Sufficient* (the onely defence and Preserver of man) my insufficient abilities, have attained the end of this worke, and my weake vnable Person brought to a Period this large Edifice of **GREAT BRITAINS THEATRE.** How acceptable to others, I know not; but with what paines and travail to my selfe, my decayed strength too manifestly hath felt, and with what care of truth, the *Authors* allegred through the whole Proesse, are my witnesses; whose lines haue bene the measures, and Antiquities the master, that hath railed the *Fabrick* vnto this height. The attempt was great, and tarre vnfit (I must confesse) for me to vndergoe; which, even at the first entrance was so obscured by the ludicious, and in the continuance hath so proued: that now it being finished, as the Silkworme endeth her life in her long wrought clew, so I in this *Theatre* haue built my owne Graue; whose Architecture howsoever defective it may be laid to be, yet the proiect is good: and the cost great, though my selfe haue freely bestowed this paines to the Presse, without pressing a penny from any mans purse. For me to shew the vtilitie of History, were to light a dimme candle before the bright Sonne; or to prescribe a methode for their vices, were, with *Phormio* to reade a Lecture of Chivalrie vnto great *Hannibal*, warres experienced Conductor: But, as our owne concer-

neth vs nearest (wherein my pen hath taken the freest access) so let me abridge the whole in a small Circle, and incompass that briefly, which hath bene related in a farre wider circumference.

(2) Our Land, peopled from *Japhet* the first sonne of *Noah*, fell vnto those sonnes of *Gomer*, who inhabited these parts of *Europe*, whose issue were most famously knowne by the name of *Britaines*. At first, naked, rude, and ignorant of the true God; yet no sooner were frequented with the ciuill *Romanes*, but that they covered their Cut-painted bodies with Garments; and shortly imitated them even in their most civilized actions; yea, scarcely was Christ taken downe from his Crosse but they became *Christians* (the greatest glory of any Nation) and among them the *Gospel* had her first progresse by established authority. Their Government was vnder Kings, and those of as honourable a respect, as were any other in these West-parts of the World, both in training their Subjects vnto due obedience and ministering of Lawes for the maintenance of estate. Their warres domestike and forraine were so managed with Politie and valour, as in the one they valiantly defended themselves against their assaults, and in the other freed the *Romanes* in most of their Conquests; which cost them lastly their owne subnersions, when their warriers and virgins were consumed and transported into other parts, whilst their native Land lay exposed to the will of Inuaders.

(3) The glory-thirsting *Romans* (from a crew of lawlesse Shepheards now lately become Lords of the World) were the first that set foot, with dispaigned Ensigne, for the Conquest of *Britaine*, and the same

The first Inhabitants.

Their Customs.
Christianity.

Government.

Warres.

Their first Conquests.

A summary conclusion

first assailed by *Julius Caesar* from the Coasts of *Gallia*. Which his attempt was so honorable in effection of their Emperors, that *Claudius* (the fifth in succession) holding the Triumph but bair, that attends upon authority without action of Price, made choice of *Britaine* to adorn his triumphant Chariot, that this Land (sired, as was thought, in another World, and but part thereof shewed by *Caesar* to the *Romans*) might adde remembrance of name to his forgetfull Person; and to that end, having made hither himselfe, stamped his Conquest upon his Coines thus, DE BRITANN: and upon his aged knees crept vpon the flepes of the *Capitoll*, to give thanks of victory vnto his gods on the day of his Triumph, which, though for a small part of this Lands subjection, was yet accomplished with more then ordinary magnificence, and the shewes greater then usually had beene scene, for the Conquests of farre larger and better knowne Kingdomes. And with as greata care was it kept, whilst the *Romans* kept their owne greatness. But when their high-mounted Pillar ouerflew her owne Base, and the farspread boughes were growne too weighty for the stlemme, many hands at once grasped at the Empericall Crowne, and all of them together tare the Branches from the Body of that faire Tree. By whom also the faire and flourishing Cedars of *Britaine* were shaken, and left naked both of fruite, and leafe. So that now the glory of the one declined, and the beauty of the other vnto decayed, and neither of them able any longer to support their owne standings, gaue place vnto *dynasty* that would now haue both downe; whereby the *Tewell* so much desired, and which had beene kept with such care, was now laid at stake to them that could winne it, and *Britaine* abandoned by the *Romans*, without further claime, after they had bene Lords thereof the space of fise hundred yeeres.

(4) The next Actors vpon *Britaines* faire Stage, were the *Saxons*, a people of *Germany*, fierce, bold and irreligious, as, for the most part, the rest of Nations in those daies were. These infelting with Piracies the Coasts of *Britaine* and *Gallia*, grew both fearful and famous in profession of military seruises. In *France* they fixed vpon the Countrey of *Bataueria*, in *Germany* by intrusion they vnto the *Sueuians*; in *Holland* and *England*, they inroached vpon the *Batesians*, and *Cumbria* *Cherisians* (now a continent of *Denmarke*) they made the place of their aboad. From whence they often assailed the Coasts of this Land, when whilst the *Romans* held it for theirs, and were often put backe by *Sulpho* and others, whose praises the *Past Claudians* chaunted abroad. But the *Romans* departed, and *Britaine* left bare of men, their land waled by famine, tumultuous vprores, and by bandings of Great-ones who should be graue; the *Suits* and *Picts* (ancient Enemies to their Peace) took the advantage, and continually made bloody incursions into their Land. And albeit alone-wall was raised a ward the whole Continent, to impeach their inroades, yet that assailed little, their assaults were so great. Whereupon the *Saxons* were sent for, and in their first seruice freed the *Britaines* from those raging *Picts*: The Lands defence then they vnderooke, and the Inhabitants consented to maintain the charge, which whilst it was in giuing was thankfully received, but once received was vngratefully forgot. And they (like the *Ramens* of *Arabia*, who so long as they are full, yeeld a pleasant noife, but being empty make a horrible cry) emptied faster then the *Britaines* could fill, and euer complained they had not enough, till fillly by surprize they got all into their owne clauies. Then decided they among themselves the best of the Land, and droue their Receiuers into the worst and waste mountains of *Wales*, euer of their Captaines shuing a part to himselfe, and of one Empericall Crowne made fiseuen *Diadems* to adorne their owne heads; which long were not worse, without

intestine wares, each of them striving to enlarge his owne, vpon his next, till God and destiny againe brought all vnto One, euen to great *Egbert*, who forbade the Lands old Name, and commanded these now vntied Provinces to be called *Angla*. Yet no sooner was this accomplished, with assured hopes conceived, that the *Saxons* glory should thence forward ascend and spread forth with peace, but that a sinage nation, as fierce as the *Seythians*, call their eyes of desire vpon that beautiful Crowne, and presently attempted, but neuer intermitted any bloody cruelties that could forward the same, all they had set on their owne *Helmet*; and these *Saxons* wore out with resistance, gaue place to the *Danes*, when time had worn out fise hundred fise three yeeres of their Government.

(5) These *Danes* thus succeeding (though with no better right to enjoy) were a stout sturdy Nation whose many Piracies both *France* and *Britaine* had many times felt, before they attained the end of this their Goale. For these, multiplying like *Bees* in the Hise, the land of their owne natiuitie was too little for each to haue a part: vpon which occasion a confome was practised to banish some that the rest might haue roome. These Exiles therefore (chiefly consisting of their youth) fell vpon other Landes with no lesse danger, then the falling of a sword out of the sheath, and greedously wounded whereoeuer they fell; but no where more deadly then in *England*. Which for two hundred and eightene yeeres continuance they vnfeinly assailed; sometimes harrowing the Countrey before them, and carrying away great Booties to their Ships: sometimes impoverishing the People, by exacting great summes of money for composition of Peace: sometimes expelling the Inhabitants, and seating themselves in their places: and sometimes fluing the Countrey with their Kings, and taking vnto themselves none of the worth; but not as other Conquerors to build, wall, and plane, but to lay waste, call downe, and destroy, sparing neither Erections for civil vic, nor places of Oratory dedicated to diuine. Yet the Garland once gotten by their King *Canut*, was worse with great glory, and by three of those *Danish* Kings, *Englands* *Crowne* was enioied. The first of them Potent, religious, wife and iust. The second, illegitimate, an vnsurper very agill, but idle: And the third a Tyrant, a Taxe-raiser, lasciuious and a glutton, in which excess he at *Lambeth* he suddainely ended his life, when the Land became cleared of the *Danes* fore oppressions, after they had a long time attempted, and their Kings for fise and twenty yeeres space wore the royal diademe of this Realme.

(6) These foure Nations fulfilling their times by Heavens assignement, in gaining, keeping, and againe loosing, the rich Garland of GREAT BRITAINES government: a fife, inferior to none, made thereto a double clime, and by a third (more sure then both) which was their conquering sword, got it. These last (which I pray may be last) were the *Normans*, a people fierce and valorous, whose many Sea-adventures were so great, in the daies of *Charles the Great*, as then he wept to foresee the harmes they would doe to his in *France*, which pruned so many that *Charles the Bald* (his Grand-child) was forced to part with the *Estrieome* of *Chartres* vnto *Hasting* a Norman; *Charles the Greffe* with the Countrey *Norfolke*, vnto *Godfrey* their Chieftain; and *Charles the Simple* with all the Countreys which lay betwixt the *Rouer Seine* and *Loyre*, vnto *Rollo* their Leader, whereof he became Duke, and that Dutchie from him named *Normandy*. Whence *William the Bastard* the seventh in descent, in a bloodie field at *Battle* in *Sussex*, won the *Englisch* Crowne from King *Harold* that held it: where, by changing of Lawes, dispossessing of Nobles, and bestowing the Lands Reuenues vpon his, he laid the foundation of a glorious Monarchie. At first, somewhat bloodie, (as Conquests commonly proue) and the

The Heptarchie againe secured to a Monarchie.

Britaine first named England.

The Saxons continued.

The Danes introduction.

The occasion thereof.

Their continuance here.

Their destruction here.

Their three Kings.

Their end.

The Normans.

Their title in England.

Their attempt and success in France.

William the Conquerors victory.

The foundation of the Crowne finally issued.

Their Triumphant.

Their effection.

Their ruin.

Abandoned by the Romans.

Inroached by Saxons.

* Baiter.

By Picts & Saxons.

The occasion of Saxons coming.

Their staying on the Land.

Their dwelling the Land vnto an Hermitage.

* *Walden*
1891-1892

The Plantage-
were successful.

Their large inter-

Their child dis-
satisfactions.

The Food
Succession.

First Prince of
that Name.

Cousins, 5th, 4
 6th, 10.

The Crown returned to the old system and refusing to beg old Nene.

The Union of the whole Island is the wish of our Sovereigns.

Crowne banded for, among brethren and kindred (as what will not the desire of a Diademe doe?) the two younger brethren successively wearing it, to the prejudice of their *Elder, and Stephen hauing no right, but such as Intruders pretend. But *Henrie Plantagenet* placed on the Throne, and three hundred thirty one yeeres taken vp in the Reignes of foureteene Kings of his line, their Aets afforde matter of more Princely consequence, their Dominions spread wider, themselves being the lawfull Inheritors to the third part of France, and to the Whole by the Title of their *third Edward*, and by the Conquest of their *fifth Henry*. And surely had not the civil diffinitions of *Lancaster* and *Tork* spent their weapons in the wounds of themselves, those Kings and their Successors undoubtedly had beene double crowned vnto this day. But these *Rafes* plack off by diffinitions hands, and their Branches come downe in home-bred broyles, their tollall rootes lay as it were dead in the Earth, till *Tender of Lancaster* with *Plantagenet of Tork* gaue them vigor and sappe, by binding both together in wedlocke a golden band. Whereby also the long dead stemme of the sanctest British Kings beganne againe to bud forth, and five renowned Princes of that Sirname succeeded in *Englands Throne*. The first of them, the richest, and wisest King of this Welteme-World, *The second*, the foret wonder of the Papall authority, *The third*, the forwardest in all pious aeties, *The fourth* the feracietull for the Religion of *Rome*, and *The fifth* a *Mayden-Queen*, the most famously renowned among the Worlds Monarkes, vnder whose reignes one hundred and fixtze yeeres were fully complete and run. And were it not that the English are taxed to be ouer-much addicted vnto vaine Prophecies, and that *Nero* was prohibited by decree of Councell, I might alledge his, and that of *Aquila* at *Shafesbury*, both of them foretelling that the British Emperour after the *Saxons* and *Normans*, should returne againe to his ancient *Steele* and *Name*. Notwithstanding Truth bids acknowledge, how fittre God hath accomplished both these in the royall Person of our now-Soveraigne, the one by his descent from the loines of that Royal *Tender-King Henry the Seventh*, and the other, by his *Edict*, in restoring to the *Land* her ancient *Name*, *Britannia*: himselfe being the first Monark of the two Kingdomes *Vnion*, and the greatest of Command, since *Constantine the Dane*. The Cordes of whole *Royal Ties*, we pray, may be further extended, that those naked *Virginitas* may be covered vnder the Curtaines of his most Christian Government; and that the *Scepter* of his Peace may bud as *Aurora* Red in his hand, and in the hand of his Sonne, and Sonne Somers, so long as the *Stemme* and *Moone* endureth.

(7) Then, then (worthy Reader) are the Heads, whence have issued such plentiful Springs, that now met together in one Body the Stream is grown very bigge, which thing I ever feared, but could never prevent, offending rather with the *Negard* who thinke that every mite too-much, then sinning with the *Presbiter* in superfluous exesse, so plentiful is our Story, and so largely requires it to be writ. Through all which my weakle body with many yeeres labour hath alone travelled, aswell in the reviewing of the Geographicall parts of the Land, as in the compiling of the succeeding History, though far unable to perfect either, according to their owne wishes. But lest the weight of the whole should rest vpon so slender a proope as my selfe: I have laid my buildings vpon far stronger arches, as by the many alleged authorities may appeare. For first, the Chards for the most part traced by others, and most of them disiald vnto view, were the foundations of my bequene paines; in supplying their wants with my many additions, and dimensions of the Shire-townes, and Cities true platforms. The further descriptions of sundry prouinces, I haue gleaned from the famous workes of the most worthy and

learned *Cambden*, whose often sowed seeds in that
Soile hath lately brought forth a most ptegerous
harvell. For the body of the *Histories*, many were
the manuscripts, notes, and Records, where with my
honored and learned friends supplied me; but none
more (or so many) as did the worthy repairer of ea-
ting times raiues, the learned *Dr Robert Cotton*
Knight Baronet, another *Philadelphus* in preferring
old Monuments, and ancient Records: whose Ca-
binets were vnllocked, and Library continually (e-
ven to my free access: & from whence the chiefest
garnishments of this worke have bene enlarged and
brought: such as are the antique altars, & Trophe-
in Stone, by him preferred from perishing obliuion.
The Coinses of gold, silver, alcumy, and copper, of
the *Britanes, Romans, Saxons, Danes and English*, with
the Broad Seales of those Kings (since the same were
in vie: all of them so followed from the originall
moodles, and monyes, by the most exquisite and cu-
rious hand of our age, as any eye may wimes they
are the true prints from those stamps. The like most ac-
ceptable helpes, both of Bookes and Collections,
(especially in matters remoter from our times) I con-
tinually receiued from that worthy *Draue, Master*
Towne Barham, a gentleman composed of *Learning,*
Fortne, & Courtesy, as being no lesse ingenuously wil-
ling, then learnedly able, to aduance and forward all
vertuous endeuours. Besides these, some other
sippily I haue had: for my diseafe growne dan-
gerous, and life held in suspence: it behoued him
who had towards the publishing bestowed so great
coll, to forward the finishing; and to that end
he procured mee to his further charges an affi-
siance in the liues of our middle *English Kings*:
whose Stories and raignes (by the Iudicious) may
by their files beeknowne to bee writ with another
pennne. Lailly for the matters of *Herulandie*, the
willing and ready paines of *Maister William Smith*
Rough Dragon, (an Officer at armes) was euer
at hand: and by these hands this building is
mounted so fuch an height as thou feelt: which
thus now finished, this fainted Epitome, may
well serue thy foote-steppers, as staires to ascend
these fise nationall Stories already finished, and
leade thee into the sixth now most happie be-
gynne. Where from those mounted heights,
thou maist behold, how *Time* hath squared the
Scones of these buildings: how *Fortune* hath va-
ried in contriuing the Worke: and how the
Fates haue erected, polished, and pold downe, the
supporting Pillars of GREAT BRITAINES
THEATRE. From whose *Terraz* with *Daniel* call
not thy lustling eie vpon vnlawfull delights: Nor
with *Isabel King* boast, that this was built by thy
owne blouke: But with *Atrey* confesse that from a
small Rocke (as a graft of the Lords planting) thou
art now growne into a great Nation, mighty and full
of people. And with *Sadam* make Iupplication
vnto thy great *Iehoua*, that the *Arke of his strength*
may euer rest in this House, & his cies be euer open
there day and night. With the *Prophet* pray that
this building may be as brautious as his, the Founda-
tions laid with *Sapieres*, her Windows with the
Emeraudes, and her Gates with the *Carbuncles*. That
the delares of this chusen *Zion* may be as *Eden* and her
wildernes like the *Garden of God*. Her Gouernment
Peace, her People the *Saints of Salvation*, & her Kings
the *Sigyns an Gods right hand*, successively to sit on
this Royall Throne, till *Cherub the King of Kings* shall
come in the Cloudes, and from the Raine-bow the
Throne of his Majesty pronounceth blessed, and
make vs heires with himselfe of that Kingdome
which neuer shall haue end. *Write which CXXXV,*
with his FATHER, and HOLY SPIRIT, there in *Per-
son* but ONE GOD eternall, vndeuidable in Deity, be
ascribed all Praise, Honour, Glorie, Wifedome Power and
Might for euermore. Amen.

Christ, Smith.

* 2000

Dec. 14.

Clare L.

Table 2.11.

1910

Fig. 2.

L. Man.
C. W. S. S. S. S.
B. S. S. S. S.
W. L. S. S. S.



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Faults escaped.

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